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THE DAKHAN IN THE TIME OF GAUTAMA-BUDDHA.

BY THE REV. THOMAS FOULKES, CHAPLAIN OF COIMBATORE.

REFERENCES to the **Dakhaṇ**[1] and its people occur frequently in the legends connected with the life and times of the founder of the Buddhist religion. Some of these legends are found in works which appear to belong to the second century before the Christian era, if they are not even earlier still; and most of those which are made use of in this paper are comparatively very old. All of them presumably give expression to the current written or unwritten traditions of their own age; and they necessarily point back to older forms than those which are petrified in the legends which have come down to us. The object of the present paper is to gather up these references, so far as they are accessible to me; and to collect from them what information they may afford of the condition of the **Dakhaṇ** in the lifetime of **Gautama-Buddha.** It may be regarded as a sequel to my previous contribution to this Journal, *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 1ff. on "The Civilization of the Dakhaṇ down to the sixth century B.C."; and, while its matter substantially confirms the information which that paper gleaned out of the legends of both Brâhmaṇical and Buddhist literature regarding those earlier times, it also advances the subject an important stage forwards, and thus helps to complete a strong foundation for the investigation of the subsequent periods of the history of the Dakhaṇ. For three centuries after the great *nirvâṇa*, the records show but little change here. Buddhist institutions then began to spread over this Southern region, reforming its religious condition, but still conserving, for both the near and distant future, all the material elements of the civilization which Buddha found already there, while superadding their own special contributions to them.

The materials for this paper have been obtained out of the Buddhist literature of Ceylon, China, Burmah, Tibet, and India.

I. The **Ceylonese** books from which I quote, are the following:—

1. Upham's *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, published in 1883, containing—

i. The *Mahâwaṁsa*, written by Mahânâma between A.D. 459 and 477:[2]—

ii. The *Râjaratnâkarî*, written after A.D. 1347:[3]—

iii. The *Râjâvalî*, compiled at different periods from the 4th century A.D. downwards.[4]

iv. *Buddhist Tracts*:—

This work is referred to for brevity in the following notes as *Uph.*

2. Turnour's *Mahâwaṁsa*, 1837; quoted

[1] This name is used throughout this paper in its largest meaning, including the whole of the peninsula south of the Vindhya Mountains.

[2] *Turn.*, Introd. p. ii. Max Müller, in *Buddhaghôsha's Parables*, Introd. p. xi.—[But, as regards the date, see *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 347f, 357.—J. F. F.]

[3] *Turn.* Introd. p. ii.

[4] *Turn.* Introd. p. ii.

as *Turn.* It is a more scholarlike translation of the same Pâli original as the first of Upham's three books.

3. Turnour's Articles in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

4. Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, 1850; quoted as *E. Monach.*

5. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, 1853; quoted as *Man. Bud.* It is based upon the following indigenous works;—

i. Pansiya-panas-jâtaka-pota;
ii. Wisudhi-margga-sannê;
iii. Milinda-praśna;
iv. Pujawaliya;
v. Saddharmmâlaṅkâre;
vi. Saddharmmaratnâkare;
vii. Amâwatura;
viii. Thupâwanse;
ix. Râjawaliya;
x. Kayawîrati-gîta-sanne,
xi. Kammawâchan;
xii. The *sannês* of various Sûtras.[5]

6. Mutu Coomâra Swâmy's *Dâṭhâvaṁsa*, by Dhammakitti Thêra, A.D. 1197;[6] quoted as *Dâṭh.*

7. Fausböll's *Sutta-Nipâta*, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. X. Part 2.

8. Ferguson's *Dîpavaṁsa*; in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 33ff. It is an older work than the *Mahâvaṁsa.* A work of this name is mentioned in the latter work (see *Turn.* 257), which Turnour supposed to be the *Mahâwaṁsa* itself under another name.[7]

9. Rhys Davids' and Oldenberg's *Vinaya Texts*, in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vols. XIII. XVII. and XX.

II. The **Chinese** authorities from which I have quoted are the following:—

1. The Buddhist pilgrim Fa-Hian's travels in India between A.D. 399 and 415,[8] contained in:—

i. Remusat's *Fo-Koue-Ki*, 1836;
ii. [Laidlay's] *Pilgrimage of Fa-Hian*, 1848;
iii. Beal's *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-yun*, 1869.

The references under *Fa-Hian* in the following notes are to Mr. Beal's book.

2. Hiuen Tsiang's travels in India from A.D. 629 to 645,[9] contained in:—

i. Julien's *Mémoires sur les contrées Occidentales*, 1857;
ii. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 1884.

The references under *Si-yu-ki* in the following notes, are to the latter of these two translations.

3. Beal's *Romantic History of Śâkya Buddha*, 1875; from the Chinese translation by Jñânagupta or Jñânakûṭa about A.D. 588;[10] quoted as *Rom. Hist. Bud.*

4. Beal's *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIX., 1883. It professes to be a translation of Aśvaghôsha's *Buddhacharita* made into Chinese by Dharmaraksha about A D. 420.[11]

III. The **Burmese** legends are quoted from Bishop Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 1866; quoted as *Bigandet.*

IV. The **Tibetan** authorities are:—

1. Çsoma de Köros' Articles in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XX.

2. His *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, 1834; quoted as *Tib. Gram.*

3. Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, 1884; quoted as *Rock.*

V. The **Indian** authorities are:—

1. Rajendralala Mitra's *Lalitavistara*, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1877. It was written, according to the editor's argument, between 300 and 450 B.C.;[12] quoted as *Lal. vist. Text.*

2. His translation of that work in the same collection, 1882-6; quoted as *Lal. vist.*

3. Kern's *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXI. 1884.

Account of the Dakhaṇ.

The **physical features** of the interior of the Dakhaṇ are but little mentioned in these legends. On the other hand, as might naturally be expected from the circumstance that most of the traditions belong to various seafaring peoples, they contain numerous direct and incidental references to maritime matters which imply an intimate knowledge of the sea and sea-coasts on each side of the peninsula.

The **mountains** of the Dakhaṇ are only

[5] *Man. Bud.* 509ff.
[6] *Dâṭh.* Introd. p. xviii.
[7] See *Turn.* 257 note, and Introd. p. liv.
[8] *Laidlay*, 4, 365: *Beal*, Introd. p. xxiv.
[9] *Si-yu-ki*, Introd. p. xix.
[10] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* Introd. p. v.: *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. Introd. p. xxix.
[11] *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. Introd. p. ix.
[12] *Lal. vist. Text*, Introd. p. 56.

referred to in the most general terms; as when the lair of the lion of the Vijayan legends is said to be in "a lone valley in the deep mountains" of Lâḷa,[13] and the route taken by him in following the track of the fugitives in their flight towards the home of the princess, lay "through the mountains and valleys"[14] The only **hills** named in them are the **Sachabadha** hill[15] in the northern watershed of the Narmadâ, the hill **Mudugiri**[16] on the sea-shore near Suppâra; **Mailigiri,**[17] not far from Mudugiri, inland; and the mount **Pandu** or **Pandagiri** "in that southern region."[18]

Of its **forests,** we read of the **Giwulu** forest near the river Gôdâvarî;[19] the forest of red-sanders;[20] and the forest of **Mulu** in the region of Sunâparantaka:[21] and this last dwindles into a mere temple-grove in the name '**Muluarâma**' given to it in one of the Punna legends.[22]

Some portion of the country on the banks of the Narmadâ was a **sandy desert**[23] in those days. We read also of a **wilderness** in the land of **Lâḷa,**[24] and of the wilderness of **Tambapaṇṇi**[25] in Ceylon.

The only **rivers** of the Dakhaṇ mentioned by name are the **Narmadâ,**[26] the **Mahîvatî,**[27] and the **Gôdâvarî.**[28]

There are a few notices of the **sea** which washes the shores of the Dakhaṇ. That portion of the Indian Ocean which lies a four-months' voyage in a continuous course beyond the 'Five-hundred islands,' was called '**the sea of the seven gems**:'[29] and still farther onwards in the same open sea was a portion which was "agitated by the flames proceeding from hell,"[30] which may probably refer to the volcanic regions of the Eastern Archipelago.

Other **islands** of this sea are spoken of in general terms: but there are abundant traditions of the island of **Ceylon,** Laṅkâdvîpa,[31] Siṁhaladvîpa,[32] Ratnadvîpa,[33] "the island of gems,"[34] "the country of the Rakshasîs"[35] or "the island of the Râkshasas."[36] There are the "five hundred islands connected with the southern continent Jambudvîpa,"[37] which may be the **Laccadives** or the **Maldives.** In the legend of the cargo of red-sanders,[38] the termination *dvîpa* must be rendered by its wider meaning of 'peninsular-continent,' as in the instance of the name Jambudvîpa above.

The **general name** for the **Dakhaṇ** in the translations of these legends is 'the southern region',[39] 'the southern continent,'[40] 'the south,'[41] 'South India,'[42] and 'Southern India.'[43]

Southern India is naturally divided, both physically, and, in a well-marked general manner, historically, into (1) the Northern and (2) the Southern Dakhaṇ, lying respectively to the north and the south of the line of the main course of the river Kṛishṇâ. The **maritime** portions of the Northern Dakhaṇ known to these legends are (1) **Orissa,**[44] and (2) **Kaliṅga,**[45] in the upper portion of the Eastern coast; with (3) **Lâḷa,**[46] occupying both banks of the estuary of the Narmadâ and running over into Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and (4) "the region of **Sunâparantaka,**" **Aparânta,** or **Aparântaka,**[47] in the upper portion of the western coast. To these may also for the present purpose be added (5) **Avanti**[48] and (6) the **Navabhuvana,**[49] both of which had communications through the Narmadâ with the sea.

On the eastern coast of the Southern Dakhaṇ we have (7) **the region of the red sanders tree,**[50] the very limited area within

[13] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 236. [14] *Ibid.* 237.
[15] *Uph.* I. 7; II. 22; III. 113: *Man. Bud.* 210, 260.
[16] *Man. Bud.* 260. [17] *Man. Bud.* 260.
[18] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 276. [19] *Man. Bud.* 53.
[20] *Ibid.* 57. [21] *Ibid.* 209.
[22] *Ibid.* 260. [23] *Man. Bud.* 210.
[24] *Uph.* I. 69; II. 27, 164: *Turn.* 43, 46: *ante*, XIII. 38 (forests).
[25] *Uph.* I. 70: *Turn.* 50.
[26] *Uph.* I. 7; II. 22; III. 113: *Man. Bud.* 209.
[27] *Sacred Bks.* XIX. 244.
[28] *Man Bud.* 53, 334: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184.
[29] *Man. Bud.* 13. [30] *Man. Bud.* 13.
[31] *ante*, Vol. XIII. 35.
[32] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 235: *ante*, Vol. XIII. 37.
[33] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 239.
[34] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240, 246. [35] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 333.
[36] *Lal. vist.* 232, 278.
[37] *Man. Bud.* 13: *Jour. Ceyl. As. Soc.* for 1858-59, p. 14.

[38] *Man. Bud.* 57. [39] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 276.
[40] *Man. Bud.* 13. [41] *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184.
[42] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 39, 275, 282.
[43] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 58: *Rock.* 44, 92.
[44] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 204ff.
[45] See *ante*, VIII. 2ff.: *As. Res.*, XX. 85, 317: *Uph.* I. 68; II. 163: *Turn.* 43: *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* VII. 1014: *Jour. Ceyl. As. Soc.* II. 3, 8: *E. Monach.* 225: *Man. Bud.* 54, 55: *Bigandet*, 344: *Dôṭh.* 38: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 43: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 207ff.: *Lal. vist.*, 115, 116: *ante*, XIII. 37: *Sacr. Bks.* XI. 25, 26, 135: *Rock.* 147.
[46] *Uph.* II. 27, 164, 166: *Turn.* 43, 46, 47: *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* VII. 932: *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.* I. 80 and note, 234: *ante*, XIII. 34, 37, 38: *Si-yu-ki*, I. Introd. p. xvi. cviii.; II. 266.
[47] *Turn.* 71, 73: *Uph.* I. 7; II. 21; III. 112, 113: *Man. Bud.* 56, 209, 259, 260. (See *ante*, VII. 259; VIII. 140; XI. 236: *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.* I. 129, 133.)
[48] *Turn.* 16: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275. [49] *Uph.* III. 113.
[50] *Man. Bud.* 56, 260.

which this valuable timber grows being the district of **Cuddapah** and its immediate neighbourhood,[51] (8) **Dravida,**[52] and (9) the **Pâṇḍyan Country**[53] at its lowest extremity, with (9) **Malaya**[54] at the corresponding extremity of the western coast. To these are also to be added (10) **Mahindo,**[55] (11) the **Naggadîpo,**[56] and (12) the **Mahilâraṭṭha,**[57] whose location is undetermined.

The omission of the **Chôḷa** coast, intervening between Drâviḍa and Pâṇḍya, in these early legends, is remarkable, seeing the prominent place which the Chôḷas occupy in the succeeding history of Ceylon. In the list of kingdoms in the *Râjâvalî*,[58] Chôḷa is placed amongst the non-Buddhist kingdoms of Jambudvîpa. There is a corresponding omission of the middle portion of the Western Coast, lying between the Koṅkaṇs and Malaya, and forming the northern section of the sacred land of Paraśu-Râma. With these two exceptions our legends have a more or less familiar acquaintance with the whole of the eastern and western coasts of the Dakhaṇ.

In the **interior** the upper basin of the Gôdâvarî, and some still larger portion of the north-western Dakhaṇ, was known by the general name of the **Dakkhiṇâpatha,**[59] and its people as the **Dakshiṇavatas**[60] [sic]. Farther south in the north-eastern districts of the Southern Dakhaṇ **"the region of the diamond fields"**[61] is to be located, presumably in the quadrangle containing the portion of the country from Cuddapah to the river Kṛishṇâ, and westwards from Cuddapah to Gooty, and from Gooty northwards to the Kṛishṇâ, and then down the left bank of that river to complete the boundary.[62] The **Drâviḍa country,** whose coast has already been mentioned, occupied the whole of the basin of the Pâlâr, or Kshîranadî, up to the foot or the crest of the Eastern Ghauts, and the northern watershed of the lower basin of the southern Pennâr river, or southern Pinâkinî, down to the northern boundary of the original Chôḷa country.[63]

Several **political states** are mentioned as existing in the Dakhaṇ at this time. On the northern shores of the Narmadâ, in the traveller's track from the Koṅkaṇ to the Ganges, lay the kingdom of the **Nâgarâja,**[64] visited by Buddha on his return journey from the home of his disciple Punna to Śrâvastî, and which subsequently formed part of the Yôn country[65] of Græco-Bactrian times. Upon the two banks of the estuary of that river, and to the westwards of the Gulf of Cambay, we are now to look for the kingdom of **Lâḷa,**[66] celebrated in the Vijayan legends, and forming in Buddha's time an outlying dependency of the kingdom of Vaṅga.[67] Mention is also made of the kingdom of **Avantî**[68] and of **Ujjain,**[69] closely bordering on the northern watershed of the Narmadâ, if not also partly included in its southern watershed, and doubtless exercising much important influence upon its civilization.

Further south, in the upper basin of the Gôdâvarî, were the two conterminous kingdoms of **Assaka** and **Mûlaka,**[70] which are also mentioned in the cave and other inscriptions of a later age,[71] the latter of them being perhaps the Pauranic **Maulika:** and upon both banks of the delta of this river, extending considerably inland, lay the long lived kingdom of **Kaliṅga,**[72] which was apparently the territory of that "king of Southern India" whose daughter is the heroine of one of the Chinese legends of Vijaya.[73] Inland again, very probably along the northern banks of the lower Kṛishṇâ and extending upwards into the country through Bidar into the basin of one of the affluents of the Gôdâvarî which still retains the name of 'Manjera' upon our maps, we may look for the position of the Nâga kingdom of **Manjerika** or **Manjarika,**[74] whose king had seen Buddha. In the Southern Dakhaṇ the

51 *Indian Forester*, IX. 355, 356: *ante*, XIII. 38.
52 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 68: *Lal. vist.* 183; *Si-yu-ki*, II. 228.
53 *Turn.* 51ff. 54 *Dâṭh.* 62: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 232.
55 *Turn.* 46.
56 *Turn.* 4, 46: *Man. Bud.* 208: *ante*, XIII. 35.
57 *ante*, XIII. 35. 58 *Uph.* II. 147.
59 *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184; XVII. 15, 300; XX. 394, 395. 60 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 68: *Lal. vist.* 183.
61 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 287.
62 These are the limits of the Golconda region, which I conclude to be meant here. The Bundêlkhand mines are not in the Dakhaṇ: and the lesser fields could hardly come under the designation of the legend.
63 *Salem Manual*, ch. i.
64 *Uph.* I. 7; II. 21, 22; III. 113: *Man. Bud.* 209.
65 *Man. Bud.* 210. 66 See note 46, p. 3, above.
67 *Turn.* 44, 45: *ante*, XIII. 37.
68 *Turn.* 76; *ante*, II. 363; VII. 259: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275: *Sacr. Bks.* XVII. 15; XX. 394, 395.
69 See *Dhât.* 61: *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.* I. 130, 133.
70 *Man. Bud.* 334: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184.
71 *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.* I. 133: *Early Hist. of the Dakhaṇ*, 14
72 See note 45, p. 3, above. 73 *Si-yu-ki*, II. 236.
74 *Turn.* 27, 135: *Uph.* I. 60, 137: *Monach.* 27: *Man. Bud.* 172.

only organised State mentioned in our earlier legends, is the kingdom of **Pâṇḍya,**[75] which comprised the area of the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevelly. In the neighbouring island of Ceylon we find the three **Nâga kingdoms** and two **Yaksha kingdoms** in Buddha's earlier years, and the Nâga kingdom of its off-lying island of Mani.[76] Later legends, current in the seventh century A.D., describe personal visits of Buddha to **Udra,**[77] **Southern Kôsala,**[78] **Mahârâshṭra,**[79] **Ândhra,**[80] and old **Kaliṅga,**[81] in the Northern Dakhaṇ, together with **Mâlava,**[82] and **Bharukachchha,**[83] and in the Southern Dakhaṇ to the kingdom of **Dhanakaṭaka,**[84] presuming this kingdom to lie south of the Kṛishṇâ, **Chuliya,**[85] **Drâviḍa,**[86] with its ancient sacred capital **Kâñchîpuram,**[87] the native-place of the Bôdhisattva-Dharmapâla,[88] **Malakûṭa,**[89] and the still unidentified city and presumable capital of **Koṅkaṇapura:**[90] but some of these names belong to later times, whatever older names of Buddha's days they may have replaced. The silence of these legends regarding the remaining old kingdoms of the interior may fairly be attributed to the absence of occasion to mention them. Doubtless a similar condition of affairs existed in them as in these recorded nations, seeing that all the unmentioned States bordered upon some one or other of them.

The **cities, towns,** and **villages** of the Dakhaṇ mentioned in these legends are **Sinhapura,**[91] Sîhapura, Sinhanuvara, or Sinhabapuranuvara, in the Lâḷa country, **Sâgalanuvera,**[92] **Bharukachchha**[93] (the modern Broach), **Ujjêni** or **Ujjâni,**[94] **Aḷaka,**[95] **Pratishṭhâna,**[96] **Oudyani,**[97] the villages of **Gaṅganadî**[98] and **'Monkey-food,'**[99] the town or city of **Supâra,** Suppâra, or Suppâraka,[100] the village of **Muloohooloomandrama** or Mâhulunam or Maluarâma[101] in the country of Sunâparanta, the cities of **Assaka** and **Mûlaka,**[102] **Mahissatî,**[103] **Dantapura,**[104] **Kumbâvatî,**[105] and the port of **Adzeitta** or Eedzeitha,[106] in Kaliṅga, **Kâñchîpura**[107] in Drâviḍa, **Koṅkaṇapura** mentioned above, and the **Southern Madhura**[103] surviving under the same name to the present day.

These legends contain indications of several **sea-routes** traversed by the mercantile navy of Buddha's days in the Dakhaṇ:—

(1). The port of **Bharukachchha,** mentioned above, was the point of embarkation of a sea-route southwards in still earlier times,[109] and continued to be so down to a much later period when this name appears again in the inscriptions of the cave temples of **Nâsik** and Junnar.[110]

(2). In that neighbourhood we are also to look for the city of **Sinhapura,** mentioned above, at or near which was the place of departure[111] of the ship which carried Vijaya and his retinue to Ceylon, and of the two ships which carried their wives and children to other destinations; from which also,[112] or from the city of **Sâgala** or **Saugalnuwara** by another tradition,[113] Vijaya's nephew started to take possession of his uncle's vacant throne. Some light is thrown upon the direction of this route by the circumstance that both Vijaya's ship and his nephew's approached Ceylon from the southwards;[114] and this could hardly have been done if, as was supposed by the earlier investigators of the Vijayan legends,[115] the voyage

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75 See note 53, page 4 above.

76 *Uph.* I. 5; II. 19, 22, 170; III. 63, 65, 92, 127; *Turn.* 3, 4, 5, 7, 46, 47, 49, 51; E. *Monach.* 227: *Man. Bud.* 208, 209, 210; *Fa-Hian*, 149, 150: *ante*, XIII. 46: *Si-yu-ki*, 241, 243, 248: *Rock.* 59.

77 *Si-yu-ki*, II. 204. 78 *Ibid.* 209.

79 *Ibid.* 257. 80 *Ibid.* 218. 81 *Ibid.* 207.

82 *Ibid.* 260. 83 *Ibid* 259. 84 *Ibid.* 221.

85 *Ibid.* 227. 86 *Ibid.* 229, 230, 253. 87 *Ibid.* 228.

88 *Ibid.* 229. 89 *Ibid.* 232. 90 *Ibid.* 253.

91 *Uph.* I. 69, 71; II. 27, 146, 167; *Turn.* 46, 54; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* VII. 932; *ante*, XIII. 34, 36, 38. See also *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.* I. 15, 81.

92 *Uph.* II. 176; *E. Monach.* 7, 15, 160, 293, 294, 295. See also *Man. Bud.* 210, 513.

93 See note 83 above: *Man. Bud.* 13: *ante*, XIII. 35.

94 *Turn.* 23, 76: *Man. Bud.* 334: *Dâṭh.*, 61: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 188.

95 *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184, 188. See *Man. Bud.* 334.

96 *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 188.

97 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 276. 98 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 39.

99 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275.

100 *Turn.* 46: *ante*, XIII. 325: *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 244, where Soulupolo = Sûrupâra, Śûrpâra (Sanskrit), Suppâra (Prâkrit). See *ante*, I. 321; IV. 282; VII. 259; IX. 44; XI. 236, 247, 293, 294; XII. 272; XIII. 35, 325: *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th Edit. XVII. 728 (art. 'Odoric'): *Early Hist. Dakh.* 9, 32, 34: *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* XV. 275, 291, 326, 328: *Cave Temples*, 349: *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.* No. 10, p. 31, 32, 60; II. 40, 131; V. 64, 78, 82. See also page 6 below.

101 *Uph.* II. 7; II. 21: *Man. Bud.* 21.

102 See note 70, p. 4 above. 103 *Man. Bud.* 334.

104 *Uph.* II. 146: *E. Mon.* 225: *Dâṭh.* 38. See *Bhilsa Topes*, 30; and *Turn.* Index, p. 11.

105 *Man. Bud.* 56. 106 *Bigandet*, 101.

107 See above. 108 *Turn.* 51. 109 *Man. Bud.* 13.

110 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* VII.: *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.* No. 10, p. 49: *Early Hist. Dakh.* 18, 34.

111 *Uph.* I. 69; II. 27, 28, 168: *Turn.* 46, 47.: *ante*, XIII. 35. 112 *Uph.* II. 28, 176: *Turn.* 54; *ante*, XIII. 36.

113 *Uph.* II. 176. 114 See *Uph.* II. 168, 176.

115 See Laidlay's *Fa-Hian*, 340, note: *Turn.* Introd. xliii; Index, 14, 23: Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.* 517, 518, 557: *Uph.* II. 167, note: Tennant, *Ceylon*, I. 330: *ante*, XII. 65: *Lal. vist.* 10.

was made down the Bay of Bengal from some point on the Ganges and intermediately from a port in Kaliṅga. The clue to the true direction of this route was included in Dr. Burgess' discovery[116] that the port of **Supâra** at which Vijaya touched on his way to Ceylon,[117] was situated on the western coast of the Dakhaṇ.

(3) This port of **Supâra** or Suppâraka, according to that identification, lay near the modern Bassein. It is mentioned in the legends of Punna,[118] and in the earlier legend of the Suppâraka Bôdhisat.[119] It was also the starting point of the voyage of Punna's brother to the region of the red-sanders.[120]

No other port on the western coast south of Suppâraka is mentioned in any of these legends.

(4) From some unnamed port in the southernmost section of the **eastern coast**, probably in the neighbourhood of Tuticorin, ships sailed to the opposite coast of Ceylon. By this route Vijaya's Pâṇḍyan bride and her retinue were conveyed to their new home; his ambassadors having already come by it from Ceylon to the Pâṇḍyan coast.[121]

(5) Higher up in the northern section of the eastern coast, apparently in Kaliṅga, lay the port of **Adzeitta** mentioned in the Burmese legends[122] as the terminus of a sea-route across the Bay of Bengal,[123] at which the merchant brothers Tapoosa and Palekat landed their goods on their way to Suvama in Magadha.

(6) Underlying some of the Vijayan traditions there is a consciousness of a coasting route along the **eastern coast** from the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon, having intermediate points of communication in the Kaliṅga country, and probably in the delta of the Kṛishṇâ. A landing-place lower down this coast, somewhere near the mouth of the Northern Pennâr, is implied in the legend of the cargo of red-sanders,[124] and its counterpart-legend of the Bôḍhisat of Suppâraka.[125] Along this route apparently, according to the Chinese version of the tradition, the open boat in which the parricide son of the lion was exposed, drifted from his "mother's country of Southern India" to Ceylon.[126]

(7) According to the *Janaka-jâtaka*, a sea-route for large ships existed in pre-Buddhist times and presumably continued through Buddha's life-time, which started from the Ganges and terminated at a place called **'Caumavatoura,'**[127] [Kâmavaturai]. In the termination *'turai'* of this name, I recognize a Tamil word meaning 'sea-port,' 'harbour,' 'roadstead:' and I would therefore place this port of call somewhere on the sea-coast of the Tamil country: and if a reference to the amorous reputation of the Pallava kings is to be detected in the adjectival 'Kâmava,'[128] a still closer location may be found for it on the Pallava section of the Tamil Coast between the mouths of the Northern and Southern Pennâr rivers.

(8) The voyage of the merchants of Śrâvastî in the Tibetan legend of the Siṅghalese princess Ratnâvalî,[129] who were driven down the Bay of Bengal by contrary winds, ran in the main in the track of Fa-Hian's voyage from the Ganges to Ceylon in the fifth century A.D.[130] Their subsequent voyage to Ceylon and back is described in terms which imply that their course was the ordinary mariners' route. A similar voyage[131] by this route from **Môrapur** or **Kimbulawat-pura** on the Ganges to Ceylon was made in the generation which succeeded Buddha's *nirvâṇa* by the consort of Vijaya's nephew and her companions, and shortly afterwards by her six brothers:[132] and here we have the additional information that the voyage occupied twelve days.[133]

(9) In one of the Chinese legends of the lion-prince Siṁhala[134] the boat in which the daughter of the lion was cast away, was driven by the winds westwards into the **Persian gulf**, where she landed and founded a colony in **'the Country of the Western Women.'** The tradition embodied in the *Dîpavaṁśa* version of this legend[135] makes her land on an island which was afterwards called **'the Kingdom of Women.'** Underneath the legendary matter we may here trace the existence of a sea-route between India and the Persian coasts in the days of Buddha,

[116] See *ante*, IV. 282 and note.
[117] *Turn.* 46.
[118] See p. 3 above.
[119] *Man. Bud.* 18.
[120] *Uph.* III. 112: *Man. Bud.* 57.
[121] *Turn.* 51. See *Uph.* II. 240.
[122] See page 5 above.
[123] *Bigandet*, 101; *Man. Bud.* 182.
[124] See page 3 above.
[125] *Man. Bud.* 18.
[126] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 239. See note 78, page 4 above.

[127] *Bigandet*, 415.
[128] One of the Pallava districts bore the name of Kâmakottam. Winslow, *Tamil Dict.*, *sub. voc.*
[129] *Rock.* 59.
[130] *Fa-Hian*, 149.
[131] *Uph.* I. 71; II. 177. *Turn.* 55.
[132] *Uph.* I. 72; II. 177.
[133] *Turn.* 55.
[134] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240.
[135] *ante*, XIII. 35.

(10) There are finally some general indications of a route across the **Arabian Sea** westward from Ceylon to two distant islands called **'The Solitary Island,'** and **'Mahâratnadvîpa,'**[136] which may possibly be Madagascar and Socotra; and of another vaguely described route southwards to the island of **Narakîra.**[137]

The descriptions of these voyages imply that the **vessels** employed in them were ships of large size; for, whatever the multiple of the legendary exaggeration may be, these ships are said to have carried a large number of passengers. The ship in which Vijaya was cast adrift carried seven hundred of his followers;[138] and each of the two ships in which their wives and children were exposed,[139] held a similar number. The ship in which Siṁhala sailed from some unknown port of Jambudvîpa to Ceylon contained five hundred[140] other merchants besides himself. The ship in which Vijaya's Pâṇḍyan bride was brought over to Ceylon, accommodated eighteen officers of state, seventy five menial servants, and a number of slaves, in addition to the princess herself and the seven hundred[141] other virgins who accompanied her. The wrecked ship of the *Janaka-jâtaka* had a crew and other passengers of the favourite number of seven hundred,[142] in addition to Buddha himself in an earlier incarnation. So also the ship in which Buddha in the Suppâraka-Bôdhisat incarnation made his mercantile voyage from Broach to 'the sea of the seven gems,' held seven hundred[143] other merchants besides himself. There were five hundred[144] merchants in the wrecked ship of the Cloud-horse-*jâtaka*; and the same number[145] were in the ship of the Kesi version of that legend. Punna's brother was accompanied by three hundred[146] fellow-merchants in his voyage to the region of the red-sanders: and there was still room left in their ship for the large cargo of that timber which they carried home. The ship in which the Burmese merchant-brothers crossed the Bay of Bengal, conveyed five hundred cart-loads[147] of their own goods, whatever other cargo there may have been in it. Smaller vessels are not mentioned; nor, with one exception, are boats: the parricide lion-slayer and his sister, in the Chinese version of the legend, were cast adrift in large open boats.[148]

The expressions, being "pushed by contrary winds,"[149] "driven over the sea,"[150] "driven by the winds,"[151] overtaken by a storm and carried along,"[152] together with the more direct allusions to sails,[153] and sailing,[154] show that these vessels were **sailing ships.** Some of the voyages alluded to may have been made from port to port along the coast: but the rest were clearly made on long stretches of the ocean, needing and therefore implying the existence of some considerable amount of scientific nautical skill. That these seamen were usually dependant on favourable winds is implied in the circumstance of their failure to make their intended destinations when thwarted by contrary winds: and in crossing the open sea, they evidently took advantage of the prevailing periodical winds.[155] The **crews** of these ships are but seldom referred to directly: but they appear to have been well organized.[156]

The **merchandise** with which these ships were freighted is not often mentioned. In the Suppâraka-Bôdhisat's voyage, the merchants took up whatever "treasures were presented"[157] along their route. The red-sanders timber which one of them brought home, was quite an accidental cargo in that instance, though it was evidently not an unknown one; for the high value of this wood, as well as that of the true sandal, is several times referred to.[158] The precious stones, and especially the pearls of Ceylon[159] are frequently mentioned: but they were only valuable super-additions to the general cargo, though the chief object of some of the voyages was to obtain them.[160] Some of these ships carried rice from the Dakhaṇ to Ceylon; as is implied in the legend of Kuvêṇi entertaining Vijaya

[136] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 252, 253.
[137] *Ibid.* 252.
[138] *Uph.* II. 28, 168: *Turn.* 46, 47: *ante*, XIII. 35.
[139] *Turn.* 46.
[140] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 241.
[141] *Turn.* 51.
[142] *Bigandet*, 415.
[143] *Man. Bud.* 13.
[144] *ante*, XIII. 46.
[145] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332.
[146] *Man. Bud.* 57, 260.
[147] *Bigandet*, 101.
[148] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 239.
[149] *Rock.* 59.
[150] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 239, 240.
[151] *Si-yu-ki*, 243.
[152] *Man. Bud.* 57: *ante*, XIII. 35.
[153] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332.
[154] *Man. Bud.* 13.
[155] See *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 337.
[156] *Man. Bud.* 57: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332.
[157] *Man. Bud.* 13.
[158] *Uph.* I. 7; II. 21; III. 71: *Man. Bud.* 57, 260: *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 23; XX. 78; XXI. 378.
[159] *Uph.* II. 175: *Turn.* 4, 53: *Dîpk.* 38: *Fa-Hian*, 149: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 276, 287, 332, 338: *Rock.*, 60: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 239, 241, 243, 246, 248.
[160] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332, 336: *ante*, XIII. 36: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 239, 241.

and his followers upon the rice which she had obtained from ships[161] wrecked on the island. One of these voyages was made to exchange home-produced articles for foreign goods:[162] and many of the products incidentally mentioned throughout these legends were well suited for that purpose; namely, rice and paddy,[163] sandal-wood,[164] red-sanders,[165] incense,[166] perfumery,[167] medicines,[168] chank-shells,[169] gold,[170] iron,[171] and various articles made of these metals, cotton-stuffs,[172] linen goods,[173] curtains,[174] and other similar articles of commercial value.

(To be continued.)

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

(Continued from Vol. XV. p. 328.)

IX.

The Wild Huntsman of Northern Europe and his possible Asiatic Origin.

General Cunningham, in the Preface, page vii., of his *Bhilsa Topes*, 1854, expressed an opinion that the Welsh word *Buddwâs* and the Saxon name *Woden*, are "but slightly altered forms of the word Buddha. The fourth day of the week, Wednesday or *Woden's-day* was named *Dies Mercurii* by the Romans, and is still called *Buddhwâr* by the Hindus. *Maia* was the mother of the Greek Hermeias or Hermes, and *Mâyâ* was the mother of the Indian Buddha. The connection between Hermes, Buddwâs, Woden, and Buddha is evident; although it may be difficult, and perhaps nearly impossible to make it apparent to the general reader."[1]

About 25 years ago, M. Holmhöe[2] endeavoured to prove that the Scandinavian god **Odin**, if not **Buddha** himself, was one of his disciples. M. Holmhöe was of opinion that the missions of the **Buddhists** did not stop in Transoxiana and Upper Asia, but that they pushed on still further through Persia towards the Caucasus and from thence to the homes of the ancestors of the present **Scandinavians**, when they were still in the countries East and North of the Russia of the present day. Relations being established with them it is easy to conceive that they were continued, and that Buddhist doctors of religion afterwards visited Scandinavia, and it is also not impossible that the most illustrious of these missionaries were called, if not 'Buddha,' at least by some epithet derived from the same Sanskṛit root *budh*, 'to know, to understand,'—as for example *bôdhin*, 'making known, teaching, revealing, or *bôdhat*, *bôdhant*, the present participle of the verb;—and that from this appellation the Scandinavians may have formed *Odin* and the Germans *Woden*. The hypothesis, which thus seeks to identify Odin with Buddha or with some of the missionaries of the Buddhist faith, is at least a plausible one, if we accept the conjecture that in Hindustân the name for Wednesday, or Woden's day, has in any way the meaning of Buddha's day. In Scandinavia it is *Onsday*, a contraction for Odin's day.

As one help towards giving **Odin** an **Indian origin**, I would remark that his special symbol was the *triskele* or three-armed Sun-snake, figured *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 66, on Plate I. fig. 12; while the *svastika*, the emblem of fire and lightning, was the symbol of Thor.

It is true that in the Northern lands, **Odin** is represented as a **warrior**, but the sword has often accompanied religion. Odin may have

161 *Turn.* 49.

162 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332.

163 *Turn.* 44, 49: *ante*, XIII. 46: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 337.

164 *Uph.* II. 21; III. 112, 113: *Man. Bud.* 209: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 68: *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 244; XX. 78; XXI. 50, 116 &c.: *Rock.* 933: *Lal. vist.* 274, 284.

165 *Man. Bud.* 56: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 68: *Sacr. Bks.* XXI. 322.

166 *Turn.* 44, 49: *ante*, XIII. 46: *Dâth.* 98.

167 *Dath.* 39, 76: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240, 241.

168 *Rock.* 93.

169 *Turn.* 44, 53: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 238.

170 *Turn.* 3, 7, 44, 51: *Man. Bud.* 209: *Dâth.*, 38, 77: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275: *ante*, XIII. 37: *Rock.* 92.

171 *Uph.* II. 173, 175; *Turn.* 48: *Man. Bud.* 208: *Fa-Hian*, 149: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 333, 334, 335, 338: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 238, 240, 241, 243, 246, 248.

172 *Tib. Gram.* 164: *ante*, XIII. 333: *Rock.* 59.

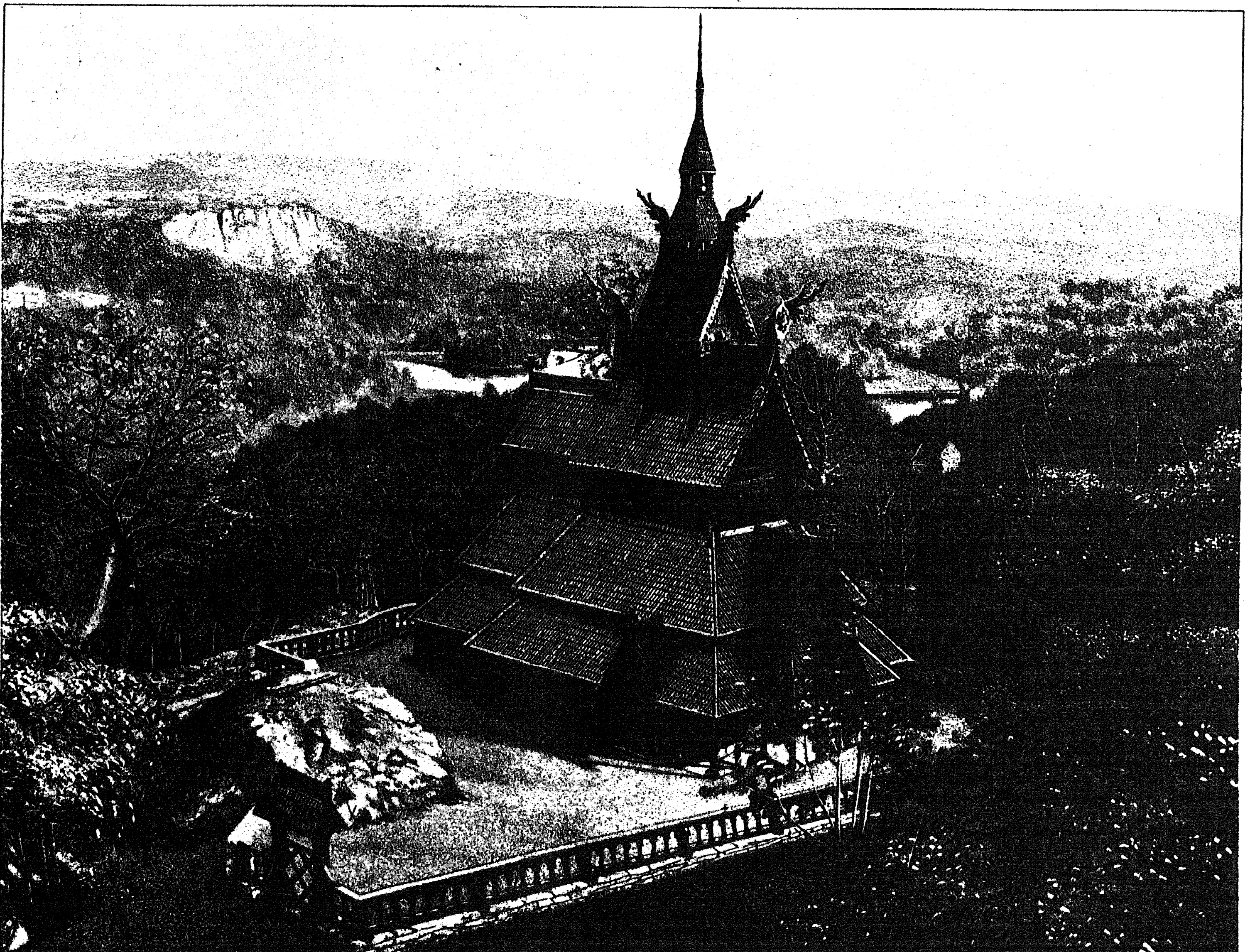
173 *As. Res.* XX. 85, 317: *Turn.* 48, 49, 50.

174 *Turn.* 49.

1 [This is all based on a false etymology. Budha, *not* Buddha, is the Sanskṛit for Mercury or Hermes. The meaning of Budha is 'wise, prudent,' and that of Buddha is 'perfectly enlightened.' Budhwâr, *not* Buddhwâr, is Wednesday or Mercury's day to the Hindus, and it means Mercury's day and never Buddha's day to them. If there be anything to connect Wednesday and Budhwâr etymologically, such derivation would connect Woden with Budha (Mercury), and *not* with Buddha.—This and other portions of *Bhilsa Topes* would probably be extensively recast if another edition were to be brought out.—ED.]

2 *Buddhisme en Norvège.*

Plate 19.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

CHURCH AT BORGUND, NORWAY.

reminds us of the mythological Midguard's serpent, or the serpent encircling the central world, the implacable enemy of the gods."[13]

As to **Odin,** in his capacity of the **Wild Huntsman,** the following is worthy of consideration. On landing at Christiania in the summer of 1883, I remarked the extraordinary resemblance of the horses in the ordinary street carriages of that place to a certain breed of horses in Central Asia, called Yârkandîs, from their home in Yârkand. I am well acquainted with the type, having possessed and ridden many of them in the Northern portion of the Himâlayas, and am, therefore, not likely to have been mistaken in seeing the likeness. The **Norwegian horses** have the same general form, the same head and neck, the same dark line down the spine, and the Zebra-like markings on the legs peculiar to the Yârkandîs, which facts appear to prove that they, like the **Yârkandîs,** are of an unmixed race, and still retain their aboriginal characteristics. When remarking to a Norwegian acquaintance on their wonderful similarity to the animal of Central Asia, he replied—"The people in my part of Norway say that **Odin** brought these horses from the **Himâlayas."** The courteous Director of the Museum at Bergen observed when told of this, that it was well known from certain records that the horse was introduced into Norway about 2,000 years ago, or about the time when **Odin** is fabled to have arrived on the scene, but he did not credit the tradition that this hero brought them, or even ever existed. As to the introduction of the horse into Scandinavia, Dr. Blomberg, of the Historical Museum in Stockholm, is of opinion that the horse was known in Sweden during the **Later Stone Age:** but, when this period began, or when it ended, or when the Bronze Age (which succeeded it) commenced, no one has yet been able to determine; though some seem to think it probable that the Iron Age in Scandinavia dates from shortly before the Christian era. But, as regards those northern lands, we must keep in mind that their inhabitants were pagans down to the XIth century; and we may therefore perhaps put the commencement of the Iron Age at a later period than that given above.

No. X.

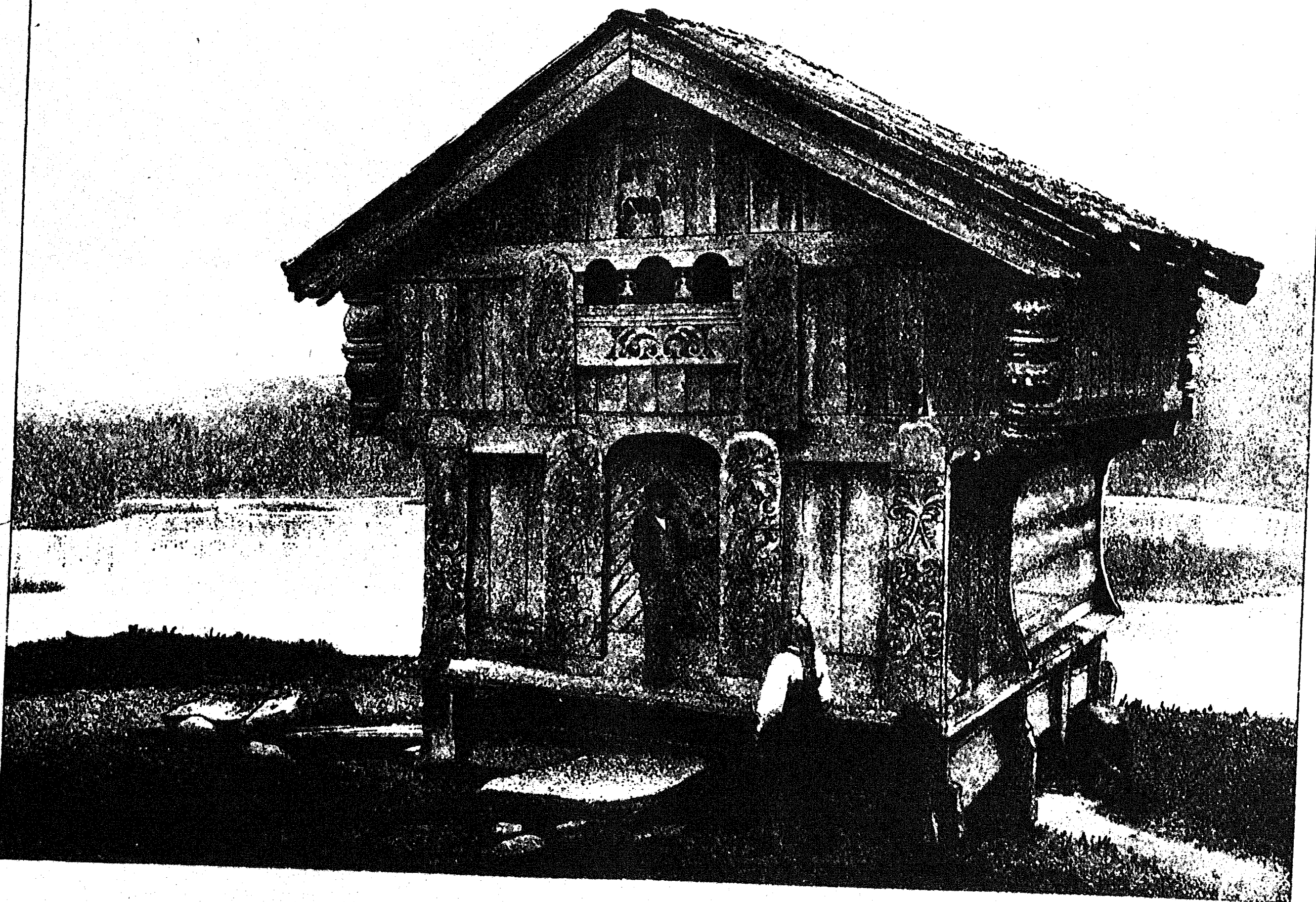
Architectural and Other Customs.

In all, or nearly all, the houses in the more elevated Himâlayan villages the **cow-stall** forms the ground-floor of the house, and the same style of building prevails amongst those who inhabit high or mountainous districts in Europe. All the houses in the Engadine Valley are built in this manner, partly for the purpose of raising the sleeping and living rooms above the ground level and partly because the ascending breath of the animals gives some additional warmth to the rooms over them. Flights of steps, which are not unfrequently roofed over, on either side of the door of the cow-stall lead to the apartments of the family above, the inconvenience of passing through the stall being thus avoided.

The Norwegian peasant's **store-house** figured in Plate XXI., might stand for an almost exact reproduction of many of the superior native houses in Śrînagar in Kaśmîr, and of those in the Lâhaul Valley in the Himâlayas. The drawing in question is taken from one of the best specimens of such store-houses still remaining in Norway. Had I been shown the drawing without being told whence it came, I should have unhesitatingly referred it to Śrînagar. The windows, or rather the shutters,—for there is no glass in them,—open precisely as in Kaśmîr, and the general construction is the same. The likeness extends even to the man and horse sculptured on the front gable, and all the ornamentation of the rest of the building is similar in character. Both in Norway and in the Himâlayas it would seem that, in order to form the walls of such structures, logs of wood are placed horizontally one above the other and dove-tailed in at the four corners, no nails being employed, and the interstices between the logs being filled in with dry moss. The roofs of the better class of houses in Kaśmîr and also in Norway, as will be seen from the drawing, consist merely of planks of wood; but the smaller and poorer houses, especially those in mountainous districts, such as the Lâhaul Valley and the higher parts of Norway, are not so carefully finished as in the plate, a roofing of sods being substituted for the planks. It may be that, as wood is scarcer in such places than

[13] The art in this example is very rude.

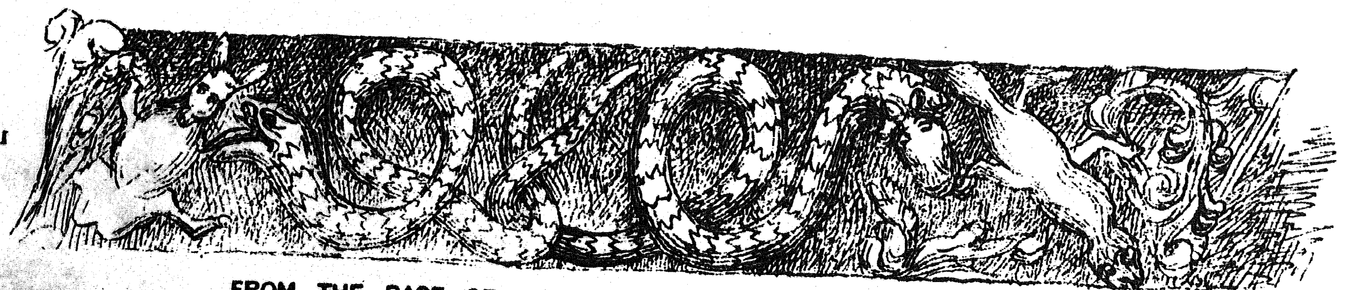
Plate 2



PEASANT'S STORE-HOUSE AT BREDLAND THELMARKEN, NORWAY.

SCULPTURES FROM THE CLOISTERS OF TARRAGONA CATHEDRAL.

1



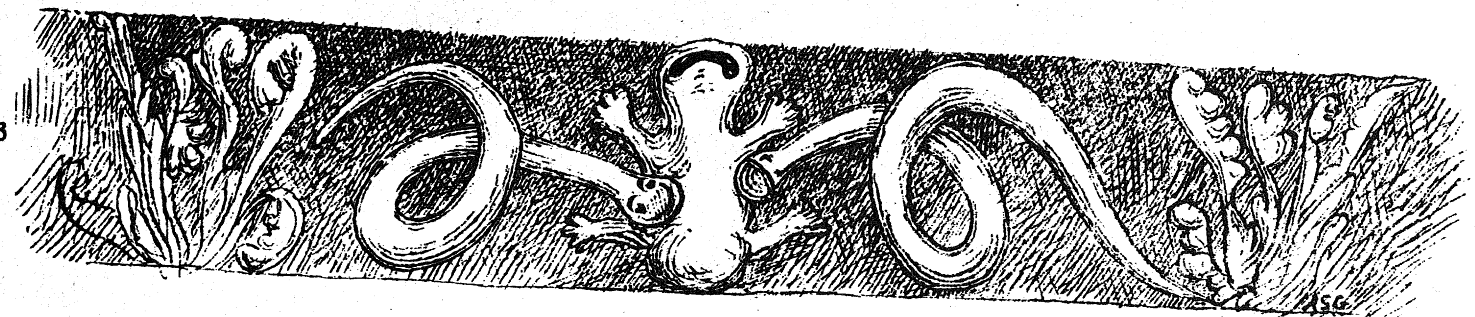
FROM THE BASE OF A PILLAR IN THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER,

2



FROM THE CAPITAL OF A COLUMN.

3



FROM THE CAPITAL OF A COLUMN.

Plate 22.

in the lower valleys, less is used, the deficiency being supplied by a thick layer of sods, which in time bears a luxuriant crop of wild flowers during the summer, and not unfrequently several young trees also.

So much for **secular architecture**; let us now turn our attention for a while to **sacred buildings**. We find the same type of religious structure existing all over the Himâlayas, in Nêpâl, in Kullû, and in Kaśmîr; a type which, strangely enough, corresponds with the old wooden church architecture of Norway. The **Nêpâlî temple** at Benares, figured in Plate XX., will be sufficient to show the general form and construction of these buildings.

This **temple** overlooks the Ganges, and was erected in honour of Śiva by a Mahârâjâ of Nêpâl about two hundred years ago. It is a large square wooden building, elevated on a platform about four feet in height. A small flight of steps forms the approach to the principal entrance, on either side of which is a lion carved in stone. On the right, between the steps and the lion is a stone bust of Śiva in *alto-relievo*. The hair is arranged below the ears in a double row of curls, standing out like the rays of the sun, and round the neck are coiled most life-like snakes. The temple has four doors, with a window on either side of each. These doors, as well as the shutters of the windows, are richly carved, and over each is a segment of a pointed arch, surmounted by the well known *chhatrî*, or umbrella of royalty. Sloping eaves, about six feet wide and roofed with small tiles, project all round the lower story, supported by wooden brackets. Above rises a square upper story of smaller dimensions, furnished with similarly sloping eaves, along the outer edge of which are small bells hung in a row at short distances from each other, so as to tinkle at the slightest breath of wind. Above this again is a kind of kiosk, having a high pinnacled roof and smaller kiosks of the same form occupying the four corners of its platform. A large bell is suspended from an iron rod at the summit of the whole. A *triśûl* or trident, one of the emblems of Śiva, is attached to this kiosk. This trident and the roofs of all the kiosks are gilt. The building, represented in the plate as adjoining the temple, is a *dharmśâlâ*, or house of rest, where pilgrims of good caste receive board and lodging gratis for a certain fixed period. It was erected by the Mahârâjâ who built the temple.

I would it were possible to give drawings of other examples of the same style of architecture, such as the **temple** at Manâlî in the Kullû Valley, situated in the midst of a forest of *debdârs*, or of one of the **mosques** in Śrînagar in Kaśmîr, which are, of course, Muhammadan structures; but it must suffice to say, from personal knowledge, that the type is the same as that of the temple just described.

Let us now turn to Plate XIX., which is a representation of the **wooden church** at **Borgund** in the Laerdal, one of the oldest in **Norway**.[14] The drawing is taken from the north side, with the west door and the apse shown in *profile*.

Taken by themselves the details of the exterior of this Norwegian wooden church, which was built in the XIth Century, *i.e.* soon after the introduction of Christianity into **Norway**, would make the student look upon it as most singular that any race of people, inhabiting almost the extreme north of Europe, should have built thus; but, if the hypothesis be admitted that the remote ancestors of the builders came from **Asia**, it becomes very easy to imagine that in constructing the church they adopted forms which had been preserved amongst them by tradition. How can we otherwise account for the circumstance that, though living in such a high latitude, their chief object seems to have been to try and exclude both sun and light, by making a deep verandah all round the exterior after the fashion of European and native builders in India?

The building is placed upon slabs of stone having a uniform height of about eight inches, on which the wooden uprights and cross pieces rest: a fact to which it owes its preservation. Starting from the base of the exterior, a row of sloping eaves forms the roof of a verandah,

[14] Several persons, unacquainted with India, on being shown the drawing of the Norwegian church, and asked to what country it belonged, at once exclaimed that it resembled a Chinese pagoda, a form familiar to them on objects coming from that country. [Compare Fergusson, *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 270ff. on the Drâvidian Temples at Mudbidri in Kanara and p. 298ff. on those in the Himâlayas. Compare especially his figs. 150, 154, 172, 173.—ED.]

which encircles the basement; a second protects the walls of the lower half of the church; a third forms the roof of the nave; a fourth the roof of the belfry; a fifth and a sixth seem also to have been used for the sake of giving symmetry to the whole. The quaint objects on the gables of the third and fourth roofs are dragons' heads with projecting tongues; an ornament that forcibly recalls that on **Oriental** and **Chinese** buildings.[15]

The following description of a **temple** by Tavernier, which existed in his day at **Benares**, but was afterwards destroyed by Aurangzeb, is worth transcribing here.[16] He says[17]—"The Pagoda at Banarus[18] is the most famous in all India after that of Jagannâth. They may be called almost equal, and are both situated near the banks of the river Ganges in the respective cities whence they derive their names.[19] From the door of the Pagoda at Banarus one descends by steps down to the river, on which are at intervals small platforms with very dark little rooms, in some of which the Brâhmaṇs live. Others they use as kitchens in which to prepare their food; because these idolaters after having washed themselves, said their prayers, and made their offerings in the Pagoda, prepare their food themselves, fearing lest another not in a condition of ceremonial purity should touch it. But above all they drink with much devotion of the water of the Ganges, imagining that by so doing they will be freed from all stain of sin. To return to the Pagoda, which is built *in the form of a cross, as are all the other temples.* In the centre of the exterior rises an immensely high cupola, constructed somewhat like a high tower, which has many sides to it, and terminates in a point. At each of the four ends of the cross is a small tower into which one can ascend from the exterior. Before reaching the top, there are several balconies and niches, which give exit into the open air, and around are sculptured figures consisting of every kind of mis-shapen animal. In the interior of the building immediately beneath the large cupola is an altar seven or eight feet long, and six feet in width, which has two small flights of steps serving as *predellas* (seats for the priests), and covered with a beautiful carpet, which is sometimes of gold stuff and sometimes of silk, according to the solemnity of the day or festival.

"The altars (of the Hindus generally) are covered with gold or silver brocade, or with some lovely painted material. The altar in this Pagoda is so arranged that it, and the idols which are upon it, can be seen from without the entrance door; because neither women nor young girls are permitted to enter nor (even) the men of *one* of their tribes (castes?), but have to pay their devotions outside. Amongst the idols, which stand on the altar there is one which is five or six feet high; its body, arms, and legs are not visible, but only the head and neck, all the rest being covered with a robe which trails down to the ground. Sometimes this idol wears a rich gold chain round its throat, or an ornament of rubies or pearls or emeralds. The idol was made in remembrance and in the likeness of Bainmada (? Balarâma), whom they consider to have been a very great personage;—a saint, whose name they are constantly invoking. On the left hand of the altar is a figure of an animal, or rather of some mythological creature, partly elephant, partly horse, and partly mule. It is of massive gold, and is called by them Guru, (Garuḍa?) which no one but a Brâhmaṇ is ever allowed to approach. Near the entrance to the Pagoda, between the great door and the high altar (above described) one sees a smaller altar on the left hand, upon which is an idol in black marble, seated with its legs crossed, and about two feet in height. When I entered, a boy was standing on the left hand of it, the son of the chief priest, who kept touching the idol with pieces of silk and embroidered cloths of the shape of handkerchiefs, which he afterwards returned to those who gave them to him for

[15] It is foreign to the scope of these papers to give a description of the interior, but it is well worth studying, and it is gratifying to be able to add that this most interesting monument has been purchased by an Archæological Society, who have restored it and intend to keep it carefully in repair. It is kept locked, but the key is to be had at a small farmhouse a short distance from the modern church now in use, and only a few yards distant from the old one.

[16] I do not possess Tavernier's work in the original, but I have an Italian translation of it published at Bologna in 1690. In the passage I am about to quote I have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the text, but the Italian is very old fashioned, and some of the expressions made use of are quaint and do not admit of a literal translation.

[17] *Viaggie nella Turchia, Persia e Indie*, Bk. IV. ch. 13, p. 596.

[18] This is Tavernier's spelling of this name.

[19] [This is, of course, not correct, the Jagannâth temple being situated at Pûri in Orissa.—Ed.]

this purpose. Some of the people also gave this lad chains made of beads, which looked like the stones of some fruit and had a very sweet odour[19] others what looked like rosaries made of coral and amber; and some chains of flowers. The idolaters wear these chains round their necks, or say their prayers over these beads. The idol on the small altar is called Morli Ram (Muralîdhar, *i.e.* Kṛishṇa) that is, the god Morli,[20] who they say is the brother of the one on the high altar."

In the above description the plan of the temple which "has the form of a cross, as have all the other Pagodas"; the **image**, of which only the head is visible, the rest of the body being enveloped in a rich robe; the **presentation of flowers**, strings of beads, or other objects to the image, that they may be sanctified by contact with it,—recall much that is familiar to us in modern European Christianity.

The same traveller speaks[21] of another fine building near this Pagoda,—a **College**,—built by the then Râjâ, in which some of his own sons, and other lads of good caste were receiving education at the hands of the resident Brâhmaṇs. On the left hand, at the entrance to the College, the Râjâ had erected a Pagoda, which was closed at the time of Tavernier's visit; but, as he much wished to see the interior, he made inquiries, and was told that, in order to do so, he must present himself at the door before sunrise on the following morning, which he accordingly did. On his arrival there he found an immense concourse of men, women, and children awaiting the opening of the door; and he must give his own account of what he witnessed on this occasion. "At the hour fixed eight Brâhmaṇs advanced, four on each side of the door of the Pagoda, each having a thurible in his hands. There were also many other Brâhmaṇs, who made a great noise with drums and other instruments. The two oldest amongst them sang one of their own hymns, the people joining in, all having in their hands a peacock's tail, or some other kind of fan, to chase away the flies, so that when the door of the Pagoda was opened the idol might not be incommoded by them. This driving away of the flies with music lasted half an hour, or until the two chief Brâhmaṇs made a very great noise with bells at three distinct intervals; after which they tapped the door with a mallet. On this being done, the door was immediately opened by six Brâhmaṇs who were within the Pagoda. In the interior, and about six or eight paces distant from the entrance, was an altar on which was a female idol, called by them Ram Kam,[22] who was the sister of Morli Ram. She had on her right hand a boy like a Cupid, called the god Lakemin (Lakshmaṇa), and on her left arm she carried an image of a female child, called the goddess Sita (Sîtâ).[23] The door of the temple being opened, and the curtain drawn back, the people, as soon as they saw the idol, all prostrated themselves three times with their faces to the ground, putting their hands above their heads; and when they stood up again they presented (as in the other Pagoda) bunches of flowers and strings of beads, in order that they might be made to touch the idol. In front of the altar stood an old Brâhmaṇ who held in his hands a lamp with nine lighted wicks, on which he, from time to time, dropped a species of incense, putting the lamp close to the idol."

This last point leads me to remark on the common use of **incense in religious worship** in India, amongst both Hindus and Jains. When staying on Mount Âbû in Râjpûtânâ, I watched at least 50 Jain pilgrims,—men, women and children,—performing a part of their devotions, after they had made their offerings in the innermost shrine of one of the Jain buildings there, whither, of course, I could not follow them. They all seated themselves in the *maṇṭapa*, or porch thereof, and were there censed by the attendant priest. The forms of the censer and its chains were precisely that which may be seen in any Roman Catholic Church.

Again, it will be seen from the following account, that the Qâlmâk (Calmuck) Tâtârs, who are Buddhists, also use **incense** in their

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[19] [? *rudrâkshas*.—ED.]

[20] [The translation of 'Morli Ram' by 'the god Morli' is very interesting, as showing that in Tavernier's time, as at the present day, the name Râma is employed frequently by Hindûs to mean 'god,' irrespective of the particular 'god' meant.—ED.]

[21] *op. cit.* p. 601.

[22] [This must be meant for Râmachandra, a male and not a female deity and mythologically a relative (*bhâî*, also 'brother'), of Muralîdhar or Kṛishṇa: perhaps his invariable representation as a young hairless boy misled Tavernier.—ED.]

[23] [This settles the identity of Ram Kam, with Râmachandra, as male deities are usually represented as having their wives, represented on a much smaller scale than themselves, seated on their thighs.—ED.]

worship. Their chief priest is styled the Kutuchta, and in former days was subject to the Dalai Lâma, but in course of time schisms arose, and he established himself on an equal footing with his superior. The Kutuchta never exposes himself to public gaze except on certain particular days, when with much pomp and ceremony he is carried in procession to a tent covered with velvet, where he sits cross-legged on a throne, with the Lâmas on cushions around him, and a figure on each side representing the divine essence. The whole assembly then prostrate themselves on the ground, and burst out into loud acclamations in praise of the Deity, and lofty eulogiums upon the Kutuchta. The Lâmas next throw odoriferous herbs into their censers, with which they perfume the figures, the pontiff and the whole congregation.

Cow-dung, as we all know, is a 'sacred' object in India, and, in very ancient days at least, it seems to have been so formerly in Europe; for Winckelmann, who wrote in the last century, mentions in his *History of Ancient Art*, that Pampbôs, one of the most ancient Greek poets, describes a statue of Zeus as being covered with cow-dung. The German *savant* imagined this to indicate that the presence of the divinity extends to all objects, even the most abject. No such error could be committed now, since India is so much better known than it was in his day, and all who have been in that country, are aware that cow-dung is commonly employed by the natives as a sacred purifier. Such a purification, for instance, would be necessary should a man, who possesses 'caste,' desire to drink out of a cup or glass which had been used by Europeans, or by one not of his own caste.

Passing from sacred to familiar personal customs I would notice that of the **'cradle-board'** system of nursing children. From discoveries made at various times in the graves, barrows and cysts of different prehistoric peoples, it has been gathered that the practice of nursing a child while carrying it about on a flat 'cradle-board' prevailed in Britain and the North of Europe, and it is considered very probable that the same custom was in use at one time over a great part of the world. It seems to me that the modern custom in Bavaria and in other parts of Germany, amongst the higher as well as the lower classes, of dressing their young infants very lightly,—usually with only one cotton garment, and placing it on its back on a large pillow which is folded over the body, leaving the head alone visible[23] is a survival of the ancient 'cradle-board.'

In the matter of **shoes,** too, there is much similarity sometimes between the East and the West. Mr. A. Mitchell in a most interesting work[24] says—"I once met a funeral procession in the Highlands (of Scotland), in which one of the men, who carried the coffin wore shoes made of the untanned hide of the ox, with the hair still on it. Such shoes are known as *rivilins*, and are described in books of costumes as the shoes of the ancient Britons. They are correctly so described, and have properly a place in collections of antiquities, and yet it happens that there are thousands of people in Scotland who wear this shoe at this hour. It is in most common use in Shetland, where thousands of pairs could, at this moment, be purchased, and likewise in the Hebrides. There is probably no older form of shoe known. It is nothing but a piece of untanned hide folded when fresh, or moistened, and placed up the sides of the foot and over the toes, and then stitched or closed at the heel and toes with a piece of twine or a thong of the hide, and then secured to the foot, more or less like a sandal." A similar species of foot-covering can be seen also on the borders of Central Asia, where shoes on the model of the *rivilins* above described are worn by the Ladâkîs of both sexes. The climate of Ladâk being a more inclement one than that of the Scottish Isles, the Ladâkîs make for themselves a legging of *paṭṭû*, a fabric made of the undyed wool of the white sheep: they then take a piece of raw hide, let it dry to the shape of the foot, cut it to the required size, and stitch it firmly round the foot on to the legging. In very cold weather, when about to take a journey, they put as much flour as they can inside this covering, with the double purpose of keeping their feet warm and of having with them an additional supply of food in case of need. In certain districts in Italy, a shoe of the same kind is still worn by

[23] The pillow is tied together in two or three places with tapes or bows of coloured ribbon.

[24] *The Past in the Present*—1880.

the people; and it is not an uncommon sight to see peasants walking about Rome and in the Campagna with foot-coverings of the same nature as those of the Scottish Isles and of Western Tibet; all being equally rude in form—evidently made on the foot and fastened with twine or thongs of hide.

As a very curious instance of the development of European and Asiatic ideas in the same direction, and also to illustrate the wisdom of the old adage that "there is nothing new under the sun," I may mention that the ordinary telephone (not the electric one of course) has been known and used in India for many generations. A friend (since retired from public service in India) had, when I was staying with him at Dehli, a native servant who had been many years in his employ. When any new or interesting discovery was made in Europe, his master was in the habit of telling him about it. On the telephone being first spoken of, this gentleman mentioned it to this native, enlarging upon what might eventually be its use, when to his amazement the man replied:—"Oh, *Sâḥib*, we natives have known of such things for a long time. My father and my grandfather used one, I know; and I am every day in the habit of talking with a fellow-servant across *Sâḥib's* compound in this manner!" On being requested to produce his instrument, the servant went out and speedily returned with two pieces of bamboo each about eight inches in length and an inch or an inch and a half in diameter. One end of each tube was covered with a bit of parchment through which a string from 60 to 100 feet long was passed and thus connected them. It perfectly answered the purpose of communication from one side of the compound to the other!

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

By J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from Vol. XV. p. 359.)

No. 168.—KAUTHEM PLATES OF VIKRAMA-DITYA V.—SAKA-SAMVAT 930.

This inscription, now published for the first time, is from some copper-plates which came to notice in 1884, through Mr. Râmchandra Râjârâm, Kârbhârî of Miraj. I edit it from the original plates, which I obtained, for examination, through the kindness of Lieut.-Col. H. N. Reeves, Bo. S. C., Political Agent, Kôlâpur and S. M. C., from the possession of Ânanda Urf Appâ Bin Râghu Khâḍê of Kauṭhêṁ,[1] the chief town of the Kauṭhêṁ Pêṭâ or Sub-Division of the Miraj State in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country. The present owner of the plates is a Jain, and therefore not a descendant of the original grantee. No information is forthcoming as to the circumstances under which his ancestors discovered, or obtained possession of them.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on the outer side only, are three in number, each measuring about 1′ 2″ by 8¾″ at the ends, and a little less in the middle. The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. The surfaces are in some places a good deal corroded by rust; and towards the top of the first side of the second plate there are two or three flaws in the copper, which prevented the perfect formation of the letters at those places. The inscription, however, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are thick; and the letters, though deep, do not shew through on the reverse sides of them at all. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew in many places marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the left side of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about ½″ thick and 3½″ in diameter; it had not been cut, or otherwise opened, when the grant came into my hands. The seal, in the lower part of which the ends of the ring are secured, is rec-

[1] The 'Kowteh' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet, No. 40; Lat. 16° 59′ N.; Long. 74° 41′ E.; about twelve miles almost due north of Miraj. Kauṭhêṁ (*kauṭhêṁ*, or *kawathêṁ*; also *kawanṭh*, and *kawanṭhî*; from the Sanskrit *kapittha*, 'the elephant or wood-apple tree, Feronia Elephantum') is a common name in that part of the country. The present Kauṭhêṁ is also called, by way of distinction, Kauṭhêṁ-Yêkand, and Birhâḍ-Siddhâchêṁ Kauṭhêṁ; and most of the other 'Kowtas' and 'Kowtehs' of the map similarly have second distinctive appellations.

tangular, about $2\frac{1}{4}''$ by $3''$. It has, in slight relief on a deep countersunk surface, inside a rim from $\frac{3}{16}''$ to $\frac{1}{4}''$ broad,—in the centre, a boar, couchant to the proper right; immediately above the boar, a *śaṅkha*-shell; in the proper right and left upper corners, the sun and moon respectively; and, behind the boar, either an elephant-goad or an ox-goad. Below the boar there are some very faint indications, suggestive of a legend in two lines; but, if there was a legend in the matrix, the casting of it was very imperfect, and it is quite illegible. The emblems are in such slight relief, and the ground, on which they are, is so deep, that it was impossible to obtain either a photograph or an ink-impression of them for lithography.—The **weight** of the three plates is 522 tolas, and of the ring and seal, 97 tolas; total, 619 tolas.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}''$. The **characters** are those of the South-Indian Nâgarî alphabet of the period. They include the separate signs for the lingual *ḍ*, *e.g.* in *krôḍa*, line 2, *kaḍamva*, line 9, and *shôḍaśa*, line 11; and for the lingual *ḍh*, in *prarûḍha*, line 48, and *mûḍha*, line 50. The *virâma* occurs distinctly, separate from and below the letter, in *âsît*, line 45, and *pâlât* and *samajîjanat*, line 46, and perhaps as part of the letter in *(a)bhût*, line 22; but it is omitted in *(a)bhût*, line 52, *haran*, line 15, and *prakâśayan*, line 47. The **decimal signs** for 3, 9, and 0, occur in line 61.—The **language** is Sanskṛit throughout. Except for a few connecting words in prose, the inscription is in verse as far as line 58; and some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are introduced in lines 69 to 72. As far as line 46, the draft of this inscription is an earlier specimen of the form from which were prepared the Miraj grant of Jayasiṁha III., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 946, and the Yêhûr or Yêwûr inscription of Vikramâditya VI., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 999, edited by me in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 10ff., and the Âlûr inscription of Vikramâditya VI., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 1013 and 1046, noticed by me, *id.* p. 21ff.; and it clears up, so far, almost all the points left doubtful by the materials from which my version of the Miraj and Yêwûr inscriptions was prepared.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the constant use, as in the modern vernaculars, of the *anusvâra*, instead of the proper nasal, *e.g.* in *akalaṁka* for *akalaṅka*, line 4, *kâṁḍa* for *kâṇḍa*, line 3, *viśrâṁta* for *viśrânta*, line 1, *kaḍaṁva* for *kaḍamva* or *kaḍamba*, line 9, and even *udvahaṁ* for *udvahan*, line 28, which is altogether unjustifiable; the proper nasal occurs, however, in *saundarya*, line 51, and *vṛinda*, line 54; (2) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, once, in *ayôddhyam*, line 11; (3) the doubling of *d*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *bhûpâlâdd=râshṭra*, line 44; and (4) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, *e.g.* in *lavdha* line 6 (twice), *vala*, line 10, *vibharâṁ-vabhûvuh*, line 12, *vabhâra*, line 16, and *vaṁdhair*, line 22.

The **inscription** commences with two invocations of the god Vishṇu, in the form of the Boar. And these are followed by a verse asking for a benediction upon a king who is mentioned under the *biruda* of **Akalaṅkacharita** (l. 4). On the analogy of the Miraj grant and the Yêwûr inscription, which, being records of respectively Jayasiṁha III. and Vikramâditya VI., introduce in this place the *birudas* of Jagadêkamalla and Tribhuvanamalla, belonging respectively to those two kings, **Akalaṅkacharita** ought to denote the reigning monarch Vikramâditya V. But, if the copies are correct, an inscription, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 926, at Tumbigi in the Iṇḍî Tâlukâ of the Bijâpur District,[2] and another, dated in the following year, at Kannêśwar in the Hângal Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District,[3] shew that this *biruda* belonged to **Satyâśraya II.**, the uncle and predecessor of Vikramâditya V. In that case, the inference from the present passage seems to be, that Satyâśraya II. was still alive on the date of this inscription, but had made over the sovereignty to his nephew. And, in support of this inference, we may quote the fact, that the present inscription does not include a certain verse (see note 20 below) which is given in the Miraj grant, and which speaks of the succession of Vikramâditya V. after Satyâśraya II. Vikramâditya V. had the *birudas* of Tribhuvanamalla and Vallabhanarêndra, as recorded in lines 59 and 73 below.

[2] Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 32f.

[3] *id.* Vol. I. p. 34ff.—This *biruda* occurs also in two of the remaining three inscriptions, in the same Collection, attributed to Satyâśraya II.; but they do not mention his proper name. It does not seem to occur in any of the inscriptions, in the Collection, belonging to Vikramâditya V.

The inscription then introduces the **Châlukya**[4] lineage (l. 10), which appropriated the hard-to-be-conquered power of the goddess of the fortunes of the **Nalas** (l. 9), who had been swallowed as a mouthful by it; which destroyed the arrogance of the mighty **Kadambas**;[5] which conquered the **Mauryas**; which uprooted the **Râshṭrakûṭas** with the abundance of its strength of arm; which laid waste the glory of the **Kalachuris**; and which was the source of jewels of kings, who belonged to the **Mânavya** *gôtra* (l. 5.) and were **Hâritîputras** or descendants of an original ancestress of the Hârîta *gôtra*; who acquired the white umbrella (l. 6) and other tokens of sovereignty, through the favour of the goddess Kauśikî; who were preserved by the Seven Mothers; who acquired the banners bearing representations of a peacock's tail and a spear, through the favour of the god Kârttikêya; who had the territories of hostile kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent *varâhalâñchhana* or crest[6] of the Boar (l. 7), which they acquired through the favour of the holy god Nârâyaṇa; and who had the special titles of 'asylum of the universe,' 'refuge of all mankind' (l. 8), and the special names of Vishṇuvardhana and Vijayâditya, and other similar distinguishing appellations.

Fifty-nine kings of that lineage reigned at the city of **Ayôdhyâ** (l. 11), and passed away; and, after that, sixteen governed the *dakshiṇâpâtha*, or region of the south.

Then for a time the fortunes of the **Châlukya** family were impeded by wicked people (l. 12).

But then, again, there was a king, **Jayasiṁhavallabha**, or Jayasiṁha I. (l. 14), born in the **Châlukya** lineage, who conquered the **Râshṭrakûṭa** king **Indra** (l. 15), the son of **Kṛishṇa**, possessed of an army of eight hundred elephants, and, destroying five hundred other kings, established again the royal fortunes of the sovereigns of the **Châlukya** family (l. 16).

His son was **Raṇarâga** (l. 17). His, again, was **Pulakêśin**, or Pulikêśin I., the lord of the city of **Vâtâpi**. And his was **Kîrttivarman I.** (l. 21), who again overthrew the **Nalas** (l. 20), the **Mauryas**, and the **Kadambas.**

After him there reigned his younger brother **Maṅgalîśa** (l. 24), who with bridges of boats crossed the ocean and conquered the island of **Rêvatî** (l. 23), and forcibly possessed himself of the royal fortunes of the **Kâlachchuris.**[7] He, however, was only the regent during the minority of his elder brother's son (l. 24); and he ultimately handed over the kingdom to his nephew **Satyâśraya I.** (l. 25), known in other inscriptions as Pulikêśin II., the conqueror of the great king **Harsha** (l. 26).

The son of Pulikêśin II., according to the present inscription, was **Neḍamari** (l. 28); and his son, again, was **Âdityavarman** (l. 29). These two generations, however, are not supported by the earlier inscriptions; and the interpolation seems to be based partly on the fact that Pulikêśin II. had a son named Âdityavarman,[8] and partly on some confused reminiscence of the three confederate kings,[9] who interrupted the Western Chalukya rule, between Pulikêśin II. and Vikramâditya I.

The son of Âdityavarman, according to the present inscription, but in reality of Pulikêśin II., was **Vikramâditya I.** (l. 29). He was succeeded by his son **Yuddhamalla** (l. 30), whose proper name, as given in the earlier inscriptions, was Vinayâditya. His son was **Vijayâditya,** whose son, again, was **Vikramâditya II.** (l. 31). The latter, again, was followed by his son **Kîrttivarman II.,** "under whom the regal fortunes of the **Châlukyas** became impeded on the earth" (l. 32). This record refers to the historical fact that the Rashṭrakûṭa king Dantidurga dispossessed the Western Chalukyas about the middle of the seventh century A.D., and established his own family in the place of them.

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[4] This form of the name, with the long vowel *â* in the first syllable, belongs properly only to Taila II. and his successors and immediate ancestors, by whom the dynasty was restored. The original family name, in use down to the time of Kîrttivarman II., was Chalukya, Chalikya, and Chalkya, with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable. The first of these three forms, Chalukya, is used, for metrical purposes, in line 16 below. See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 17f., 41; and compare the names of Kadamba and Kâdamba, *id.* p. 84.

[5] This name is usually written with the dental *d* in the second syllable; as, for instance, in line 21 below. But a few other instances occur, in which it is written with the lingual *ḍ*, as here.

[6] *lâñchhana*; see *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 226, note 35.

[7] *i.e.* the Kalachuris of line 10 above. The present form of the name is only for metrical purposes. In the unpublished Mahâkûṭ pillar inscription of Maṅgalîśa, the name is Sanskṛitised as Kalatsûri.

[8] See his inscription, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 66ff., and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 238ff.

[9] See my "Note in connection with the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya I.," *ante*, Vol. X. p. 132ff. See also *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 75f., and *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 26, note 3.

The Chalukya power was not restored till the time of Taila II., A.D. 973-74. For the intervening period, the present inscription gives the following continuation of the genealogy. The verse in line 32f. tells us that "*(there was)* a brother of king **Vikramâditya (II.)**, of terrible prowess;[10] his son was **Kîrttivarman (III.)** (l. 32), who afflicted wicked people by scattering earth over them to purify them." His son was **Taila I.** (l. 33). His, again, was **Vikramâditya III.** And his, again, was **Bhîma.** Bhîma's son was the noble **Ayyaṇa I.** (l. 34), who appears to have united the fortunes of his own lineage with those of the Râshṭrakûṭas, by marrying a daughter of **Kṛishṇa.** Their son was **Vikramâditya IV.** (l. 35), who married **Bonthâdêvî** (l. 36), the ornament of the family of the lords of **Chêdi,** and the daughter of king **Lakshmaṇa.** And the son of Vikramâditya IV. and Bonthâdêvî was **Taila II.** (l. 37), "who easily cut asunder in the field of battle the two pillars of war[11] of **Karkara** (l. 41), connected with the sovereignty of the family of the **Râshṭrakûṭas,** which were, as it were, evidently the two feet of (the evil deity) Kali stretched out with vigour in the act of striding, and which were, as it were, shoots, formidable, of compact substance, and having enmity against spiritual preceptors for their young sprouts, of the creeper, now at length cut down after the lapse of a long time, of the fortunes of the **Râshṭrakûṭa** family;" and by whom **Utpala**[12] (l. 42),—who had destroyed the lives of the Hûṇas, and had caused the Mâravas[13] to tremble at his approach, and had cut off the Chaidyas,[14] and had perfected his intellect by policy combined with conquest of the whole world,—was cast into prison.

With regard to this part of the genealogy, I have to remark that the later inscriptions fix the accession of **Taila II.** in A.D. 973-74; and that, though the termination of the reign of **Kîrttivarman II.** has not yet been fixed, his Wokkalêri grant[15] shews that in A.D. 757-58 he had been reigning for eleven years. According to the present inscription, Kîrttivarman III. was of the same generation with him. And this leaves an interval of over two hundred years, for which we have no contemporaneous historical records of the Chalukyas themselves; and, to fill which, we have only the five names of Tailâ I., Vikramâditya III., Bhîma, Ayyaṇa I., and Vikramâditya IV. This gives for each generation an average of more than forty years, or nearly double of what experience has shewn to be admissible. It is clear, therefore, that the genealogy is not altogether reliable here, and that some steps are wanting. Now, it is probable that the family would have preserved correct records for at any rate two or three generations immediately before Taila II. And there are two points here in support of this. At the rate of twenty-five years to a generation, the period of his father, **Vikramâditya IV.,** would be from about A.D. 945 to 970; which agrees with the record that he married Bonthâdêvî, a daughter of Lakshmaṇa, of the family of the kings of Chêdi, *i.e.* **Lakshmaṇa** of the **Kalachuri** dynasty of **Tripura** or 'Têwar,' whom General Cunningham[16] places between A.D. 950 and 975. And, in the same way, the period of his grandfather, **Ayyaṇa I.,** would be from about A.D. 920 to 945; which agrees with the record that he married a daughter of a certain Kṛishṇa, *i.e.* **Kṛishṇa III.** of the **Rashṭrakûṭa** dynasty of **Mânyakhêṭa** or Mâlkhêḍ, who came[17] somewhere in the period between A.D. 911 and 933. There is, in fact, no substantial objection to accepting the list of names as correct, as far back as **Taila I.,** and to placing the break in the direct succession just before him. That this is the real point at which the record fails, is shewn, I think, by the way in which, immediately after the mention of Vikramâditya II. and his son Kîrttivarman II. in line 31, the same names

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[10] Or "who possessed prowess equal to that of Bhîma." This expression may perhaps be intended to indicate that his name was Bhîma, which occurs in the family, according to the present inscription, four generations later; and, in dealing with the Miraj grant, I gave it this interpretation. But I feel more doubtful about it now.

[11] See the instance of two *raṇastambhas*, and the way in which one of them was cut asunder, described *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 253ff.

[12] I have not obtained any other mention of this king by name. But he is perhaps the Pâñchâla, or leader of the Pañchâlas, whom, according to other inscriptions, Taila II. decapitated in battle; see, for instance, *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 270.

[13] The people of Maru or Marubhûmi, the modern 'Marwar.'

[14] The people of Chêdi, the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Tripura.

[15] *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 23ff.

[16] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 85.

[17] See the genealogy in *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 32, and *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 109.

are introduced again in line 32, in the statement that there was a brother of Vikramâditya, whose son again was Kîrttivarman. It is most improbable that the family archives, if otherwise continuous and correct, should fail only in respect of the name of the brother of Vikramâditya II. It is also unlikely that two brothers should each have a son named Kîrttivarman. The true explanation seems to be that the drafter of some earlier record, probably of the time of Taila II., who first applied himself to making out one continuous succession, had, on the one side, authentic information up to the time of Taila I., and was able, on the other side, to make out the correct succession down to Kîrttivarman II., from the still earlier charters. He probably knew that Taila I. was at any rate not a son of Kîrttivarman II. But he sought to somehow or other connect the two lines. And, failing to devise any other expedient, he did this, clumsily enough, by repeating the name of Kîrttivarman,—which, it may be noted, does not occur again in the later succession,—and thus invented **Kîrttivarman III.** as the father of Taila II. And then, wishing for some reason or other not to identify this Kîrttivarman III. with Kîrttivarman II., in whose time, he knew, as shewn by the latter half of the verse in line 31f., the Western Chalukya power had suffered some serious reverse, he introduced, as his father, a conveniently unnamed brother of a king Vikramâditya, whom he undoubtedly intended to be identified with the genuine king **Vikramâditya II.**; and so he completed the direct genealogical connection that he had in view.

Taila II. married **Jâkavva** (l. 44), a daughter of king **Bhammaha**,[18] the **Raṭṭa**,[19] the ornament of the family of the **Râshṭrakûṭas**. Their sons were **Satyâśraya II.** (l. 46), and his younger brother **Yaśôvarman**. Yaśôvarman's wife was **Bhâgyavatî** (l. 51). And their son was the reigning monarch, **Vikramâditya V.** (l. 53.)

The name of **Yaśôvarman** is rather a peculiar one; inasmuch as the Miraj grant, which is an inscription of Jayasiṁha III., another son of the same person, gives his name as **Daśavarman**; so does the Yêwûr inscription; and also all the other records, known to me, which include this part of the genealogy and do not pass him over without mention. Now, the dates of Satyâśraya II. and Vikramâditya V. indicate that Yaśôvarman, or Daśavarman, did not actually reign; and this explains what was, at the time, rather a puzzling expression in the Miraj grant,[20] in a verse not included in the present inscription, which describes Vikramâditya V. as supporting the earth "behind the back, or in the absence," *i.e.* in succession after the death, of his "elder father," *i.e.* his father's elder brother, Satyâśraya II. Again, if the copy is correct, one of the inscriptions of Vikramâditya V. himself,[21] speaks of him distinctly as the son of Satyâśraya II.; and several of the subsequent inscriptions pass over Yaśôvarman, or Daśavarman, without any mention, though they do not go so far as to distinctly adopt the above statement regarding the birth of Vikramâditya V. And, again, the next verse, applied in the present inscription to Yaśôvarman, is in the Miraj grant applied to Satyâśraya II. These facts, put together, seem to indicate that Vikramâditya V. really was the son by birth of Yaśôvarman, but, in addition to being the successor of Satyâśraya II., was adopted by him. As regards the two forms of his father's name it is difficult to imagine how such a variation, and much more any actual mistake, should occur within so short a time. I can only point out that, in the Miraj grant, the metre[22] requires the reading Daśavarman; so also, I think, in all the other inscriptions that give the name in that form. In the present inscription, on the other hand, the text is altogether different; and, though the metre[23] does not absolutely require the reading Yaśôvarman, yet these are the syllables which, in

[18] This is evidently a Prâkṛit word.—If it is a proper name, it may be compared with Khoṭṭiga, the only other name in the Râshṭrakûṭa genealogy that is not known also in its Sanskṛit form. And, in this case, the position of Bhammaha in the genealogy has still to be determined. Others of the names also had Prâkṛit forms; thus, Dhruva is also mentioned as Dhôra; and Gôvinda V. as Gojjiga.—If it is only an epithet or a *biruda*, it probably denotes the last Râshṭrakûṭa king, Kakka or Karka III., who is mentioned under the name of Karkara in line 41 above.—Apart from this and from my original rendering, on imperfect materials, of the Miraj grant and the Yêwûr inscription, I can find no grounds for specifying Kakka III. as the father of Jâkavvâ.

[19] *i.e.* Râshṭrakûṭa.

[20] *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 17;—*asau nija-jyêshṭha-pituḥ parôkshaṁ babhâra vârrâśi-vṛitâṁ dharitrîm.*

[21] At Âlûr in the Gadag Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District: Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I. p. 38ff.

[22] Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[23] Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

accordance with the most approved scheme of the Ślôka, are most suited to their position in the verse. Possibly Yaśôvarman was regarded as a person of so little consequence that the composer of the Miraj grant, when deviating from the present draft, held himself at liberty to alter the name to suit his own convenience. If, on the other hand, this person really had both names, then they furnish the first instance of a variation in the first or really distinctive part of a proper name;[24] the instance, however, can hardly be considered a satisfactory one, without further evidence to support it.

The inscription goes on (l. 58) to record that the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* **Vikramâditya V.**, here mentioned under his *birudas* of **Tribhuvanamalla** and **Vallabhanarêndra** (l. 59), issues a command to the *Râshṭrapati*, *Vishayapati*, *Grâmakûṭaka*, *Âyuktaka*, *Niyuktaka*, *Âdhikârika*, *Mahattara*, and other officials (l. 60), to the effect that,—the **Saka** year nine hundred and thirty, or in figures 930, having expired (l. 61), in the Saumya *saṁvatsara*,[25] on an unspecified full-moon day, and at the time of an eclipse of the moon,—at the sacred place called Kôṭitîrtha, at the town of **Kollâpura** (l. 62),—the village of **Koddasî** (l. 65), in the **Alatage** Seven-hundred in the **Kûṇḍi** *dêśa* (l. 64), is given by him to the *Bhaṭṭa* Dêvêvîsôttara, belonging to a *śâkhâ* of the Yajurvêda, and a member of the Prathama-Âtrêya *gôtra* (l. 63), the son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Dôṇêkramayita, and the son's son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Dêvaṇakramayita. The boundaries of this village are, on the east, **Duddhîgrâma** (l. 65); on the south, **Vaṭṭâra** (l. 66); on the west, **Bheṇḍevâḍa**; and on the north, **Vaṅgî**.

Lines 66 to 68 define the rights attached to the grant. Lines 68 to 72 contain an injunction that the grant should be continued by future kings; followed by three of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the inscription ends in line 73, with auspicious exclamations, following the statement that this is a grant of the glorious **Vikramâditya V.**, otherwise called the glorious **Tribhuvanamalladêva.**

All the **places** mentioned in this inscription, in connection with the details of the grant, are capable of identification, in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 40. **Kollâpura,** of course, is the modern **Kôlâpur,**[26] the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the so-called Southern Marâṭhâ Country; and Kôtitîrtha is the name of a holy place still existing at this town. **Alatage,** the chief town of a Seven-hundred district named after it, in the **Kûṇḍi** *dêśa*,—the Kuhuṇḍi and Kûṇḍi Three-thousand of other inscriptions,—is the modern **Âḷṭêṁ,**[27] the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name in the Kôlâpur State, thirteen miles east by north of Kôlâpur. **Koddasî,** the village granted, is the modern **Kuchî** or **Kochî,**[28] six and a half miles almost due north of Âḷṭêm, close to the right bank of the river Warṇâ. On the same side of the river we have the modern **Waṭâr** or **Waṭhâr,** answering to the ancient **Vaṭṭâra,** one and a half miles south of Kuchî; and **Bheṇḍawaḍêṁ,** the ancient **Bheṇḍevâḍa,** two miles south-west of Kuchî; and, on the other side, **Bâgṇî,** the ancient **Vaṅgî,**[29] and **Dudhgâṁw,** the ancient **Duddhîgrâma,** respectively two and a half miles north, and two miles north-east, of Kuchî.

As regards the **date,** which is expressed fully in words and partly in decimal figures, the principal record is that the grant was made when Śaka-Saṁvat 930 had expired, and consequently when the year 931 was current; and in the Saumya *saṁvatsara*; and, according to the Tables, Śaka-Saṁvat 931 (A.D. 1009-10) was the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, as indicated. The only detail available for computation, is the lunar eclipse, on an unspecified full-moon day. By the Tables,[30] the choice lies between Tuesday, the 12th April, and Thursday, the 6th October, A.D 1009. But, according to others of the same Tables, these dates answer *primâ facie*, by the southern system, to the *fourteenth*

[24] See my remarks, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 344f.

[25] According to the Tables, Śaka-Saṁvat 931 was the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, as indicated. Śaka-Saṁvat 930 was the Kîlaka *saṁvatsara*.

[26] The 'Kolapoor, Kolhapoor, and Kolhapur,' of maps, &c.—The last two forms owe their origin to a perfectly mistaken idea that the first two syllables are the Marâṭhî word *kʼlhâ*, 'a jackal.'

[27] The 'Ulteh' of the map. Lat. 16° 46′ N.; Long. 74° 28′ E.

[28] This and the following places are entered in the map as 'Kochee, Watar, Bhendowreh, Bagnee, and Doodgaon.'

[29] It is difficult to explain the transposition and change of the nasal in this word. The suggestion has been made to me that the reason is that the original name sounded too much like *bhaṅgî*, 'a sweeper.'

[30] Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 214.

tithi of the bright fortnight of respectively the months Vaiśâkha (April-May) and Âśvina (September-October); *i.e.*, in each case, to the *tithi* before that on which the eclipse must have occurred, *viz.* the fifteenth, or full-moon *tithi.* This difference will have to be adjusted by the expunction of a *tithi*, so as to bring the fifteenth or full-moon *tithi*, onto the English date, and an examination of the *tithis* of Vaiśâkha and Âśvina would probably suffice to shew which of the two eclipses mentioned above is the one that is referred to.

TEXT.[31]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[32] [॥*] Jayaty[33]=âvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôr=vvârâhaṁ kshôbhit-ârṇṇavaṁ dakshiṇ-ônnata-daṁshṭr-âgra-viśrâṁta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ ॥ · Śri-

2 yam[34]=upaharatâd=vaḥ Śrî-patiḥ krôḍa-rûpô vikaṭa-viśada-daṁshṭrâ-prâṁta-viśrâṁti-bhâjaṁ avahad=adaya-

3 dashṭ-âkṛishṭa-vispashṭa-kâṁḍa-pratanu-visa-jaṭ-âgra-graṁthivad=yô dharitrîṁ ॥ Kari[35]-makara-makarik-âṁkita-ja-

4 lanidhi-raśanâṁ vaśîkarôtv=avani-vadhûṁ । **Akalaṁkacharita**-bhûpatir=akalaṁka-yaśô-ṁvu(bu)râśi-valayita-bhuvanaḥ

5 ॥ Gadyaṁ[36] ॥ Svasti Samasta-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-**Mânavyasagôtrâṇâṁ Hâritîputrâṇaṁ** Kâuśikî-vara-prasâda-la-

6 vdha(bdha)-śvêtâtapatr-âdi-râjyachihnânâṁ sapta-mâtṛikâ-parirakshitânâṁ Kârttikêya-vara-prasâda-lavdha(bdha)-mâyûrapiṁchha[37]-kuṁta-

7 dhvajânâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâd-âsâdita-vara-varâhalâṁchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśî-kṛit-ârâti-râja-maṁḍalânâṁ samasta-

8 bhuvanâśraya-sarvvalôkâśraya-Vishṇuvarddhana-Vijayâdity-âdi-viśêsha-nâmnâṁ râja-ratnânâm=udbhava-bhû-

9 miḥ ॥ Vṛittaṁ[38] ॥ Kavalita[39]-**Nala**-lakshmî-durjjay[40]-aurjitya-hârî vihata-pṛithu-**Kaḍaṁv(b)**-âḍaṁva(ba)rô **Maurya(ryya)**-nirjjit

10 nija - bhuja - va(ba)la - bhûmn = ôtpâṭayan = **Râshṭrakûṭân** = khilita - **Kalachuriḥ**-śrîr[41] = asti **Vâ(châ)lukya-vaṁśaḥ** ॥ Taj[42]-jêshu râ-

11 jyam=anupâlya gatêshu râjasv=êkân=na shashṭi-gaṇanêshu pur=âdhy-**Ayôddhyaṁ**[43] । tad-vaṁśa-jâs=tad=anu shôḍaśa bhûmipâlâḥ kshmâṁ da-

12 kshiṇâpatha-jushaṁ vi(bi)bharâṁ-va(ba)bhûvuḥ ॥ Dushṭ[44]-âvashṭapchâ(bdhâ)yâṁ cha katipaya-purushâṁtar-âṁtaritâyâṁ **Châlukya**-kula-saṁpadi bhûyaś=**Châ-**

13 **lukya-vâṁśya** êva ॥(।) Kaṁdâḥ[45] kîrtti-lat-âṁkurasya kamalaṁ Lakshmî-vilâs-âspadaṁ vajraṁ vairi-mahîbhṛitâṁ pratinidhir=dêva-

14 sya daitya-druhaḥ râj=âsîj=**Jayasiṁhavallabha** iti khyâtaś=charitrair=nnijair=yyô rêjê chiram=âdi-râja-charit-ôksha(tka)ṁṭhâḥ

15 prajânâṁ harana(n) ॥ Yô[46] **Râshṭrakûṭa**-kulam=**Iṁdra** iti prasiddhaṁ **Kṛishṇ-**âhvayasya sutam=ashṭa-śat-êbha-sainyaṁ nirjjitya dagdha-nṛi-

16 pa-paṁcha-śatô va(ba)bhâra bhûyaś=**Chalukya**-kula-vallabha-râjalakshmîṁ ॥ Chaṭula[47]-ripu-turaga-paṭu-bhaṭa-karaṭi-ghaṭâ-kôṭi-gha-

17 ṭita-raṇa-râgaḥ sukṛita-Hara-charaṇa-râgas=tanayô=bhût=tasya **Raṇarâgaḥ** ॥ Tat-tanayaḥ **Pulakêśi** Kêśinishûda-

18 na-samô=bhavad=râjâ **Vâtâpi**-purî-vara-patir=akalita-khala-Kali-kalaṁka-kalaḥ ॥ Vayam[48]=api **Pulakêśi**-kshmâpa-

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[31] From the original plates.

[32] This word is expressed by a symbol; not in writing.

[33] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[34] Metre, Mâlinî.

[35] Metre, Âryâgîti.

[36] *i.e.* "a passage in prose, not metrical, yet framed in accordance with harmony." The characteristics of the present passage are, partly the alliteration, *e.g.* Sva*sti* sama*sta*, saṁs*tûyamâna-Mâna*vya, pra*sâd-âsâdi*ta; and partly the rhyming genitive terminations.

[37] Read *pichchha.*

[38] *i.e.* "metre."

[39] Metre, Mâlinî.

[40] Wathen read *lakshmîr-durjay*, in the Miraj grant. The reading of the Yêwûr inscription seems to agree with that of the present grant.

[41] Read *kalachuri-śrîr.*

[42] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[43] The reading, which was altogether doubtful in the versions available to me of the Miraj and Yêwûr inscriptions, is here quite satisfactory and intelligible.

[44] Prose (*Gadya.*)

[45] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[46] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[47] Metre, Âryâ; and in the next verse.

[48] Metre, Mâlinî; and in the next verse.

Second Plate; First Side.

19 tiṁ varṇṇayaṁtaḥ pulaka-kalita-dêhâḥ paśyat=âdyâpi saṁtaḥ sa hi turaga-gajêṁdra-grâma-sâraṁ sahasra-dvaya-pa-

20 rimitam=ṛitvik-sâch=chakâr=âśvamêvê(dhê) ॥ Tat-tanayaḥ ॥(।) **Nala**-nilaya-vilôpî **Mauryya**-niryyâṇa-h[ê*]tuḥ prathi-

21 ta-pṛithu-**Kadaṁva(ba)**-staṁva(ba)-bhêdî kuṭhâraḥ । bhuvana-bhavana-bhâg-âpûraṇ-âraṁbha-bhâra-vyavasita-sita-kîrttiḥ **Kîrttiva-**

22 **rmâ** nṛipô=bhûta(t) ॥ Tad=anu tasy=ânujaḥ ॥ (।) Sarvva[49]-dvîp-âkramaṇa-mahasô ma(ya)sya nau-sêtu-va(ba)ṁdhair=ullaṁghy=âvdhi(bdhi)ṁ vyadhita pṛi-

23 tanâ **Rêvatî**-dvîpa-tô(lô ?)paṁ[50] râjya-śrîṇâṁ haṭha-patir=asû(bhû)d=yaś=cha **Kâlachchhurîṇâṁ** va(ba)bhrê bhûmiṁ saha sa sakalair=maṁgalai-

24 r=**Maṁgalîśaḥ** ॥ Jêpṭha[51]-bhrâtuḥ sati suta-varê=py=arbhakatvâd=aśaktê yasmin=âmêṁny[52]=akṛita hi dhuraṁ **Maṁgalîśaḥ** pṛithivyâṁ(ḥ) ।

25 tasmin=pratyârpipad=atha mahîṁ yûni **Satyâśrayê**=sau **Châlukyânâṁ** kayiva[53] hi pathô dharmy=ataḥ prachyavêta ॥ Jêtur[54]=ddiśâṁ

26 vijita-**Harsha**-mahânṛipasya dâtur=manôratha-śat-âdhikam=artthayadbhyaḥ saty-âdi-sarvva-guṇa-ratn-gu(ga)ṇ-âkarasya satyâśraya-

27 tvam=upalakshaṇam=êva yasya ॥ Aḍamarîkṛita[55]-digvalay-ôdita-dviḍ=amarî-parigîta-mahâ-yaśâḥ Mriḍam=ari-

28 pṭa(shṭa)-kṛitaṁ manas=ôdvahaṁ(n) **Neḍamariḥ** kshitipô=jani tat-sutaḥ ॥ Sutas[56]=tadîyô guṇa-ratna-mâlî bhû-vallabhô=

29 sû(bhû)d=bhuja-vîryya-śâlî **Âdityavarm**=â(ô)rjita-puṇya-karmâ têjôbhir=âditya-samâna-dharmâ[57] ॥ Tat[58]-sutô **Vikra-**

30 **mâdityô** vikram-âkrâṁta-bhûtalaḥ tatô=pi **Yuddhamall**-âkhyô yuddhê Yama-samô nṛipaḥ ॥ Taj-[j*]anmâ **Chi(vi)jayâdityô** vîrân=êkâṁ-

31 ga-saṁgarê chaturṇṇâ[ṁ*] maṁḍalânâm=apy=ajayad=Vijay-ôpamaḥ ॥ Tad-bhavô **Vikramâdityaḥ Kîrttivarmâ** tad-âtmajaḥ yêna **Châlu-**

32 **kya**-râjyaśrîr=aṁtarâyiṇy=abhûd=bhuvi ॥ **Vikramâditya**-bhûpâla-bhrâtâ bhîma-parâkramaḥ tat-sûnuḥ Kîrttivarm=âbhûn=mṛit-prâ-

33 s-ârdita-durjanaḥ ॥ **Taila**-bhûpas=tatô jâtaḥ **Vikramâditya**-bhûpatiḥ । tat-sûnur=abhavat=tasmâd=**Bhîma**-râjô=ri-bhîkaraḥ [॥*]

34 **Ayyaṇ**-âryyas=tatô jajñê yad-vaṁśasya śriyaṁ svakaṁ । prâpayann=iva vaṁśaṁ saḥ[59] vavṛitê **Kṛishṇa**-naṁdanâ[ṁ*] ॥ Abhavat[60]=tayôs=tanû-

35 jô vijaya-vibhâsî virôdhi-vidhvaṁsî têjô-viji(t)-âdityaḥ satya-dhanô **Vikramâdityaḥ** ॥ **Chêd**[61]-îśa-vaṁśa-tilakâṁ

36 **Lakshmaṇa**-râjasya naṁdanâṁ nuta-śîlâṁ **Vo(bo)ṁthâdêvîṁ** vidhi-vat=pariṇinyê **Vikramâdityaḥ** ॥ Sutam[62]=iva Vasudêvâd=Dê-

37 vakî Vâsudêvaṁ Guham=iva Girijâmiḥ[63] dêvam=Arddhêndumaulêḥ ajanayad=atha **Vo(bo)ṁthâdêvy**=atas=**Taila**-bhûpaṁ vibha-

[49] Metre, Mandâkrântâ; and in the next verse.

[50] In both the Miraj grant and the Yêwûr inscription, the reading appears to be *lôpaṁ*.

[51] Read *jyêshṭha*. [52] Read *âtmany*.

[53] Read *ka iva*.

[54] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[55] Metre, Drutavilambita. The influence of Kanarese poetry is observable in the alliteration, or *âdi-prâsa*, of the second, third, and fourth syllables of each *pâda*.

[56] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ. Here again the influence of Kanarese poetry is observable in the rhyming ends, or *antya-prâsa*, of the first with the second *pâda*, and the third with the fourth.

[57] *dharman*; see *ante*, Vol XIV. p. 255, note 6.

[58] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next first five verses.

[59] Read *sa*. [60] Metre, Âryâ.

[61] The metre of this verse is peculiar. Either it must be treated as Âryâ, with two short syllables in excess in the second *pâda*. Or else it is an Upajîti of Âryâgîti in the first two *pâdas*, and either Âryâ or Upagîti in the second two. But mixtures of the Âryâ class of metres seem to be very rare, if they are allowable at all.

[62] Metre, Mâlinî.

[63] The usual name of the goddess Pârvatî, as the daughter of the mountain Himâlaya, is Girijâ. Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *jâmi* as (1), a feminine base, in the sense of 'a sister, a virtuous and respectable woman; (more properly) a female relative of the head of a family, a daughter-in-law;' and (2), a neuter base, in the sense of 'blood-relationship, the relation of brother and sister, relation in general, descent. But it is not a word of at all frequent use.

Kauthem Plates of Vikramaditya V.—Saka-Samvat 930.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .50

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

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Second Plate; Second Side.

38 va-vijita-Śakram Ti(vi)kramâditya-nâmnaḥ II Ari[64]-kuṁbhi-kuṁbha-bhêdana-ripu-durgga-kavâṭa-bhaṁjana-prabhṛitiḥ saha-

39 ja-va(ba)lasya Harêr=iva vâ(bâ)la-krîḍ=âbhavad=yasya II Kiṁcha **Râshṭrakûṭa**-kula-râjya-saṁva(ba)ṁdhibhiḥ[65] II(I) Aurjjityâch[66]=charaṇâ-

40 v=iva prachalitau sâkshât=Kalêḥ krâmataḥ krûrau va(ba)ddha-śarîrakau gurujana-drôha-prakôpâv[67]=iva kâlât=khaṁḍita-**Râ**-

41 **shṭrakûṭaka**-kula-śrî-valli-jât-âṁkurau lûnau yêna sukhêna **Karkara-raṇa-staṁbhau** raṇa-prâṁgaṇê II Hûṇa[68]-prâṇa-hara-pra-

42 tâpa-dahanô yâtrâ-trasan-Mâravaś=Chaidya-chchhêdy=akhila-kshamâ-jaya-naya-vyutpanna-dhîr=**Utpalaḥ** yên=âtyugra-raṇ-âgra-darśi-

43 ta-va (ba)la-prâchuryya-śaury-ôdayaḥ kârâgâra-nivêśitaḥ kavi-vṛishâ yaṁ varṇṇayan=ghûrṇṇi(rṇṇa)tê II **Bhammaha**[69]-**Raṭṭâd**=abhavad=bhû-

44 pâlâdd=**Râshṭrakûṭa**-kula-tilakâta(t) I Lakshmîr=iva salilanidhêḥ śrî-**Jâkavv**-âhvayâ kanyâ II **Châlukya**[70]-vaṁś-âṁva(ba)ra-bhânumâlî

45 śrî-**Taila**-bhûpâla upâyaṇ(t)=ê(ai)nâṁ I tayôś=cha lôk-âbhyudayâya yôgaḥ sach-[ch*]aṁdrikâ-chaṁdramasôr=iv=âsît II Śrî[71]-**Taila**-bhûmi-

46 pâlât śrî-**Jâkayvâ(vvâ)** samajîjanat śrîmat-**Satyâśrayaṁ** Skaṁdam=Aṁdi(bi)kâ T[r*]yaṁva(ba)kâd=iva[72] II Tasy=ânujô **Ya**-

47 **śôvarmâ** śarmma-bhâg=dharmma-saṁśrayaḥ va(ba)bhûva bhuvi vikhyâtô bhuva-nâni prakâśayana(n) II Api cha II(I) Yasya[73]

48 pratâpa-jvalanêna dagdhaḥ prarôhat=îv=âri-gaṇasya vaṁśaḥ vâlaiḥ[74] prarûḍh-âṁkura-jâla-kalpair=ddiśâṁ vijê-

49 tuḥ pathi sannivishṭai(?)ḥ II Têna cha nij-aujasâ nirjitêshu râshṭrêshu [I*] Râshṭr[75]-âṁta-durggam=apahâya vibhinna-sat[t*]vâs=tach-chhatravaḥ

50 kusṛiti-nissaraṇêna mûḍhâḥ śâkhâmṛigâ iva vanâd=vipin-âṁtarâṇi jagmuḥ prabhûta-va(ba)la-daṁḍa-nipîḍan-ârttâḥ II

51 Tasya[76] priyâ **Bhâgyavat**=îti nâmnâ va(ba)bhûva Lakshmîr=iva **Mâdhavasya** yâ rûpa-saundarya-guṇair=upêtâ patyur=vvar-âṁgî naya-

52 n-ôtsavô=bhûta(t) II Um=êva Sênânyam=udagra-sat[t*]vaṁ Râmaṁ yathâ Kôśala-râja-kanyâ s=âsûta Vṛitrâri-samaṁ su-putraṁ vîra-prasû-

53 r=vvîra-vadhûr=vvar-âṁgî II **Vikramâditya**[77]-nâmânaṁ vikram-âkrâṁta-bhûtalaṁ I tyâjitâs=saṁ[...]ê yêna kshatra-dharmmâ[n*] dvishad-gaṇâḥ II

54 Jyôtsn[78]=êv=âychha(chchha)-sunirmmalâ niśi saras-tîrêshu haṁs-âkṛitiḥ kâśa-stôma-samâ saritsu gaganê gaur-âbhra-yṛi(vṛi)nda-dyu-

55 tiḥ kîrttir=yasya tad-udyam-ôchita-śara-vihnâyamânâ[79] ripûn=nityaṁ bhâsayat=îttham=anya-samayê=py=âvâsa-vidvê-

Third Plate.

56 shiṇî II Varṇṇ[80]-âgra(śra)mâṇâṁ sthitayê sthitô=pi yaś=ch=âkarôd=varṇṇa-viśêsha-hâniṁ sva-kîrttibhi[r*]=vyâpta-digaṁtarâbhis=tathâpi lô-

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[64] Metre, Âryâ.

[65] Wathen read *râjya-saṁbhavau*, in the Miraj grant. The reading of the Yêwûr inscription is *saṁbaddhâv=ubhau*; and this seems the best of the three. In the present reading, the instrumental case can only be connected, and that not very satisfactorily, with *prachalitau*, in the next line.

[66] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

[67] The reading of the Miraj grant and of the Yêwûr inscription is *prarôhâv*, which is much better.

[68] Between this and the preceding verses, the Miraj and Yêwûr inscriptions have another, commencing *Itthaṁ purâ Diti-sutair*, referring again to the overthrow of the Râshṭrakûṭas.

[69] Metre, Âryâ.

[70] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[71] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.

[72] The exact identity of this with the Miraj and Yêwûr inscriptions, ceases here; though some of the subsequent verses occur in them also.

[73] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upendravajrâ. In the Miraj grant, this verse occurs, but is applied to Satyâśraya. It does not occur in the Yêwûr inscription.

[74] The apparent reading of the Miraj grant, *bâṇaiḥ*, seems better.

[75] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[76] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next verse.

[77] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[78] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[79] Read *śarach-chihnâyamânâ*.

[80] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the following verse.

57 kê mahanîya êva II Tyâg-âdayô yasya guṇâḥ prasiddhâs=saṁkhyâm=atikramya sadâ pravṛittâḥ yaiḥ saj-janânâṁ hṛidayâ-

58 mi(ni) vadhvâ[31] samâchakarsh=âtma-samîpa-dêśaṁ II Sa tu śrîpṛithvîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-Sa-

59 tyâśrayakulatilaka-Châlukyâbharaṇa-śrîmat-**Tribhuvanamalladêva**-śrîmad-**Vallabhanarêṁ-dradêvaḥ** kuśalî sarvvân=êva ya-

60 thâ-saṁva(ba)dhyamânakân=râshṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmakûṭak-âyuktaka-niyuktak-âdhi-kârika-mahattar-âdîn=samâdi-

61 śaty=Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ II Yath=âsmâbhiḥ **Śaka**-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu navasu tṛi(tri)ṁśad-adhikêshu gatêshu 930

62 prava[r*]ttamâna-Saumya-saṁvatsarê paurṇṇamâsyâṁ sômagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi **Kol-lâpurê** Kôṭitîrthê yajana-yâjan-âdi-shaṭ-ka-

63 rma-niratârya vêda-vêdâṁga-pâragâya Yajuḥśâkhîyâya Pratham-Âtrêya-gôtrâya Dêvaṇakramayitabhaṭṭa-pautrâya

64 Dôṇêkramayitabhaṭṭa-putrâya Dêvêvîsôttara-bhaṭṭâya **Kûṁḍi**-dêś-âbhyaṁtarê **Alatage**-saptaśata-ma-

65 dhyê **Koddasî**-nâma-grâmô dattaḥ II Tasya ch=âghâṭâḥ II(I) pûrvvataḥ II(I) **Duddhîgrâmô** nâma grâmaḥ II(I) dakshiṇataḥ

66 **Vaṭṭâraṁ** nâma grâmaḥ II(I) paśchimataḥ I **Bheṁḍêvâḍô** nâma grâmaḥ II(I) uttarataḥ II(I) **Vaṁgî** nâma grâmaḥ II Evaṁ pû-

67 rvva-prasiddha-chaturâghâṭa-svakîya-sîmâ-sahitaḥ sa-vṛiksha-mâlâ-kulaḥ I sa-dhânya-hiraṇy-âdêyaḥ I râjakîyâ[nâ*]m=an-aṁgu-

68 li-prêkshaṇîyaḥ I nidhi-nidhâna-samêtaḥ I ghaṭikâ-chchhatra-châmar-âdi-sahitaḥ I sa-śukla(lka)ḥ I sarvvanamasya iti II Sa

69 ch=âgâmibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyaiś=cha râjabhiḥ paripâlanîyaḥ II Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna II(I) Sva[32]-dattâṁ para-

70 dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâṁ shashṭiṁ varva(rsha)-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ II Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-â-

71 dibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ II Râmabhadrêṇ=âpy=uktaṁ II(I) Sâmânyô[33]=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâ-

72 lê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ sarvvân=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârvi(rthi)vêndrân=bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ II Ôm[34] II Śrî-râjâdhirâja-

73 râjachûḍâmaṇêḥ śrîmad-**Vikramâditya**-śrîmat-**Tribhuvanamalladêvasya** dattiḥ I(II) Ôm II Maṁgalaṁ mahatî śrîḥ II

ON THE GRAMMAR OF SAKATAYANA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Considering that the search for Sanskrit MSS. has been carried on now for many years, it is strange that no complete and trustworthy copies of the grammar of **Sâkaṭâyana** should as yet have become generally accessible. This is the more to be regretted, because that grammar, in my opinion, holds an important place in the later grammatical literature of India. For, not to mention that Śâkaṭâyana is referred to again and again in the *Gaṇaratna-mahôdadhi* and elsewhere, it is to him, more than to any-body else, that **Hêmachandra** has been in-debted in the composition of his own grammar. In fact, excepting the circumstance that Hêma-chandra has adopted many of the technical terms of the *Kâtantra*, his grammar (so far as I can judge at present) is hardly more than a revised and perhaps somewhat enlarged redaction of the grammar of Śâkaṭâyana. On the other hand, it appears to me that, among the works which are known still to exist, Śâkaṭâyana himself has used the grammar

[31] Read *baddhvâ*.

[32] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.

[33] Metre, Śâlinî.

[34] Here again, and in the next line, as at the commencement of the inscription, this word is expressed by a symbol, not in writing.

of **Chandra**, in addition to the works of the School of Pâṇini, the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, the *Vârttikas*, and the *Mahâbhâshya*.

For those, then, who are investigating the history of Indian grammar, correct copies of the various treatises which form the *Śâkaṭâyana-mahâvyâkaraṇa*, and of the commentaries on them which no doubt still exist in different parts of India, are indispensable; and it is to interest scholars in India in the search for those works, that I venture to write these lines, even after the accounts already published of Śâkaṭâyana's grammar by other scholars.

The credit of having first prominently drawn attention to the grammar of **Śâkaṭâyana** certainly belongs to Dr. Bühler, who also has kindly placed at my disposal the various works, or rather fragments of works, belonging to that grammar, which were copied for him at Madras more than twenty years ago. After him, the late Dr. Burnell has given an account of Śâkaṭâyana, in his essay "On the Aindra School," and his copy of the text of the Sûtras, together with a rough alphabetical index of the latter, belongs now to the Library of the India Office. Lastly, I myself am in possession of a copy of a work based on Śâkaṭâyana's grammar and of a few leaves of a commentary, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Paranjpe at Kôlâpur. Owing to the fact of having been copied in Dêvanâgarî from originals written in South-Indian characters, most of these MSS. are exceedingly incorrect. They nevertheless enable one to form a fair estimate of the nature and value of the grammar of Śâkaṭâyana, and show at any rate that the following works belonging to that grammar are still in existence:—

1. The *Śabdânuśâsana*, or text of the Sûtras.
2. The *Paribhâshâsûtrâṇi* for the *Śabdânuśâsana*.
3. The *Gaṇapâṭha*, arranged in the order of the 16 Pâdas of the *Śabdânuśâsana*.
4. The *Dhâtupâṭha*.
5. The *Uṇâdisûtrâṇi*, in four Pâdas.
6. The *Liṅgânuśâsana*, in 70 Âryâ-verses, together with a commentary. **Hêmachandra's** *Liṅgânuśâsana* is merely an enlarged copy of this treatise of Śâkaṭâyana's.
7. A commentary, called *Chintâmaṇi*, on the *Śabdânuśâsana*, by **Yakshavarman.** In the introductory verses, which have been already published by Dr. Bühler, the author states that he has compiled his work from a more extensive commentary. Yakshavarman occasionally cites various readings of the text of the Sûtras; and his work appears to have been used by Hêmachandra for his *Bṛihadvṛitti*.
8. A much more extensive commentary on the *Śabdânuśâsana*. Fragments of this occur in the midst of Dr. Bühler's MS. of a part of the *Chintâmaṇi*.
9. The *Prakriyâsaṁgraha*, by **Abhayachandrasiddhântasûri** (?); an extract from the *Śabdânuśâsana*, together with a short and lucid commentary; compiled for practical purposes and arranged in the following order:—*Saṁjñâsaṁgraha*, *Saṁdhi-s.*, *Subanta-s.*, *Strîpratyayânta-s.*, *Kâraka-s.*, *Samâsa-s.*, *Dvirukta-pluta-vidhi-s.*, *Taddhita-s.*, *Tiṅanta-s.*, *Kṛit-s.*
10. A similar work, entitled *Rûpasiddhi*, by **Dayâpâla**, and containing the following chapters:—*Saṁjñâ-siddhi*, *Saṁdhi-s.*, *Nâma-s.*, *Strîpratyayânta-s.*, *Vibhaktyartha-s.*, *Samâsa-s.*, *Aśluk-s.*, *Taddhita-s.*, *Dhâtvishṭakâryam* on conjugation and *Kṛit*-suffixes. This work appears to begin with a number of verses, which probably contain some valuable information on the history of Śâkaṭâyana's grammar.

The *Śabdânuśâsana* consists of four Adhyâyas, each Adhyâya containing four Pâdas. The total number of Sûtras contained in these 16 Pâdas is in one of the MSS. stated to be 3236; according to my own calculation, which, owing to the imperfect state of the MSS. may be wrong, it is only 3232, not counting the 13 Pratyâhâra-sûtras with which the work opens.[1] The arrangement of the matter in the 16 Pâdas is as follows:—

Adhy. I. Pâda 1; 180 Sûtras: *Saṁjñâ*-rules and *Paribhâshâs*; rules of *Saṁdhi*.

[1] Dr. Burnell's statement that the *Śabdânuśâsana* contains about 2230 Sûtras, which has been repeated by others, looks like a misprint. The number of Sûtras of Hêmachandra's Sanskṛit grammar, according to my calculation, is 3563. The number of Sûtras of Pâṇini's grammar, not counting the rules on accents and on peculiarities of the Vêdic idiom, would be about 3380.

P. 2; 223 Sûtras: Declension; (changes of न् to ण्, of स् to ष् etc.)

P. 3; 195 Sûtras: Formation of feminine bases; syntax of the cases.

P. 4; 123 Sûtras: Use of the *Parasmai-* and *Âtmanê-pada*; personal terminations.

Adhy. II. P. 1; 229 Sûtras: Formation of compounds; *Êkaśêsha*; gender of compounds and arrangement of their members; *Samâsânta*-suffixes.

P. 2; 172 Sûtras: Terminations retained in first members of compounds; insertion of स्; *Puṁvadbhâva*; substitution in compounds, etc.

P. 3; 113 Sûtras: Doubling of words or bases; *Pluti*; changes in bases before suffixes.

P. 4; 239 Sûtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes.

Adhy. III. P. 1; 201 Sûtras; P. 2; 227 Sûtras; P. 3; 180 Sûtras; P. 4; 146 Sûtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes continued.

Adhy. IV. P. 1; 270 Sûtras: Derivative verbal bases; reduplication; changes of roots before verbal terminations and *Kṛit*-suffixes; the past Pass. Partic. in त, न, etc.

P. 2; 260 Sûtras: Strengthening, etc., of radical vowels; the augment; the intermediate इ; insertion of स् before roots; change of a radical स् to ष्, of न् to ण् etc.

P. 3; 288 Sûtras: *Vikaraṇas*; *Kṛit*-suffixes; syntax of the tenses and moods.

P. 4; 186 Sûtras; *Kṛit*-suffixes continued; participles, the Infinitive, the Gerunds, etc.

From this brief summary it will be apparent, that **Sâkaṭâyana,** differing in this respect from Pâṇini and Chandra, has to a certain extent already adopted that arrangement of the subject-matter which is followed in the *Kaumudîs* and similar works. The summary will also show that, like Chandra, he has given no rules on accents; and I may add that, in like manner, he has omitted all reference to the language of the Vêda. For the rest, he has embodied in his work the teachings of Pâṇini, as amended or supplemented by Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, and later on by Chandra; but on rare occasions he also has added to what those predecessors of his had taught before him.[2] The construction of his rules can offer no difficulties to any one acquainted with the Paribhâshâs of Pâṇini's grammar, most of which indeed have found a place also in Śâkaṭâyana's work. Many of his technical terms are Pâṇini's; while in avoiding terms such as *Guṇa, Vṛiddhi, Saṁprasâraṇa, Upadhâ-ṭi, Nipâta, Sarvanâman, Parasmaipada* and *Âtmanêpada, Abhyâsa* and *Abhyasta*, and in using *nâmni* for Pâṇini's *saṁjñâyâm*, or *pâṭhê* for *upadêśê*, he follows Chandra.[3] There is no doubt, that in the text of his Sûtras we may observe that tendency to economize which has been carried to an extreme in the *Jainêndra* grammar; and to this tendency we may ascribe the use of terms like *sva* for *savarṇa*, *nap* for *napuṁsaka*, *ti* for *gati*, *du* for *vṛiddha*, *luch* for *lôpa*, *nyach* for *upasarjana*, etc., most of which we meet again in the *Jainêndra* and other works. Like the author of the later redaction of the *Jainêndra*, Śâkaṭâyana has tried to improve on the Pratyâhâra-sûtras of Pâṇini, the number of which he has reduced to thirteen, and in which, following the suggestion of Kâtyâyana, he has assigned a place to the *Anusvâra, Visarjanîya, Jihvâmûlîya*, and *Upadhmânîya*, while he has omitted from them the vowel *lṛi*; but it was a mistake to maintain that his Pratyâhâra-sûtras are the same as

[2] A few examples may show this:—

P. I. 4, 36 teaches that स्पृह् governs the Dat.; Śâkaṭâyana teaches that it governs the Dat. or Acc. [Hêmachandra follows Śâkaṭâyana].

P. II. 3, 44 teaches that प्रसित and उत्सुक govern the Instr. or Loc.; Śâk. adds अवबद्ध [and so does Hêm.]

P. II. 1, 18 पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा; Śâk. पारे मध्ये ऽन्तः षष्ठ्या (वा); [Hêm. पारे मध्ये ऽग्रे ऽन्तः षष्ठ्या वा].

P. IV. 4, 29 परिमुखं च; Chandra, Śâk. [and Hêm.] परेर्मुखपार्श्वात्.

P. V, 1. 126 सख्युर्यः; Chandra सखिदूतवणिग्भ्यो यः; Śâk., to save a syllable, सखिवणिग्दूताद्यः; [Hêm. the same]

P. V. 2, 133 हस्ताज्जातौ; Chandra हस्तदन्ताज्जातौ; Śâk. [and Hêm.] हस्तदन्तकराज्जातौ.

P. V. 2, 128 द्वन्द्वोपतापगर्ह्यात्प्राणिस्थादिनिः; Chandra चार्थरोगगर्हितात्प्राणिस्थादस्वाङ्गादिनिः; Śâk. द्वन्द्वरुग्निन्द्यात्प्राणिस्थादस्वाङ्गात्; [Hêm. प्राणिस्थादस्वाङ्गाद्द्वन्द्वरुग्निन्द्यात्].

[3] Like Chandra, Śâkaṭâyana has *châdi* for *Nipâta*, *sarvâdi* for *Sarvanâman*, *tan* or *tañâna* for *Âtmanêpada*, *atañ* or *atañâna* for *Parasmaipada*, *Upânta* or *Upântya* for *Upadhâ*, Pratyâhâras to denote *Guṇa, Vṛiddhi, Saṁprasâraṇa*, etc. See *ante* p. 184.

those of the *Jainêndra*-grammar.* The Anubandhas attached to case and personal terminations, and to primary and secondary suffixes, are on the whole the same as in Pâṇini's grammar. Not taking any account of the accent, Śâkaṭâyana would naturally omit those of Pâṇini's Anubandhas which were intended merely to indicate the accent. Where any of these Anubandhas have nevertheless been retained, a different meaning has been assigned to them; thus the Anubandha ङ्, attached to a suffix, indicates that the noun formed by such suffix is feminine, and the Anubandha ष् of a secondary suffix shows that the original base takes its masculine form. In these as in other respects Hêmachandra has copied Śâkaṭâyana.

I should have been glad to give together with these remarks a portion of the text of the *Śabdânuśâsana* which I have been preparing for my own use; and to show more fully how Śâkaṭâyana has borrowed from or imitated Chandra, and how Hêmachandra again has copied Śâkaṭâyana. But I abstain from doing so, because I fear that all this would interest a very small number of scholars only, and because the works of the grammarians named must, after all, be published in their entirety, when better MSS. and sufficient funds are available. I cannot, however, refrain from adding a few words on the authorities named by Śâkaṭâyana in the text of his Sûtras.

In my remarks on the *Jainêndra-vyâkaraṇa* (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 77), I have drawn attention to the fact that the compiler of that work has invariably omitted the names of the grammatical authorities mentioned by Pâṇini, the rule for which an authority is quoted by Pâṇini being simply made optional in the *Jainêndra*; and that, on the other hand, the compiler has mentioned authorities of his own only in such rules as are optional in Pâṇini's grammar. I suggested, at the time, that the names so put in were simply added *pûjârtham*, and were of no value for the history of grammar. Now exactly the same practice, which has been followed in the *Jainêndra*, has been observed also in the grammar of **Śâkaṭâyana**. Śâkaṭâyana too makes rules, for which Pâṇini happens to quote an authority, optional, by substituting the particle वा for the name given by Pâṇini; and he too quotes authorities *only* in such rules as are optional with Pâṇini. It is in this manner, that, *e.g.*, Pâṇini's rules III. 4, 111 and 112, लङः शाकटायनस्यैव द्विषश्च, in the grammar of *our* Śâkaṭâyana have received the wording आद्विषो झेर्जुस्वा,—a rule which teaches exactly what Pâṇini intended to teach, and does *not* teach what the *ancient* Śâkaṭâyana, who is referred to by Pâṇini, is supposed to have taught. On the other hand, the three names,[5] which happen to occur in Śâkaṭâyana's grammar, **Âryavajra, Indra,** and **Siddhanandin,** have simply taken the place of the words वा, or विभाषा, or अन्यतरस्याम्, of the corresponding rules of Pâṇini's. Thus Śâkaṭâyana's rule II, 1, 229 शेषात्सिद्धनन्दिनः teaches the same as P. V. 4, 154 शेषाद्विभाषा, the rule I. 2, 37 जराया ङसि न्द्रस्याचि the same as P. VII. 2, 101 जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम्, and the rules I. 2, 13 and 14 ततः प्रागार्यवज्रस्य अञ्झेः शतुः teach the same as P. VII. 1, 79 वा नपुंसकस्य and Vârt. 5 on P. VII. 1, 72 अन्त्यात्पूर्वं नुममेके. Śâkaṭâyana in these cases has taken the substance of his rules from Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana. What he intends to convey is, *not* that जरा before certain terminations is changed to जरस् according to the

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* Śâkaṭâyana's Pratyâhâra-Sûtras are :—

अ इ उण् ॥१॥ ऋक् ॥२॥ ए ओङ् ॥३॥ ऐ औच् ॥४॥ ह य व र लञ् ॥५॥ ञ म ङ ण नम् ॥६॥ ज ब ग ड दश् ॥७॥ झ भ घ ढ धष् ॥८॥ ख फ छ ठ थट् ॥९॥ च ट तव् ॥१०॥ क पय् ॥११॥ श ष सं अः ᳲक ᳳपर् ॥१२॥ हल् ॥१३॥

Those of the earlier redaction of the *Jainêndra* are Pâṇini's, while those of the later redaction are as follows :—

अ इ उण् ॥१॥ ऋक् ॥२॥ ए ओङ् ॥३॥ ऐ औच् ॥४॥ ह य व र लण् ॥५॥ ञ म ङ ण नम् ॥६॥ झ भञ् ॥७॥ घ ढ धष् ॥८॥ ज ब ग ड दश् ॥९॥ ख फ छ ठ थ च ट तव् ॥१०॥ क पय् ॥११॥ श ष स अं अः ᳲक ᳳपर् ॥१२॥ हल् ॥१३॥

Hêmachandra has no Pratyâhâra-Sûtras, but employs, instead of Pratyâhâras, the terms *svara*, *nâmin*, *samâna*, *saṁdhyakshara*, *vyañjana*, *dhuṭ* (for Pâṇini's झल्), *aghôsha*, *ghôshavat*, *antaḥsthâ*, and *śiṭ* (for Śâkaṭâyana's शर्). Malayagiri, again, uses Hêmachandra's terms, but in that portion of his grammar, which has hitherto become accessible, he also employs Śâkaṭâyana's Pratyâhâras अण्, इक्, एङ्, एच् and यञ् (for *y*, *v*, *r*, *l*).

[5] In addition to the above, Śâkaṭâyana twice refers to the opinions of others by the expression *anyêshâm*, and twice by *êkêshâm*. It seems to me very probable, that at any rate in one of these cases the scholar referred to is Chandra. While, according to Pâṇini, a reduplicated form cannot be reduplicated again, Chandra by his rule पुनः does allow a second reduplication, and this view is alluded to by Śâkaṭâyana in his rule द्विरेकेषाम्. Hêmachandra, copying from Śâkaṭayana, has पुनरेकेषाम्.

teaching of Indra *only*; that certain compounds, according to Siddhanandin *only*, take a particular suffix, while according to other grammarians they do not do so; and that, according to Âryavajra *only*, बहूर्ज् forms बहूर्ञ्जि and ददत् ददन्ति,—but that जरा is *optionally* changed to जरस्, that certain compounds *optionally* take the suffix spoken of, and that बहूर्ज् *optionally* forms बहूर्ञ्जि or बहूर्जि, and ददत् *optionally* ददन्ति or ददति. The names employed by him are given solely *pûjârtham*, and they by no means prove that Śâkaṭâyana, in these particular instances, knew anything whatever of the teachings of the scholars whom he mentions. One cannot help feeling some little curiosity to know when this practice of quoting names merely *honoris causâ*, which we find observed in Śâkaṭâyana's grammar and in the *Jainêndra*, was first started by Indian authors. I suspect that it is not a very modern invention.

I suspect too (if I may venture to say here, what I cannot yet prove with certainty), that, as was the case with the *Jainêndra*, the real name of the author of the grammar, about which I am writing, is very different from what it is supposed to be, and I trust that my Indian friends will succeed in procuring the MSS. which are necessary to settle this as well as other questions concerning the so-called *Śâkaṭâyana-vyâkaraṇa*.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

VII.—*The Biter Bit, or the Râjâ who sold his Rânî.*

A certain Râjâ had married six wives, one after another; and not content with so many, he one day married a seventh, who was prettier than all the others, and in course of time became a greater favourite of the Râjâ than any one of the others had ever been. No wonder they all felt very jealous of her.

Now the Râjâ was a very sensible man, and knew that if he kept all his wives together in one palace they would be sure to quarrel with one another; so in order to prevent this he assigned to each a separate palace and establishment, as soon as he married her. In like manner he had provided his seventh wife also with a palace, servants, carriages, and so on.

The young queen, who was a prime-minister's daughter, though very noble-minded and virtuous, was a lively young lady, and therefore did not relish the idea of being mewed up in a palace the whole day, with no other company but that of the king when he chose to visit her, or of one or other of her co-wives, who now and then called to have a chat with her. So sometimes, when there was a bright moon shining, the young lady would order her litter and be carried out into the city. The beautiful stalls that lined the roads, had a special charm for her, and nothing gave her greater pleasure than to stop at the different shops, and buy some of the good things they contained. Being, however, frank and open-hearted by nature, she would relate to her co-wives all her little nocturnal adventures, telling them how pleasant it was to visit the *bâzâr* on a moonlight night, to buy sweet-meats at one shop and *pân* (betel) leaves and betel nuts at another, and so on; and often invited them to accompany her. But they all knew that they would incur the Râjâ's displeasure if they acceded to her request, and so were content to remain at home. They could not, however, bear to see the young queen as high in the king's favour as ever, although she wandered about by night in direct opposition to his wishes; and would have told him all they knew about their erring co-wife, had they not been restrained by fear, lest the Râjâ should disbelieve them, and, considering the accusation to be prompted by malice and jealousy on their part, should turn the tables upon them. So they hit upon a plan by which the Râjâ himself might listen with his own ears to his favourite's account of her nocturnal wanderings, and accordingly one day they deputed one of themselves to watch for a favourable opportunity and drop a hint to the Râjâ, that if he went to his youngest wife's palace that day unknown to her, he would hear something that would convince him how little she deserved the love and affection he lavished upon her. The plan succeeded, and the Râjâ went and hid himself behind a curtain in the youngest Rânî's palace, while the elder one who had gone there before him led her unsuspecting rival into conversation.

"How did you like your moonlight excursion last night?" she asked.

"Oh, immensely!" replied the Râṇî, "how brightly the moon shone, how very pleasant it was, and how pretty the market place looked!"

"Indeed! and what did you see there, my dear?" asked her co-wife.

"Such pretty confectioners' shops with the sweetmeats so temptingly displayed."

"Oh indeed!" said the wily woman, smacking her lips in anticipation of the great disgrace that awaited her rival,—"and what saw you next, my dear? Do tell me."

"At a very pretty stall," she said, "I saw a man selling *pân* leaves and betel nuts and"—

"And you purchased none of the good things?" exclaimed the other interrupting her.

"To be sure, I did," was the reply, "I bought some sweetmeats at one shop, some *pân* leaves at another, and"—

"And! and! come! what next?" cried out the Râjâ, unable to restrain himself any longer, while the wife, of whose faithlessness he now felt convinced, waxed so eloquent, "what else did you do?"

"Nothing more," replied the young lady promptly and quite unabashed, "My eyes opened just as I left the *pân*-seller's stall and of course I found it was all a dream!"

"A dream!" repeated the Râjâ, going up to her, "you have been speaking all this time of a dream, and this jealous woman," he said, shaking his fist at the other Râṇî, who was quite taken aback at the presence of mind displayed by her young rival,—"and this jealous woman would lead me to believe you were really in the habit of wandering about by moonlight? Away with her to prison at once!" and in spite of all her protestations of innocence, the poor woman was taken out of the room.

The Râjâ was so enraged with her that he forthwith went to his own palace, and issued orders to the town-crier to proclaim throughout the city that one of the Râjâ's wives was to be sold the next morning in the market-place, with all the jewellery upon her, for a *lâkh* and a quarter of rupees. The poor Râṇî was very much distressed to hear of this order in her prison, and wished death would come to her relief and save her from such disgrace. When, however, the youngest Râṇî heard of this cruel sentence, she felt sorely grieved at what she considered her husband's unjustifiable severity, and her spirit revolted at the idea of another person suffering for a fault committed by her; so she nobly resolved to make a clean breast of it to the Râjâ, to assure him of her co-wife's innocence, and to tell him that if he wanted to see justice done he had better sell her in the market-place, instead of the elder Râṇî. When the Râjâ heard this, he was greatly exasperated, though he could not help admiring the noble conduct and love of justice of his beloved wife. He therefore forthwith revoked the harsh order, and set the elder Râṇî free. But he thought he might as well make an example of the guilty one, so as to deter others from doing what she had done, and accordingly ordered it to be proclaimed thoughout the city that the Râjâ's youngest wife, being found guilty of disobeying the commands of her lord, was sentenced to stand in the market-place, buried up to her waist in a pit dug for the purpose, and that whoever filled the pit up to the brim with gold, was to have her. By fixing such an enormous price on her, the Râjâ flattered himself that he would never be able to get any one to buy her, but that the degradation and insult to which she would thus be subjected would tame her haughty spirit, and make her more submissive to him in future. So the next morning the young Râṇî was led away to the market-place, and buried up to her waist in the ground. The poor creature had no alternative but to stand there and allow herself to be stared at by every passer-by. Beautiful though she was, she had to stand thus exposed for a considerable time, as the heavy price set upon her deterred people from coming forward to purchase her.

At last, when she was almost despairing of being released, and wished rather to die than to go back to the Râjâ whom she now hated for his shameful treatment of her, a young man, who appeared to be a stranger to the place, walked up to where she was standing, and inquired of those around who the beautiful lady was, and why she was exposed like that in the market-place.[1] On being made

[1] [This part of the tale is comparable with a well-known story in the *Alif Laila.*—ED.]

acquainted with her story he felt so deeply for her and was so shocked at the inhuman conduct of the Râjâ, that he resolved to give away all he had, to take her out of the hands of such a monster. Being himself a man of liberal and enlightened ideas, he had disagreed with his father on certain points and parted from him in anger, so he admired the independent spirit displayed by the young lady, and sympathized greatly with her. The Râṇî, too, conceived a liking for him at first sight, and wished in her heart that he would purchase her. The merchant soon left her, hurried on board the ship in which he had arrived at the town, and landing all the gold and valuables he had, sold the latter in the market for as much gold as they could fetch, and threw all the precious metal into the pit. But though he had disposed of everything he had, the young merchant found to his dismay that there was still some gold wanting to fill the pit before he could take possession of the Râṇî, and was therefore at his wit's end to know what to do, when the Râṇî, who had been watching him all the while, saw the predicament in which he was, and knowing that, for lack of only a small quantity of the precious metal with which the pit was nearly full, she would have to go back to the tender mercies of the Râjâ; whom she so hated, she called him to her, and thanking him for all that he had done for her, offered to place at his disposal all the jewellery she wore, that he might convert it into gold and thus make up the deficiency. The young man was very glad at this expression of the pretty Râṇî's regard for him, and forthwith sold all the jewels she gave him in the market, and to his great joy they fetched gold enough to fill the pit up to the brim. The Râṇî, too, was overjoyed at this, and the young man carried the beautiful young lady triumphantly away from the market-place, amidst the cheers of the people who had assembled there.

Knowing of no other place where they could go, the pair put up at a *dharamśâlâ*,[2] and after having rested themselves for some time, they began to consider how they could best manage to live. The young man was quite a stranger to the place, and, as he told his companion, was on his way to his father's country, returning there after having been away for several years trading in different countries, when chance brought them together; and since he had given away in purchasing her the immense wealth he had amassed, he had not so much as a copper left, with which to begin life anew. The lady, too, having parted with all her jewellery, was not in a position to help her noble deliverer in the least, and so they sat for a considerable time thinking as to what course they should adopt under the circumstances, when the young lady happened to put her hand to one of her ears, and found to her great joy that she had still a small earring left in it. She took it out at once, and, giving it to her companion, said—"If you but knew some art by which we could get our living, you can purchase enough materials by selling this trinket to enable you to practise it."

This set them both thinking again, till the man at last recollected that he used to make some very beautiful bamboo baskets when he was young, and he thought he could make them as well now as before.

"Very good indeed," said the lady, "and I think I, too, can make myself useful in some way. When I was a girl I used to make some very nice paper flowers, having learnt the art from some poor people whom I used to visit, and if my memory does not fail me the flowers that I made were greatly admired at that time; so, if you buy some bamboos and paper, and the other requisities, we shall soon set to work and earn money sufficient to buy us enough for our present necessities."

The man went to the market with the earring, and having disposed of it, purchased out of the money all that they wanted. The two then set to work, and the man made some very pretty baskets, while his fair companion quickly prepared some pretty flowers and decorated the baskets with them. The next morning the merchant took the baskets to the *bâzâr*, and was glad to find that they fetched a good deal more than he ever expected they would, and learnt moreover that such baskets were in great demand in the city. So the two worked on with a good heart, and their baskets

[2] A free inn for Hindus, usually attached to a place of worship.

improved so much, day by day, that in a short time the young merchant found that he had laid by enough money to enable him to engage passages for himself and his companion, in a ship bound to his native country.

Now, thought the Râṇî was the time to have her revenge on the old Râjâ. So she asked the young man to prepare the nicest basket he had ever made, and making some very pretty flowers herself, decorated the basket with them, and the two then went to the Râjâ's palace to sell it. When the merchant was summoned into the presence of the Râjâ, who was seated in the palace gardens, the lady kept out of sight, though within earshot, in a corner. The Râjâ, when he saw the basket, was loud in his praises of it, and said that it was worth any sum the maker might ask for it, and inquired of the young man for how much he would part with it. The young man, who had been already tutored by his fair companion as to what to say, replied promptly—"The price I set upon my basket is one *lâkh* and a half of rupees."

The Râjâ, who had extolled the bamboo basket so highly, thought that if he now refused to pay what was asked for it, he would be giving the lie to his own words, so he ordered the money to be counted out to the man, while his courtiers laughed in their sleeves at what they considered his folly in giving such a large sum of money for a bamboo basket. At last when the basket-maker had taken possession of his money and was making his obeisance to the Râjâ before leaving, the young Râṇî came out of her hiding-place, and bowing to the Râjâ said—"Râjâ Sâḥib, a few days ago you sought to degrade me in the eyes of the people of your city, and it is my turn now, and I repay the obligation with interest, for this day I have made you the laughing-stock of the nobles of your court. You sold me that day in the market-place, and to-day I am revenged upon you. Remember the saying that—

"The Râjâ prides himself on his crown and kingdom, and the minister on his virtues; while the virtuous woman proves her chastity in various ways."[8]

So saying the lady walked away with the young man, leaving the Râjâ in no very enviable a frame of mind.

Soon afterwards the young merchant embarked with his companion for his native country. When he arrived there, he found that his father's anger was much softened by their long separation, for he received them both kindly, and when he was made acquainted with the history of the young lady, he was so pleased with her that in a few days he celebrated his son's nuptials with her with great pomp, and at his death left him in sole possession of his great wealth.

[8] राजा पास ताज ने तख्त
बजीर पास विवेक;
सदगुणी नार पतिवर्तपणुं
देखाडे रीते अनेक.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

No. XIV.

The Monkey with the tom-tom.[1]

In a remote wood there lived a monkey, and one day while he was eating wood-apples, a sharp thorn from the tree ran into the tip of his tail. He tried his best to get it out but could not. So he proceeded to the nearest village, and calling the barber asked him to oblige him by removing the thorn.

"Friend barber," said the monkey, "a thorn has run into my tail. Kindly remove it and I will reward you."

The barber took up his razor and began to examine the tail: but as he was cutting out the thorn he cut off the tip of the tail. The monkey was greatly enraged and said—

"Friend barber, give me back my tail. If you cannot do that, give me your razor."

The barber was now in a difficulty, and as he could not replace the tip of the tail he had to give up his razor to the monkey.

The monkey, went back to the wood with his razor thus trickishly acquired. On the way he met an old woman, who was cutting fuel from a dried-up tree.

[1] [Compare the story of "The Rat's Wedding" from the Pañjâb, *ante*, Vol. XI, p. 226ff: where, however, a better moral from the tale is drawn.—ED.]

"Grandmother, grandmother," said the monkey, "the tree is very hard. You had better use this sharp razor, and you will cut your fuel easily."

The poor woman was very pleased, and took the razor from the monkey. In cutting the wood she, of course, blunted the razor, and the monkey seeing his razor thus spoiled, said—

"Grandmother, you have spoiled my razor. So you must either give me your fuel or get me a better razor."

The woman was not able to procure another razor. So she gave the monkey her fuel and returned to her house bearing no load that day.

The roguish monkey now put the bundle of dry fuel on his head and proceeded to a village to sell it. There he met an old woman seated by the roadside and making puddings. Said the monkey to her—

"Grandmother, grandmother, you are making puddings and your fuel is already exhausted. Use mine also and make more cakes."

The old lady thanked him for his kindness and used his fuel for her puddings. The cunning monkey waited till the last stick of his fuel was burnt up, and then he said to the old woman—

"Grandmother, grandmother, return me my fuel or give me all your puddings."

She was unable to return him the fuel, and so had to give him all her puddings.

The monkey with the basket of puddings on his head walked and walked till he met a *Paraiya*[1] coming with a tom-tom towards him.

"Brother Paraiya," said the monkey; "I have a basketful of puddings to give you. Will you in return present me with your tom-tom?"

The *Paraiya* gladly agreed, as he was then very hungry, and had nothing with him to eat.

The monkey now ascended with the tom-tom to the topmost branch of a big tree and there beat his drum most triumphantly, saying in honour of his several tricks—

"I lost my tail and got a razor; *ḍum*,[2] *ḍum*."

"I lost my razor and got a bundle of fuel; *ḍum, ḍum*."

"I lost my fuel and got a basket of puddings, *ḍum, ḍum*."

"I lost my puddings and got a tom-tom; *ḍum, ḍum*."

Thus there are rogues in this innocent world, who live to glory over their wicked tricks.

[1] A low caste man; Pariah.

[2] In response to the sound of the tom-tom.

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(*Continued from Vol.* XV. *p.* 342.)

SPECIES,—Fêlu, fêlo, (M.)
SPEECH,—(A lecture) Dûma, (M., M. 7); (the act of speaking) shib, (M.); sbora, (M. 8)
SPIDER,—Alefandîs, (Tch.); gh'urve, (As. Tch.)
SPILL, to,—Chorâva, (Tch., M.)
SPILLED, to be,—Chôrghiovâva, (Tch.)
SPIN, to,—Kaṭâva, (Tch., Psp. M., M.)
SPINDLE,—Katlî, (Tch.); fûrka, kaklî, (M.)
SPINDLE, point of,—Risinî, (Tch.)
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SPIT, to,—Chungarâva, chungrâva, (Eng.); chudel (Span. Gip.): chungerâva, chungardâ va, (Tch.); chungarâva, (Psp. M.); shungarâva, (M.)
SPITEFUL,—Tippoty, (Eng.)
SPITTING,—Chungaribê, chungardibê, (Tch.)
SPITTLE,—Chungâr, (Tch., M. 7); tûi, (As. Tch.)
SPLENDID,—Mĕndru, (M.)
SPLENDOUR,—Mĕndryâca, (M.)
SPLIT, to,—Licharâva, lit'arâva, pharavâva, shinâva, (M.)
SPOON,—Roi, (Eng.); rôi, (Tch., M. 8); rôyi, rôi, (Psp. M.); lzhîce, roy, (M.)
SPOONS, he who makes or sells,—Roiêngoro, (Tch.)
SPORT,—Bâsi, (Tch.)
SPORTSMAN,—Yag-engro, yago-mengro, (Eng.)
SPOT (place),—Than, (M.)
SPRING,—Lennor, (Eng.)
SPRING (of water),—Izvôru, izvôr, (M.)
SPRING, to,—Khuṭ'ava, (M., M. 7); dukhkiâva, (Tch., M. 7)
SPURS,—Busnis, busnior, (Eng.); buzekhâ, (M.); buz, (M. 7)
SPY,—Moskey, (Eng.)
SQUIRREL,—Rûko-mengro, (Eng.)
STAB, to,—Shinâva, (M.)
STABLE,—Stanya, stanye, (Eng.); grâzhdo, grashtô, kotêcu, (M.); stana, (M. 8)

STACK,—Stuggur, (Eng.); stôgu, (M.)
STAG,—Chêrbo, cherv, (M.)
STAIN,—Abrâshi, (Tch.)
STAKE,—Dombos, pirên, dôbos, dopôs, tôpos; pirêni, (Tch.); kilô, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7)
STAKE, to attach to,—Chopaniâ kerâva, (Tch.)
STAND,—Têrghiovâva, tertiovâva, têrdovâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)
STAND UP, to,—Ushtiâva, (M., M. 8)
STAR,—Dudî, (Eng.); cherkhân, cherkhênî, cherghênî, (Tch.); stiari, (As Tch., M. 8); chergheni, (Psp. M.); cherhayê, cherhâyê, (M.); cherkhan, (M. 7)
STAR, of or belonging to,—Cherkheniâkoro, (Tch.)
STARVED,—(mas.) choveno, (fem.) choveni, (Eng.)
STAY, to,—Hatchâva, atchâva, azâva, ajâva, (Eng.); beshâva, zĕbĕvisarâva, (M.)
STAYS,—Truppior, (Eng.)
STEAL, to,—Nikâva, lourâva, fakâva, chorâva, (Eng.); chorâva, uryâva, (Tch.); furtî, (As. Tch.); chorâva, cholâva, (Psp. M.); nikabar, (Span. Gip.); chorâva, (M.)
STEAL, to cause to,—Uryanâ kerâva, (Tch.)
STEAM,—Pâra, (M.)
STEEL,—Abchîn, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); spin, (M.)
STEELYARD,—Chidinô, (Tch.)
STEELYARD, he who weighs with the,—Chidinêskoro, (Tch.)
STENCH,—Kaenipen, kanipen, (Eng.); kan, khan, kanilipê, (Tch.); khan, (M. 7)
STEP, to,—Ukiâva, uktiâva, (Psp. M.); cf., to RISE.
STEP-MOTHER,—Mâshtehĕ, (M.)
STICK,—Kosht, kost, (Eng.); astardî, kilô, rublî, ruvlî, rulî, (Tch.); druk, drûku, rovlî, roülî, (M.); kilo, (M. 7); ruvli, (M. 8)
STICKY,—Khomerêskoro, (Tch.)
STILL (adv.),—Ajâi, achâi, dahâ, (Tch.); ĕnkĕ, (M.)
STING,—Pusaibê, (Tch.)
STING, to,—Pusavâva, (Tch.)
STINK, to,—Kaenâva, kanâva, (Eng.); kândâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); gh'ehano, (ind. pres.) (As. Tch.)
STINK, to cause to,—Kaniarâva, khanierâva, (Tch.)
STINK, (sub.)—Kan, kanilipê, (Tch.)
STINKING,—Kannelo, kandelo, (Eng.); kandinô, (Tch.)
STINKING, to be,—Kandîniovâva, (Tch.)
STINKING, to become,—Kâniovâva, (Tch.)
STIR, to,—Kĕlt'isarâva, (M.)
STIR ONESELF, to,—Khut'âva, (M.)
STIRRUP,—Skĕri, (M.)
STOCKINGS,—Olevas, olivas, olivor, (Eng.); olibias, (Span. Gip.)
STOLEN,—Chordicanô, (Tch.)
STONE,—Bar, (Eng., Hun. Gip., Span. Gip., Psp. M., M., M. 8.); bar, (dim.) barorô, barûli, (Tch.); vat, (As. Tch.)
STONE-HORSE,—Pelengo-gry, (Eng.)
STONY,—Bareskey, (Eng.); baranô, barêskoro, (Tch.)
STOP, to (v. neut.),—Hatchâva, atchâva, adjâva, (Eng.)
STOP UP, to,—Khenj dâva, khench dâva, (Tch.); astupiâva, poprisarâva, sprizhonisarâva, phandavâva, pandavâva, (M.)
STORM,—Fortûna, (M.)
STORY (of a house),—Pl'ûntro, pl'ôntro, (M.)
STRAIGHT ON,—Ôrtha, ôrta, vôrta, vôrtha, (M.)
STRANGER,—Gajô, (dim.) gajorô, perghûl, peryûl, (Tch.); gajani tori, dichûne, (As. Tch.); burlâku, (M.); gajo, (M. 7)
STRANGER, of or belonging to,—Perghulanô, gajanô, (Tch.)
STRAW,—Pus, (Eng.); pus, bus, (Tch.); sulûm. (M., M. 8); phus, (M. 8); bus, (Psp. M.)
STRAW, (dim.)—Pusorô, (Tch.)
STRAW, dealer in,—Pusêskoro, (Tch.)
STRAY, to,—Rĕtŏchisard'ovâva, (M.)
STREET,—Ulica, (M.); ulika, (M. 8)
STRENGTH,—Ruslipen, (Eng.); zor, zoralibê, (Tch.); putêre, zur, (M.); zor, (M. 8)
STRETCH ONESELF OUT, to,—Ĕnt'înzosard'ovâva, (M.)
STRETCHED OUT,—Buhlô, (M.)
STRIDE, to,—Nakâva, (M.)
STRIFE,—Chingaripen, (Eng.)
STRIKE, to,—Hetavâva, (Eng.); kurâva, tap davâ, marâva, chalavâva, (Tch.); vehirüm, (I strike), (As. Tch.); malavâva, vahêm, (I strike), (Tch. Tokat.); tapâva, (Psp. M.); marâva, (M.); kurâva, lemavâva, (M. 7); malavâva, marâva, (M. 8)
STRING,—Shelô, sholô, (dim.) shelorô, bandardô, bandiardo, banlardô, (Tch.); sali, (As. Tch.)
STRIVE, to,—Usharâva, (Tch., M. 8)
STROKE,—Dab, (M., M. 7)
STRONG, to become,—Zural'ovâva, (M.)
STRONG,—Ruslo, (Eng.); zorâlo, (Tch., Psp. M.); gh'aim, (As. Tch.); zorês, zĕrûs, zuralô, (M.)
STUFF,—Matêrie, (M.)
STUMBLE, to,—Potiknisard'ovâva, (M.)
STUN, to,—Marâva, (M.)
STUPID,—Denilô, dinilô, (Tch.); delivanô, dilivaôn, d'ilivanô, d'ilû, gîlû, (M.)
SUBJECT, (submissive)—Podân, (M.)
SUCH,—Asavkô, seso, (Tch.)
SUCKLE, to,—Piâva, (M.)
SUFFER, to,—Pĕcĕsarâva, rĕbdisard'ovâva, (M.)
SUFFERING, (adj.),—Duklô, (Tch.)
SUFFICE, to,—Arĕsâva, (M.)
SUFFOCATE, to,—Tasâva, (Tch.)
SUGAR,—Gudlo, (Eng.); sahâru, zahâru, (M.)

SULPHUR,—Bengeskoe potan, (Eng.)
SUMMER,—Lennor, lillai, (Eng); nilei, (Hun. Gip); nilâi, (Tch., Psp. M); tomuzi, (As Tch.); mîlay, (M.); nilay, (M. 8)
SUMMER, of or belonging to,—Nilaiêskoro, (Tch.)
SUN,—Kam, kan, kem, (Eng.); kam, (dim) kamorô, (Tch); gam, (As. Tch); kham, (M , M. 7)
SUN, of or belonging to,—Kamêskoro, (Tch)
SUNDAY,—Kinnipen-divvus, (Eng); kurkô, (Tch , Psp. M.); kurkô, kurkĕ, (M); kurko, (M. 7)
SUPPURATE, to,—Pumbâliôvâva, (Tch)
SURE,—Vâti, (As. Tch.)
SURPASS, to,—Nakavavâva, (M.)
SURPLUS,—Opredêr, (Tch.)
SWADDLING-CLOTH,—Pata, (Tch , M. 8)
SWAMP,—Bâhna, bâlta, (M)
SWEAR, to,—Saulohaulâva, sovlehaulâva, (Eng.); khasovâva, (Tch.); colakharâva, zhuruisarâva, (M.)
SWEAR FALSELY, to,—Saulohaulâva bango, (Eng.)
SWEEP, to,—Shulavâva, (Tch.); shĕlavâva, (M.)
SWEEP, to be swept,—Shulâvghiovâva, (Tch.)
SWEET,—Gudlo, (Eng. Psp. M., M. 7); gudlô, guglô, (Tch.); guldê, guldî, (As. Tch); guglô, (M.)
SWEETNESS,—Gudlipê, (Tch.)
SWEET-HEART,—(masc.) Pireno, (fem.) pireni, (Eng.)
SWELL, to cause tô,—Putiarâva, shuvliarâva, (Tch.)
SWELLING,—Shuvlipê, (Tch.)
SWIM, to,—Zuruisarâva, ĕnnotisarâva, (M.)
SWINE,—Baulo, (Eng.); balô, balichô, (Psp. M.); balî, (M.)
SWINE-HERD,—Porkâr, purkâr, (M.)
SWING, to,—Legĕniâva, (M.)
SWOLLEN,—Pukô, shuvlô, (Tch); phuko, shuvlo, (M. 8)
SWOLLEN, to be,—Pûkiovâva, shûvliovâva, (Tch.)
SWORD,—Khandô, khanrô, khanlô, (Tch.); tuvâr, (As. Tch) hanlô, (Psp. M.); khando, (M. 7)
SWORDSMAN,—Churo-mengro, (Eng)
SWORN, person who is,—Sovghialô, (Tch)

T

TABLE,—Mensalli, messalli, (Eng.); salân, sinî, siniâ, (Tch.); mesêle, mesêli, (M.)
TAKE, to,—Leâva, leyâva, (Eng.); lâva, (Tch M., M 8., Psp. M.); ushtidâva, (M. 8)
TAKEN,—Linnow, (Eng.); pardî, (As. Tch.)
TAKE AWAY, to,—Nikâvâ, (Eng.); nikabar, (Span. Gip.)
TAKE CARE, to,—Wardâva, rakâva, garâva, (Eng.)
TAKEN, to be,—Lîniovava, (Tch)
TAKE UP, to,—Priymiâva, priymisarâva, (M.)
TAKE OUT, to,—Enkalavâva, (M.)
TAIL.—Porî, (Tch , M., M. 8, Psp. M.)
TAILOR,—Siva-mengro, (Eng); siibnâskoro, (Tch.); kroyitôri, kroitôru, (M.)
TALES,—Paramîchi, (M.)
TALK, to,—Rokrâva, (Eng)
TALKER,—Rokrenguero, (Eng.)
TALL,—see HIGH.
TALLOW,—Khani, (M. 7)
TALON,—Kfur, khur, kur, fur, (Tch)
TAPER,—Mûmli, (Eng)
TART,—Tûrta, (M)
TAVERN,—Kĕrchma, kĕzhma, (M)
TEA,—Mutra-mengri, (Eng.)
TEA-POT,—Pêa-mengri, (Eng.)
TEACH, to,—Sikâva, sikavâva, (Tch.); sekavâva, (M.)
TEAR, to,—Paravâva, (Tch.)
TEARS,—Âsfa, âsva, âspa, (Tch.); asfâ, (M., Psp. M.); asva, (M 7)
TEDIOUS,—Urĕto, (M.)
TEAT,—Chuchî, (dim) chuchorî, (Tch.); memkor, (As. Tch.)
TELESCOPE,—Dur-diki-mengri, (Eng.)
TELL, TO,—Pukkerâva, (Eng)
TEN,—Desh, (Eng.); des, (Tch); d'esh, (M.); desh, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 7)
TENDERNESS, affect to,—Dremezgîâva, (M.)
TENT,—Tan, ten, (Eng); katûna, chêrga, (Tch); cygyry, cĕhra, katûna, kolîba, (M); cherga, (M. 7); katûna, sahriz, serka, (Psp. M)
TENTS, an inhabitant of,—Katuniâkoro, cherghêskoro, (Tch)
TENTH,—D'êshto, dêshto, (M)
TERRIBLE,—Trashadinô, (Tch.)
TERRIFY, to,—Traishâva, (Eng.); daravâva, (Tch)
THAN,—Denne, (Eng.); dekĕt, kâna, kanâ, (M.)
THANK, to,—Parakrowâva, (Eng.); parekerâva, (M. 8)
THANKS,—Naîs, (M.)
THAT,—Dovo, savo, te, oduvvu, (Eng.); odoba, (Span. Gip.); kadava, avakâ, akavâ, okâ, (Tch.); kodô, (fem.) kodê, (M.)
THAT ONE,—Okâ, odovâ, (Tch.)
THE,—O, (Eng.); o, (pl.) ol, (M.)
THEE ALSO,—Tûya, (Tch.)
THEN,—Bisîm, (Tch); apoi, (Wal.); apôy, atûnch, atûnche, (M.)
THERE,—Odoi, (Eng.); okotîa, otiâ, ovotiâ, ovotiaring, (Tch); kothâr, okot'ê, ordâl, (M.)
THEREFROM,—Okotâr, otâr, ovotâr, (Tch.)
THEREWITH,—The, (M.)
THERE IS NOT,—Naî (na hi), (Eng)
THEY,—Dovor, (Eng); von, (M.)
THICK,—Gostô, (Tch.); thulô, tulô, (Tch , M , M. 8)
THICKET,—Poyâna, (M.)
THIEF,—Chore, (pl) chories, (Eng.); chor, chornô, (Tch); gh'avt, (As. Tch.); chor, chur, (M.); chôr, (M. 7, Psp. M.)

THIEF, great,—Chôraz, chorâzis, (Tch.)
THIEVES, chief of,—Voivôdas, (Tch.)
THIEVES' LANTERN,—Chor-dudî-mengri, (Eng.)
THIGH,—Gher, ghür, (Tch.); ger, (M. 7)
THIN,—Kishlô, sannô, (Tch.); sanno, (Psp. M); sanorô, (M): kishlo, (M. 7); sano, (M. 8)
THIN, to make,—Kishliovâva, (Tch.)
THINE,—Tiro, (Eng.); to, tinrô, (Tch.); türki, (As. Tch.); tirô, t'irô, t'o, t'oŭ, cho, (M.)
THINNESS,—Kishlipê, (Tch.)
THING,—Kovar, kovo, sho, (Eng.); kovâ, koyâ, (Tch.); kova, (M. 7)
THINK, to,—Penchâva, (Eng.); gĕndiâva, gĕndisarâva, pomeniâva, pomenisarâva, (M.)
THIRD,—Trito, (Eng.); trîto, (M.)
THIRST,—Trush, tursh, trushaibê, (Tch.); trush, trust, (Psp. M.); trush, M., M. 8)
THIRSTY,—Trusno, (Eng.); trushalô, turshalô, (Tch.); türsalū, (As. Tch.)
THIRST, to,—Tarâva, (Psp. M.)
THIRSTY, to become,—Trushâliovâva, (Tch., Psp., M.)
THIRTEEN,—Desh ta trin, (Eng.)
THIRTY.—Trianda, (Tch., M. 8)
THIS,—Kavo, (Eng.); kadavâ, avakâ, akavâ, okâ, (Tch.); avakâ, avkâ (Psp. M.): kadô, (fem.) kade, kodô, (fem.) kodê, kukô, kĕkô, (M.); ada, aka, avaka, kadava, kako, kodo, kuko, (M. 7)
THIS HERE,—Kavokoi, (Eng.)
THISTLES,—Kanrĕ, (M.)
THITHER,—Okorîng, otîa, ovotiâ, ovotiarîng, (Tch.); othâr; othê, othi, ochê, ochî, (M.)
THONG,—Tasmâs, (Tch.); haraûl, (M.); sirimi, (M. 8)
THORN,—Kori, (Eng.); kanrô, (Tch.); kando, kaı, (M. 7)
THORN-BUSH,—Buro, (M. 7)
THOSE,—Dovor, (Eng.)
THOU,—Tu, (Eng., Tch. M., M. 8)
THOUGHT,—Gêndu, (M.)
THOUSAND,—Milia, (Tch., M. 8); mîya, mîye, (M.)
THRASH, to,—Ĕmblĕtiâva, (M.)
THREAD,—Naval, dori, (Eng.); katlô, tav, (Tch.); def, (As. Tch); hafre, (Span. Gip.); thaŭ. taŭ, (M); thav, (M. 8); tav, (Psp. M.)
THREAD-SELLER,—Katlêngoro, tavêskoro, tavêngoro, (Tch.)
THREE,—Trin, (Eng, Tch., Psp. M., M., M. 8); tri, (Psp. M.)
THREE TIMES,—Trîvar, (M.)
THRESHOLD,—Prâgo, prâgu, (M.)
THROAT,—Kurlo, (Eng., Psp. M., M. 7); vrangulò. korî, korîn, kurlô, (Tch.); gh'andi, gh'ani, (As. Tch.)
THROUGH,—Prekal, (M. 8)
THROW, to,—Wustâva, chivâva, chûvâva, (Eng.); chivâva, (Tch., Psp. M.); malavâva. shudâva, (M.)
THROWN, to be,—Chîvghiovâva, (Tch.)
THRUST,—Kuntîa, (Tch.)
THRUST, to,—Licharâva, lit'arâva, spidâva, (M.); spilâva, (M. 8)
THUNDER,—Grommena, grovena, grubbena, (Eng.); kurmî, (Tch.); tûnu, (M.)
THUNDER, to,—Grommenâva, grovenâva, grubbenâva, (Eng.)
THURSDAY,—Zhoy, (M.)
THUS,—Avekâ, (Tch.)
THY,—Tinro, (M. 8)
TIE, to,—Bandâva, pandâva, (Tch.); priponisarâva, (M.)
TIE, to cause to,—Bandarâva, (Tch.)
TIED, to be,—Bânliovâva, (Tch.)
TILE,—Keramidinî, (Tch.)
TILE-MAKER,—Keramidiniâkoro, (Tch.)
TILL,—Ji, (M. 7); chin, (Psp. M.)
TIME,—Chiros, (Eng.); (repetition) var, far, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); dâtĕ, dâta, (tempus) vrême, (M.); chiro, (M. 7)
TIMID,—Daranô, (Tch.)

GIPSIES IN ENGLAND AND IN INDIA.

BY G. A. GRIERSON; B.C.S.

The two works which form the text of this article,[1] show, in their method of treating the subject matter, about as great a contrast as can be imagined. Messrs. Smart and Crofton's book is the first attempt at a deliberate survey of the language of the English Gipsies. Such a one had long been wanted when it was written. The many delightful works of Borrow and of Leland had lifted a corner of the veil, and given us a glimpse of what was behind; but the reader of *Lavengro* or of *The English Gipsies*, who seeks for a scientific study of the language in these tantalizing books, must too often have laid them down with a sigh almost of despair. To begin with, Borrow had no system of transliteration, and without that the student

[1] *The Dialect of the English Gipsies*, by B. C. Smart, M.D., and H. T. Crofton. Second Edition. London, Asher and Co., 1875.

Accounts of the Gipsies of India, collected and edited by David MacRitchie, with map and two illustrations. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1886.

is bound to fall into numerous pitfalls; then, as a rule, both Borrow and Leland dealt almost entirely with the common wide-spread corrupt dialect "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*," and neglected the valuable "Deep" or old dialect, which is *par excellence* the Gipsy Language, of which the first is merely the corruption. It is this "Deep" language which alone is useful to the philologist, and it is this which Messrs. Smart and Crofton have been the first to attack, and to lay open the citadel to the entry of less fortunate students. Far be it from me to depreciate the works of Borrow and Leland. Wherever the English language spreads, their works will always be classics and storehouses of Gipsy lore, but they left a want, which has now at length been filled.[2] For myself, I only wish that I had seen this book some years sooner than I did; and as it does not seem to be much known in India, I hasten to draw the attention of my brother-students to it.

The second book is audacious and startling. It strongly reminds the reader of Borrow, both in his happy guesses, and in his philology. In the latter Borrow dared all things. For instance, he connected the root *dik*, see, both with the Skr. *îksh*, and with the Gaelic *dearcam*; while, of course, it is first cousin of the Gauḍian *dêkh*, Pâli *dakkh*, and Skr. *dṛiś*.[3] Again, one's breath is rather taken away when Borrow connects *sî*, the heart, with the Hungarian *sziv*, and the Sanskrit *dhî*, and does not mention the modern Indian *jî*. So also Mr. MacRitchie ventures to countenance the connection of *rôm*, a male Gipsy, with the Coptic *rôm*, a man.

The book consists of a number of detached essays, all directed to proving that the Gipsies are descended from the Jâṭs of Sindh.[4] The first is a translation, from the Dutch, of a contribution to the history of the Gipsies, by Prof. J. De Goeje, in which all the arguments for the theory are summed up. Then follows an appendix to this essay by Mr. MacRitchie, in which an astonishing amount of out-of-the-way information, bearing on the subject, is collected. Then follows, what I fear many will consider something very like padding, *viz.* about 80 pages devoted to a description of the siege of the Jâṭ stronghold of Bharatpur (Bhurtpore). The author admits that it will appear an excrescence to Gipsiologists pure and simple, and adds that it is for them easy to evade the reading of it, while, on the other hand, a different class of readers may find more interest in it than in the other portions of the book. The answer to this excuse is obvious.

The book concludes with two original essays. The first deals with certain Gipsy characteristics, and in it the author gives very strong arguments to show that the use of artillery was introduced into Europe by the Gipsies. At least as early as 1496 we learn from a mandate granted by Wladislas, king of Hungary, that Thomas Polgar, chief of twenty-five tents of wandering Gipsies, had, with his people, made at Fünfkirchen musket-balls and other ammunition for Bishop Sigismond. Again, in 1546 we learn "that the French king hath, by th'advice of two gentlemen of Hungary, very experient, made a great number of cannons of a greater calibre than hath ever been seen." These "two gentlemen" were probably of the same race as the followers of Thomas Polgar. The whole of this essay is most entertaining reading. The last paper, entitled "miscellaneous remarks," gives accounts of the various wandering tribes of thieves in India, including the Ḍôms and the Bediyâs. It is difficult here, as often elsewhere, to find out Mr. MacRitchie's own opinions on what he writes about. He collects a great deal of conflicting information of varying authority, often most interesting and important, and leaves the reader to decide upon the evidence adduced, without a word of guidance. Thus, he mentions with equal prominence Paspati's identification of *Rôm* with *Râma* (!) (p. 107), and Leland's identification of the same with *Ḍôm* (p. 226). Not one word does he say to lead

[2] As an instance of the unscientific nature of Borrow's work, *Lavolil* may be taken. It contains a vocabulary, and selection of Gipsy passages. It is evident from internal evidence that these two parts have been made quite independently. The second part contains numerous words not contained in the vocabulary, and in the spelling of both parts confusion reigns supreme. Thus he gives *dic*, to look; *dickimengro*, an overlooker; *dikkipen*, a look; and so on.

[3] I need hardly say that I purposely avoid discussing here the way in which *dakkh* comes from *dṛiś*.

[4] The Gipsy *sundô*, honourable, which Mr. MacRitchie (p. 223), following Paspati (p. 21), identifies with *Sindo*, or *Sinti*, is really the past participle of *sunâva*, 'to hear,' and means 'renowned,' like the modern Greek ἀκουστὸς. On p. 498, Paspati gives the correct derivation, which is also clearly proved by Ascoli.

one to know that the first is undoubtedly wrong, while the second is almost certainly right.

The **Jâṭ theory** of the origin of the Gipsies may be stated as follows:—According to the *Shâh-Nâma*, the Persian monarch Bahrâm Gaur received in the 5th century from an Indian king 12,000 musicians who were known as Lûrîs, and according to the *Majmu'au't-Tawârîkh*, the Lûrîs or Lûlîs (*i.e.* Gipsies) of modern Persia are the descendants of these. The historian Ḥamza Isfahânî, who wrote half a century before Firdûsî, the author of the *Shâh Nâma*, however, calls these imported musicians Zutts, (h;) and the Arabic Dictionary *Al Qâmûs* has the following entry, 'Zutt, Arabicized from Jatt, a people of Indian origin.' Another lexicon, the *Mûhît*, gives the same information, and adds that they are the people called Nawar in Syria, and that they are musicians and dancers. *Zott* as the author writes it, is also a term of contempt. "You *Zottî*" is a term of abuse. Again, according to Istakhri and Ibn Haukal, Arabic geographers of the 10th century, the fatherland of these people was the marshy lands of the Indus between al Mansûra, and Makrân.

In the course of years numbers of Zotts settled in Persia, especially in the regions of the Lower Tigris, where in 820 A.D. they had become a great body of robbers and pirates. Various attempts were made to subdue them, which was not effected till 834, after which they were conveyed away to Ainzarba on the northern frontier of Syria. In 855 (according to *Tabarî*) the Byzantines attacked Ainzarba and carried off the Zott prisoners with them to their own country. In this way we have the entry of the Gipsies into Europe accounted for.

Now, though it is possible that the Gipsies of Europe are descended from these Zotts who were imported into the Greek empire, and that they are the same as the Lûrîs or Persian Gipsies, there appear to me to be two most important flaws in the chain by which it is attempted to connect Gipsies with the Jâṭs, or Jaṭṭs, as they are always called there, of Sindh. First, there is the point of language. It is admitted by the advocates of the Jâṭ theory that there is "a great unlikeness between Rômanî and Jâṭakî" (the Jâṭ dialect); but they argue that "language does not form an infallible test of pedigree. There are several gipsy populations by whom the language of the Rômanî has been forgotten; and everywhere the tendency among Gipsies of the present day is to relinquish their ancestral speech."[5] To this the answer is not far to seek. In the first place, though the language-test may not be infallible, it is a very powerful one, and throws much doubt on any theory to which it gives an unfavourable reaction. The Gipsies of the present day undoubtedly speak an Indian language, and that language is not, in any way, nearly connected with Jâṭakî; so that if we adopt the theory quoted above, we must also adopt the utterly impossible assumption that the Jâṭs left India speaking Jâṭakî, and, in the course of their wanderings over Asia and Europe, while they were being or had been scattered into a number of independent tribes, gave up their own language, and exchanged it, *not* for the languages of their new homes, but, all of them, for one certain definite language of the India which they had left centuries before. We shall have to assume not only this, but that clans scattered over Western Asia and perhaps over Europe, all fortuitously agreed to adopt the same Indian language, though all communication between them was barred.

But, even admitting that the test of language, when considered alone, is not, in this case, infallible,—it becomes so, if we consider the circumstances which attended the importation from India of these 12,000 Zotts or Lûrîs. Firdûsî says distinctly that they were 12,000 musicians of both sexes, and the author of the *Mûhît* adds that they were dancers, and contemptible. I am at a loss to understand how so large a number of degraded persons could be found amongst those from whom were descended the brave defenders of Bharatpur. With all due deference to the authors of the Arabic dictionaries above referred to, it is impossible that these people can have been Jâṭs. The Jâṭs are one of the highest castes of India. They claim to be, after the Râjpûts, one of the purest tribes of Kshatriyas;[6] and any one with the smallest acquaintance with the Indian caste system can understand that a huge band of professional

[5] Mr. MacRitchie, p. 82.

[6] See, for instance, Monier Williams, *Hinduism*, p. 161.

singers and dancers, men and women, could never have come from a Kshatriya tribe. In spite, therefore, of the authority of Pott, of Trumpp, and of De Goeje, I am unable to accept the theory that the descent of the Gipsies from the Jâts is proved, even if we admit that the former are descended from the Zotts or Lûrîs of Arabic and Persian writers.[7]

Concerning my own theory of the origin of the Gipsies, I have already, in the Introduction to Mrs. Grierson's *Gipsy Index*, stated my opinion that the language-test points to an Indian tribe speaking a dialect derived from Mâgadhî and not from Śaurasênî Prâkṛit, and that, therefore, it is in Eastern Hindûstân that we must look for their ancestors. I have further pointed out the extreme probability of the criminal tribe known as the Magahiyâ Ḍôms (who, by the way, are great musicians, singers, and dancers), being descended from the same stock as the Gipsies. I may note, here, a word quoted by Mr. MacRitchie from Mr. Leland, which lends a singular confirmation to the theory. It is the Gipsy term for bread, which is *mânrô* or *manrô*. This is usually connected either with the Gauḍian *mâṅṛ* 'rice-gruel,' or with *maṅṛuâ* the millet, *eleusine coracana*. Neither of these agrees with the idea of bread, but in the Magahî dialect of Bihârî, spoken south of the Ganges, in the native land of these Magahiyâ Ḍôms, there is a peculiar word *maṇḍâ*[8] or *mâṅṛâ*, which means 'wheat,' whence the transition to the Gipsy *mânrô*, 'bread' is eminently natural.

Messrs. Smart and Crofton's work has two great advantages. It is systematic, and it is thorough. It begins with a most useful **Bibliography,** commencing with (chapter xxxviii.) "The first Boke of the introduction of Knowlege, made by Andrew Boorde of Physyche Doctor," which "treteth of Egypt, and of theyr mony and of theyr speche," and was written in 1547.[9] One specimen of the "speche of Egypt" as it existed at that date may be given for the benefit of Indian readers. It is a *da mai masse* (compare Bihârî *da mohi* [nom. *maî*] *mâs*), which the worthy Doctor translates "Geue me fleshe!"

Next follows the **grammar** proper, preceded by a section devoted to orthography, in which the authors lay down the lines on which they base their system of spelling. They have followed the Glossic System used by the English Dialect Society, in which *ai* corresponds to the sound of the Sanskrit ऐ, *ou* to that of औ, and so on. It is to be regretted that, in treating of a language so closely connected with India, they did not base their system on that of Sir W. Jones, which is now universally used in transliterating Gauḍian vernaculars. In quoting Gipsy works, I shall endeavour to use the Jonesian system as much as possible, as it will be most convenient to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*. The following special signs are necessary: *ă* like *a* in *gnat*; *ā* like *aa* in *baa*; *â* like *aw* in *caw*; *a* like *u* in *nut*; *ŏ* like *o* in *not*; and *oi* like *oi* in *oil*.

The chapter on **letter-changes** is especially interesting to comparative philologists, who will meet here many old friends. Thus the interchange of *k* and *p* in *chapni* or *chakni*, a whip, will remind them of the Sanskrit root *pach*, beside the Latin *coc*, meaning, 'cook.' Again, *kŏl* or *hŏl* is parallel to the Greek *καρδία* and the Sanskrit *hṛidaya*. Instances of this kind could be multiplied to any extent.

The chapter on **noun-inflections** is as full and complete as can be desired. Most interesting is the form of the **genitive** singular in *eskrŏ*, plural *engrŏ*. These have varieties such as *meskrŏ*, *mengrŏ*; *ŏmeskrŏ*, *ŏmengrŏ*. These genitive forms, as in the other Gauḍian languages, were originally adjectives.

Examples of the simplest form of the genitive are

găveskrŏ, a policeman, from *găv*, a town,
găvengrŏ do. from do.

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[7] [The following remarks may help the argument. Throughout India the Jâṭs or Jâṭṭs number 5¼ millions: but there are Jâṭs *and* Jâṭs, at any rate in the Pañjâb, and the Jaṭṭ of the Lower Indus, Sindh and the Dêrâjât district differs as widely as can well be imagined from the Jâṭ of Bharatpur and the Jaṭṭ of the ruling Sikh families of the Panjâb. In the latter cases he is a fine specimen of humanity, but in the former exactly the reverse. All along the Indus 'Jaṭṭ' is a term of contempt and implies roughly *any* agricultural Muhammadan tribe which is not of the locally superior sort, *i.e.* which is not Sayyid, Bâloch, Paṭhân or Qurêsh. This remark applies more or less also to the Salt Range district, the lower Chinâb and Jhêlam, and to Sindh itself. Ibbetson's *Ethnography of the Pañjâb* §§ 420 to 440 is the best contribution to the subject I know: compare also O'Brien's *Settlement Report of the Muzaffargaṛh District*. The above use of the term Jaṭṭ may possibly account for the spread westwards of such a term, as زطه Zuṭṭs to signify an inferior class of foreigners, though of course it would argue nothing as to their real racial origin.—R. C. TEMPLE.]

[8] See *Bihâr Peasant Life*, § 955. The change from *maṇḍâ* to *mâṅṛâ* is quite regular.

[9] Reprinted by Mr. Furnivall for the Early English Text Society, 1870.

Here the termination of the genitive is really *krŏ* or *grŏ*, the *es* and *en* being respectively the singular and plural oblique terminations of the noun. The words are really *găves krŏ*, and *găven krŏ* (altered to *grŏ* for euphony). This any student of Prâkrit will at once be able to trace to its Mâgadhî Prâkrit form. *Krŏ*, as seen from other Gipsy dialects, is a contraction from *kŏrŏ*, which is the same as the Bihârî genitive termination *kar(a)*. *Kara* is the direct descendant of the Prâkrit adjectival suffix *kêra* which implies possession, *e.g.* (Ap. Pr. in Hêmachandra IV. 422), *jasu kêrêṁ huṁkâraḍaêṁ muhahuṁ paḍaṁti tṛiṇâiṁ*, 'on account of (instrumental) whose roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer).' Here *jasu kêrêṁ huṁkâraḍaêṁ* is literally in Sanskrit *yasya kṛitena huṁkârêṇa;* in which *yasya kṛitêna* is pleonastic for simple *yasya*. Now, here two things are to be noted, (*a*) that *kêra* is used adjectivally, and (*b*) that the noun to which it is pleonastically attached is in the genitive case. With these two facts compare in Gipsy, (*a*), that these nouns in *krŏ* or *grŏ* form nouns denoting an agent or possessor the termination *ŏ* being masculine, and *î* (*krî*, *grî*) feminine or neuter, and (*b*) that the oblique bases *es* and *en* (in *e.g.* *găves* and *găven*) are originally genitives, singular and plural respectively. *Es* corresponds to the Mâgadhî Prâkrit gen. sing. term. *aśśa* (Hêm. IV. 299), and *en* to the gen. plur. term *âṇaṁ* or *aṇha* (Hêm. IV. 300, and Lassen, 271; cf. Hêm. III. 123) of the same dialect. Tracing our typical examples, therefore, back to Sanskrit, we get first (1) Sanskrit, *grâmasya kṛita*: Mâgadhî Prâkrit, *gâmaśśa kêra*; Apabhraṁśa Prâkrit, *gâṅvaśśa kêra* (Hêm. IV. 397); Turkish Gipsy *găves-kŏrŏ*; English Gipsy, *găves-kro*, 'of or belonging to a town,' hence, 'a policeman. (2) Skr. *grâmâṇâm kṛita*; Mâgadhî Prâkrit,* *gâmanha kêra*; Turkish Gipsy, *găven-gŏrŏ*; English Gipsy, *găven-grŏ*, 'of or belonging to towns.'

We are now in a position to consider the other terminations given above, *viz.* (*ŏ*)*meskrŏ*, (*ŏ*)*mengrŏ*.

Examples are—

săstermeskrŏ, a blacksmith, from *săster*, iron.
yŏgŏmeskrŏ, a gun „ *yŏg*, fire.
tăttermengrŏ, a frying-pan, „ *tătter*, to heat.
chinŏmengrŏ, a hatchet, „ *chin*, to cut.

In the above the terminations *krŏ* and *grŏ* have been already disposed of. It remains to consider the form (*ŏ*)*mes* and (*ŏ*)*men*. In the forms *mes* and *men*, it will appear that the *ŏ* has only dropped out in obedience to the laws of euphony; just as in the Bihârî language the form *sastrawâ* has become *sastr'wâ*, a weapon. It remains, therefore, to consider the fuller forms *ŏmes* and *ŏmen*.

These correspond to what in Bihârî grammar are called 'long forms,' which are formed by adding the syllable *'wâ* or *yâ* to any noun. Thus *sastr* or (long form) *sastr'wâ*, 'a weapon' *âgi*, or *ăgiyâ*, 'fire.' In Bihârî a different termination is used for adjectives, so that the long forms of *tattâ*, 'hot,' and *chhinn*, 'cut,' are *tatakkâ*, and *chhinakkâ;* but the Gipsy apparently retained the *w* for adjectives also; so that we may substitute; for the sake of comparison, suppositious Bihârî words, *tat'wâ*, 'a thing heated,' and *chhiun'wâ*, 'a thing cut.' Now, in Prâkṛit (Hêm. IV.397) an *m* can be changed to *v* preceded by *anunâsikâ*, and though Hêmachandra does not state the converse rule that *v* can become *m*, it does so in Bihârî. In vulgar Maithilî, as spoken by women, this long form termination *'wâ* is commonly pronounced *'mâṅ*, or *'mâ*. Examples will be found on p. 20 of my Maithil Chrestomathy, where we find *a'gan'mâ* for *a'gan'wâ*, 'a court-yard,' *bisaran'mâ* for *bisaran'wâ*, 'forgotten,' and again p. 22, where we find *asanan'mâ* for *asanan'wâ*, 'bathing.'

In Gipsy, therefore, *săstermes* is the genitive singular of the long form of *săster*; *yŏgŏmes* the same of *yŏg*; and *tattermen*, genitive plural of the long form of *tătter* (? *tătta*), and *chinŏmen*, the same of *chin*.

The long form termination *'wâ* or *'mâ* is a relic of the Sanskrit pleonastic termination *ka*, which was very common in Prâkṛit, in which, as the *k* came between two vowels, it was elided. In the modern Gauḍians, a *w* or *y* was then inserted to fill the hiatus. Thus Skr. *śastra*, or *śastraka*, 'a weapon,' Mâgadhî Prâkṛit *śastra(k)a*, genitive singular *śastra-aśśa kêra*, English Gipsy, *săstermes-krŏ*. Mâgadhî Prâkṛit gen. sing., *śastra-âha* (Hêm. IV. 299) *kera*, Bihârî *sastr'wâ kar* or vulgar *sastr'mâ kar*. To take another example, Skr. *tapta(ka)*,

* Hêm. III. 123, confines this form to numerals, but it is regularly formed from *gâmâṇam*.

'heated;' Mâgadhî Prâkṛit gen. plural, **tatta-anha kêra*, English Gipsy *tăttermengrĕ*, Bihârî, **tattawanh kar* or (vulgar) **tattamanh kar.*

Besides *-eskrŏ*, etc., there are, in the English Gipsy dialect, the terminations *eskŏ* and *estĕ* in common use, both as genitive singular and as adjectival terminations. Of these the *kŏ* in *eskŏ* is again the Sanskrit *kṛita*, of which another Prâkṛit form is *kıa*, which becomes *kŏ* in Gipsy and *ka* in Bihârî, through an intermediate form *kya*. The *tŏ* of *estŏ* is not so clear. I believe it is from the same *kṛita*, which can again in Prâkṛit become *kata* (Hêm. IV. 323). Thus, take the Gipsy *mûestŏ*, 'of or belonging to the face' (*e.g. mûestŏ kŏvă*, 'a looking glass'). This would be Skr. *mukhasya kṛita*, Mâgadhî Prâkṛit *muhaś-śa kata*. If these two words were pronounced as one, thus *muhaśśakata*, the *k* would be liable to elision as falling between two vowels, so that we should get *muhaśśa-ata* which might become in Gipsy *mûes-tŏ*. This derivation, which would be otherwise rather hazardous, fits in with a similar explanation of the Gipsy dative termination *este*, of which the *te* would represent, if this theory is correct, the Sanskrit *kṛitê*, a word often used to signify 'for,' and which is the original of the Bihârî dative suffix *kahuṅ*, or *kêṅ*, through the Prâkṛit *katê*, and the Apabhraṁśa Prâkṛit *kaahuṁ* or *kaahiṁ* (Hêm. IV. 340, 347; *kramadîśwarn* as quoted in Lassen, 26).

I have lingered so long over this important subject of **Gipsy genitives**, that I must curtail my remarks concerning the remainder of the grammar as dealt with by Messrs. Smart and Crofton. Everywhere the student will find it interesting and suggestive. For instance, the termination of abstract nouns in *pen*, will at once suggest the Indian Gauḍian *pan*, which comes from the Skr. *tva* or (Vaidik) *tvan*, through the Apabhraṁśa Prâkṛit *-ppaṇa* (Hêm. IV. 437). Again, I notice that Messrs. Smart and Crofton connect the Gipsy sign of the comparative *der* with the Persian *tar*. It is simpler to go back to the Skr. *tara*, which can become *dara* in Mâgadhî Prâkṛit (Hêm. IV. 302). On the verb, a whole series of articles might be written. It will be sufficient to point out here identities like the following; Skr. *śriṇôshi*, Mag. Pr. *śuṇasi*, Bihârî, *sunas*, Gipsy, *shûnes*, 'thou hearest;' Turkish Gipsy, *jālā*; English Gipsy, *jāl*, Bihârî, *jâlâ*, 'he goes.' This last is in both Gipsy and Bihârî a compound tense, and the identity is specially remarkable. The compound is in India peculiar to Bihârî, and is only used in Bhôj'pûrî, *or the dialect spkoen by Magahiyâ Ḍôms*, and in no other dialect.

The **Pronouns** give rise to many suggestive considerations. The word for 'I' is *mê*, the Bihârî *mêṅ*. But the plural *men*, or *mêndi* is still more interesting. A reference to the Turkish Gipsy shows that this was originally *ămen*, or *ămendi*. *Amen* is the Bihârî *haman* or *hamani*, 'we;' but how are we to account for the form *ămendi?* Here again, Bhôj'pûrî alone gives us the clue. *Haman* or *hamani*, is really an old genitive plural, the Prâkṛit *amhâṇa* 'of us,' and means '(many) of us,' hence simply 'we.' In time, however, the original meaning became forgotten, and the word was considered a pure nominative plural. But the genius of the Bihârî language, differing from that of the more Western Gauḍians, seemed to demand that the nominative plural of pronouns should be in a genitive form; and so the Bhôj'pûrî dialect, when the fact became forgotten that *hamani* was really a genitive, tacked on to it again *kâ* the sign of the genitive, making *hamanîkâ*, which again means '(many) of us,' 'we.' This is a peculiarity of the Bhôj'pûrî dialect alone, and does not occur in the other dialects. Now let us take the Gipsy *amendi* or *mendi*. We have seen that the element *amen* is really a genitive. I believe that *di* is also the sign of the genitive plural, from the Mâgadhî Prâkṛit *kadê* (Skr. *kṛitas*), just as the *to* in *esto* is from *kata* (Apabhraṁśa, nom. sing *katu*) as above shown.

The Grammar is followed by a most complete **Gipsy-English Vocabulary**. It, of course, deals directly with the dialect of the English Gipsies, but throughout, and, especially in the appendix, a great deal of useful collateral matter is brought in. It is concluded appropriately by a useful English-Anglo-Gipsy vocabulary. The last hundred pages of the book are devoted to genuine Gipsy compositions, both in the 'Deep,' and in the vulgar tongue, most with translations. Here and there are short little essays which give much useful information. Witness the following:—

'THE FROG.

We have often asked Gipsies for the *Rômani lav* (Gipsy word) for 'a frog.' Charlie Boswell

told us it was the "*tikeni kŏli as jăls adrê de pâni, and lels de drab avrî*" (little thing that goes into the water and takes the poison[10] out). Wester Boswell told us it was "*O stŏr-herengrŏ bengeskŏ kŏli tă jăls adrê o pâni sŏ piŏvă*" (the four-legged diabolic thing that swims in the water which I drink). The Gipsies in general consider that any water, into which a frog goes, is fit to drink. Although they have forgotten the *word* for 'frog,' they use for 'toad' the word which means 'frog' in other dialects, viz. *jamba, jomba* (Vocab.), but are confused when questioned about it, and say "it is no *tacho lav* (true word), but means *jumper*."'

It is a curious fact, thus brought to notice by Messrs. Smart and Crofton, that there is no word in Gipsy for 'frog;' but it is still more curious that an animal which Gipsies consider to be a benevolent purifier of water should be called 'devilish,' nearly all Gipsy vocabularies giving *beng* as meaning 'devil,' and 'devil' only. Is it not possible that the Gipsy for 'frog' can once have been also *beng*; and that this meaning of the word has been forgotten but has survived in the phrase *bengeskŏ kŏli*, 'froggish thing,' which is now ignorantly translated by the Gipsies as 'devilish thing'? Is it not possible that the word *beng* in Gipsy had once two meanings, 'frog' as well as 'devil,' of which the former has disappeared? The Bihârî (and Hindûstânî) for 'frog' is *bêṅg* or *beng*. This is derived from the Skr. *vyaṅga* 'having deformed limbs,' and not from *bhêka* as most dictionaries make out. And the Gipsy *bêng* is evidently derived from the same word, as is shown by the Hungarian-Gipsy *byeng*, 'devil.'[11] Curiously enough, in some Gipsy dialects we find the word bearing the meaning of 'dragon.' Thus, according to Miklosich, *loc. cit.*, in a *Beitrag zur. rottwellischen Grammatik*, we see *beng* given as the German-Gipsy for '*drache, teufel*.' Again, in Spanish-Gipsy, *benge* means 'dragon,' and *bengôchi*, 'basilisk,' but *bengi*, 'devil.' The meanings of both 'frog' and 'devil,' can well come from *vyaṅga*; indeed, the first meaning is given in the Saṅskṛit dictionaries. The idea of the devil having deformed limbs is very old. It will be sufficient here to allude to the fable of the *Diable Boiteux*. Paspati, though he goes wrong in the derivation[12] hits on the same idea as that to which I have come independently. Talking of the Gipsies,[13] he says,—

'Le diable, διάβολος, *shaitân* des Musalmâns, leur etaient inconnus: mais dans les tableaux chrétiens, représentant le chevalier St. Georges terrassant le diable, sous la forme du dragon, le diable leur devint familier, sous la forme d'une grosse grenouille. Ces tableaux fort communs partout, et peints par des artistes maladroits, ont, peut-être, plus que tout autre, contribués à assimiler, dans leur pensée, le diable avec le dragon ou la grenouille.'

With this quotation, I must bring this already too long essay to a close, recommending all who are interested in the Indian vernaculars to procure a copy of Messrs. Smart and Crofton's book.

[10] *drab* = *dravya*.

[11] Miklosich, VII. 10.

[12] He connects at once *paṅka, bhêka* and *bêng*!

[13] p. 169.

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF SAMKARACHARYA.

The latest contributions on this subject appear to be Mr. K. B. Pathak's paper, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 174f., in which he quoted a manuscript that gives Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 3889 (A.D. 788-81), the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, as the year of Saṁkarâchârya's birth,[1] and Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 3921 (A.D. 820), the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha, as the date of his death; and Mr. K. T. Telang's paper, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 95ff., in which, questioning the authority of the work relied on by Mr. Pathak, as belonging at the earliest to about the end of the twelfth century, he arrived, on arguments stated in detail by him, at the conclusion that the date of the reformer cannot be brought down to any period subsequent to about A.D. 590.

I would draw attention to the statement of the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali*,[2] that Saṁkarâchârya visited Nêpâl either at the end of the reign, or within a few months after the death, of Vṛishadêva of the Sûryavaṁśi dynasty; and that Vṛishadêva's son, Saṁkaradêva, was named after the reformer, during whose stay in Nêpâl he was born. Very similar statements are made also in respect of a somewhat later king, Varadêva,

[1] The same year had previously been given by Prof. Teile, in *Outlines of the History of Ancient Religions*, p. 140; see *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 263.

[2] Wright's *History of Nêpâl*, pp. 118ff., 123; and *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 142.

and his son Śaṁkaradêva; but there is the important difference that, in their time, the person who visited Nêpâl was only a Brâhmaṇ incarnation of Śaṁkarâchârya;[3] whereas, in the case of Vṛishadêva and his son, the visitor was the reformer himself in person.

According to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's interpretation and arrangement of the dates of the kings of Nêpâl,[4] **Vṛishadêva** reigned about A.D. 260, and thus belonged to a period which would make it impossible that the statement about Śaṁkarâchârya could be correct.

But the real date of **Vṛishadêva**, as established by my own rectification of the early chronology of Nêpâl,[5] was about A.D. 630 to 655; with, of course, the possibility, since the nearest recorded date belongs to the time of his great-grandson Mânadêva, that he really came some ten or twenty years earlier.

This result approaches so closely to the period arrived at, on extraneous and inferential grounds, by Mr. Telang, that it is to be hoped that he will look again through the facts on which his conclusions were based, and will consider whether his deductions do not admit of the slight modifications that would bring them into accordance with the statement of the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali*. Like other native records, the *Vaṁśâvali* is, for the most part, extremely unreliable; it would, for instance, place Vṛishadêva in B.C. 614. But, as shewn by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,[6] it has preserved, though in a distorted form, at least one real historical item, in the statement that, in the time of Viśvadêvavarman, the predecessor of Aṁśuvarman, Vikramâditya came to Nêpâl and established his era there; the real reference being to a conquest of the country by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and the partial introduction of *his* era as the result. And there seems no particular reason for refusing to accept its statement regarding the visit of Śaṁkarâchârya as correct; supported, as it is, by the fact that the name of Śaṁkara appears for the first time, among the Nêpâl kings, in the case of Vṛishadêva's son and successor. It is, at any rate, sufficient, I think, to shew that Śaṁkarâchârya's period is not later than that of Vṛishadêva.

J. F. FLEET.

9th October 1886.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

The conversion of Hindu dates into English equivalents has now been much facilitated by General Cunningham's useful *Book of Indian Eras*, the Tables in which, with those in Mr. Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, give, in convenient forms, all the data that are ordinarily required.

Instances, however, constantly occur, in which the results arrived at from the Tables do not exactly agree with the details, recorded in inscriptions &c., that are the subject of computation. This is especially the case with dates from Southern India; my own experience being that, in a very large proportion of these, the results do not agree. But the case is frequently the same with dates from Northern India. And, from the instances of both classes that I have looked into, it seems plain, that,—however absolute may be the rules adopted in the Tables for arriving at the initial days of Hindu years, which give the basis of all the detailed calculations; and however correct may be the published results on this point,—yet the subsidiary rules and Tables, for working out intermediate days, must not be followed in too hard and fast a manner, but are always liable to modification and adjustment, sometimes on account of retrenched and repeated lunar *tithis*; sometimes in consequence of the practice of coupling a lunar *tithi*, when it commences after sunrise and does not end in the same day, with the name of the following week-day, instead of with the name of that with which the greater part of the *tithi* actually coincides; and sometimes because the theoretical arrangement of the Hindu luni-solar year, in twelve months, consisting of alternately 30 and 29 solar days, in regular succession, is not adhered to in actual practice, but varies irregularly from year to year. These are rather intricate matters, for which the Tables do not provide, at any rate in a way that is convenient for use by those who are not experts. And the result is that, except in respect of a date that happens to be exactly normal in all its surroundings, only a close approximation can be obtained from the Tables.

It is easy enough, accepting the Rules and Tables as absolute in all their details, to assume that the interpretation of an original passage containing a date, is not correct; or, admitting that the interpretation is correct, to suggest an error in the original record, and to adapt it to the results obtained from the Tables, by proposing to alter the name of the week-day, or the number of the *tithi*, and so on. But this method of procedure is hardly satisfactory. And my own inclination, in cases of difference, is, to accept the recorded details as at least *primâ facie* correct, and to use them as data for modifying and cor-

[3] Wright's *History of Nêpâl*, p. 152f.
[4] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 427.
[5] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 350.
[6] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 421f.

recting the rules for computing other intermediate dates of the same year.

Any general rules of correction could only be established by tabulating a considerable number of calculated results; and then noting the way in which, and the extent to which, they differ from the results obtainable from the published Tables.

And, as a contribution to this line of inquiry, I propose to give, from time to time, calculations of dates that include points of interest; and thus to provide materials and special points of consideration for others, who will go more deeply into the subject than I can.

When General Cunningham and Mr. Cowasjee Patell differ in respect of the initial day of a year, I shall give the results separately, according to each authority. When I indicate no such difference of results, it will be understood that both sets of Tables agree in all the essential data. Other points requiring special notice, will be commented on as they arise.

No. 1.

Through the kindness of Mr. G. Waddington, Bo.C S., I have recently obtained, from **Kalas-Budrûkh** in the Akôlêṁ Tâlukâ of the **Ahmadnagar** District, a new copper-plate grant of the *Mahâsâmanta* **Bhillama III.**, of the family of the **Yâdavas of Sêuṇadêsa**. The details of the date (l. 14 f.) are — Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu navasv=ashṭâchatvârimśad-adhikêshv=aṁkatô=pi 948 Krôdhana-saṁvatsara-Kârttika-saṁjât-âdityagrahaṇê,—"in nine centuries of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, increased by forty-eight; or, in figures, 948 (*years*); on the occurrence of an eclipse of the sun in (the month) **Kârttika** of the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara*."

This gives us, for calculation, Śaka-Saṁvat 948, the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara*, both current; the month Kârttika (October-November); and an eclipse of the sun, which of course took place on the new moon *tithi*,—the fifteenth *tithi*, but the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth, solar day, as the case may be, of the dark fortnight. And as the contents of the inscription connect it absolutely with the neighbourhood in which it was found,[1] a locality within the limits of Southern India, all the details of the date have, *primâfacie* at least, to be treated in accordance with the southern method of reckoning; and therefore, as regards the arrangement of the months, with the bright fortnight preceding the dark, and so, as the Śaka-Saṁvat years commence with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April), with the whole of that month,—not only the bright half of it.—standing in the beginning of the year.[2]

Here, however, as regards Śaka-Samvat 948 being recorded as current, as well as the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara*, there is a special point that calls for remark.

It is often asserted that the ancient Hindus always expressed their dates in expired years. And, according to this, we should understand *atîtêshu*, 'having gone by, having expired,' or any similar word, in apposition with *śatêshu* in the present passage, and translate accordingly. Now, it is true that the word *atîta* does actually occur here. But it does not qualify *śatêshu*, in respect of the number of years to be recorded. It qualifies the base *saṁvatsara* or *saṁvatsara-śata*, in connection with the time of the Saka king or kings from which the era is reckoned. The expression is a technical one, of constant occurrence. And with the present passage we have to contrast the date of the Kauṭhêṁ grant of Vikramâditya V. (p. 24 above, l. 61 f.), — Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-samvatśara-satêshu navasu triṁśad-adhikêshu gatêshu 930 pravartamâna-Saumya-saṁvatsarê &c ,—in which we explicitly have *gatêshu*, 'having gone by,' in apposition with *śatêshu*, in addition to *atîta* qualifying *saṁvatsara* (or *saṁvatsara-śata*), as here. In the present passage, there is no such word; and, if we were to supply one, the text would then indicate Śaka-Saṁvat 948 expired, and 949, the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara*, current. But the *saṁvatsara* of the sixty-year cycle would then differ from the year of the era by two years, instead of only one as noted below, according to the southern reckoning of the cycle; and would not agree with it, even according to the northern reckoning.

No doubt, in making calculations, the Hindus worked, as Europeans must work, with the number of expired years as a basis. But this is

[1] This is a point that requires to be always noted in respect of copper-plate grants, which, being so portable, may travel to, and, be discovered at, any distance from the locality to which they really belong. With stone-inscriptions, of course, the case is different.

[2] In the north, the dark fortnight of each month precedes the bright. But the year there, as in the south, commences on the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra; consequently the dark fortnight of Chaitra stands, in the north, at the end of the year; instead of in the place of the second fortnight of the year, which it occupies in the south. The result is that the northerners are, for instance, in the dark fortnight of Vaiśâkha, while the southerners are still in the dark fortnight of the preceding month, Chaitra; and as another, example, the 236th day of the theoretical luni-solar year is, in the south, the new-moon day of Kârttika, but in the north it is the new-moon day of the following month, Mârgaśirsha. This difference of arrangement is obviously only of essential importance in respect of dates in the dark fortnights of the months; thus, for instance, the 74th day, in theoretical order, is the full-moon day of Jyêshṭha, in both southern and northern India.

quite a different question from that of their method of expressing the dates; as, also, is the question whether they did not sometimes by mistake quote years as current which were really expired, and the reverse, and even occasionally quote, as current, or even as expired, years that were still to come. And, as a very clear and pointed instance of the record of a date in current years, we have the Sâsbahû temple inscription of Mahîpâla, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150, which gives (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 41; vv. 107, 108; l. 40) first, in words, the number of years expired, and then, partially in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year,—Êkâdaśasv=atîtêshu saṁvatsara-śatêshu cha | êk-ôna-pañchâśati cha gatêshv=abdêshu Vikramât || Pañchâśê ch=Âśvinê mâsê krishna-pakshê nrip-âjñayâ | rachitâ Maṇikaṇṭhêna praśastir=iyam=ujjvalâ || Âṁkâtô=pi 1150 || Âśvina-bahula-paṁchamyâṁ,—"and when eleven centuries of years had passed by, and (*in addition*) fifty years, less by one, had gone, from (*the time of*) Vikrama; and in the fiftieth (*year*); in the month Âśvina; in the dark fortnight; by order of the king, this brilliant eulogy was composed by Manikaṇṭha; or, in figures, 1150 (*years*); on the fifth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Âśvina."

Excluding special and capricious instances, the inscriptions disclose the following general and systematic constructions in the expression of dates. (1) The use of the nominative singular or plural, unaccompanied by any verb or participle. (2) The use, in Southern India, of the nominative singular or plural, in apposition with an ordinal adjective, which, again, usually qualifies the name of the *saṁvatsara* in the genitive case. (3) The use of the locative singular or plural, with the corresponding locative, in apposition, of any word signifying 'elapsed, gone by.' (4) The use of the simple locative singular or plural, without any such corresponding locative in apposition. And (5) the use of the abbreviations *saṁ* and *saṁvat*, standing alone, and not explained by any detailed record in words; this method, however, throws no light on the point under discussion.

Now, in respect of class (2), it can hardly be disputed that current years are intended; the very construction prevents any other interpretation. And in respect of class (1) it is difficult to see how, without imagining an elliptical construction for which no actual example can be quoted as an authority, the nominative case could be used to denote any but the current year. With these examples, and the plain record of the Gwâlioṙ inscription, before us, when we find that in a certain class of instances (3), illustrated by the date of the Kauthêṁ grant referred to above, the locative case is uniformly coupled with a word distinctly meaning 'elapsed or gone by' in apposition, whereas in another class of instances (4), illustrated by the Kalas-Budrûkh date now under discussion, any such word is as uniformly omitted, there is nothing to prevent our giving, but on the contrary every reason to induce us to give, to the simple locative, in the last class of instances, its natural and ordinary meaning of "*in* such and such a year," *i.e.* "while such and such a year is current." This is the meaning that is always given to the simple locative in a regnal date; thus, in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 108, l. 1; 109),—siri-Puḷumâyisa saṁvachchharê êkunavisê 19,—"in the nineteenth (19) year of the illustrious Puḷumâyi." It has never been attempted to maintain that, in such a record as this, the text means "the nineteenth year having expired." And there is no reason why any such forced interpretation should be put on the simple locative expressing the number of years of an era; especially when we bear in mind that almost every era owes its origin to only an extension of regnal dates, and that the system of expired years can only have been devised when a considerable advance had been made in astronomical science.

In the present date, therefore, we have Śaka-Saṁvat 948, and the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara*, both current.

By the Tables, however, Śaka-Saṁvat 948 was the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*; and the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara* was Śaka-Saṁvat 947.

Making the calculation first for Śaka-Saṁvat 947 (A.D. 1025-26) current, the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara*,—the Tables shew that it began on Wednesday, the 3rd March, A.D. 1025; and that the month Bhâdrapada was intercalary, before Kârttika. Then according to the southern reckoning, by Mr. Cowasjee Patell's[3] Table X., the

[3] Gen. Cunningham's Table X. is not handy on this point. In the first place, it shews the number of days according to the northern arrangement only; and, in the second place, it makes no provision for intercalary months, and requires to be supplemented at least by a note that, for intercalary years, 30 days have to be added to make up the total of the days of all subsequent months, when the intercalated month consists of 29 days, and 29 when it consists of 30, and that the number of days in each month, subsequent to the intercalated month, has to be changed from 30 to 29, or from 29 to 30.—Another point, in this Table, that seems to require notice, is, that, like C. Patell's northern arrangement in his Tables IV. to XIII., it makes the dark fortnight of every month contain 15 days, and makes the variation between 14 and 15 days, which is dependent on whether the full month consists of 29 or of 30 days, occur in the bright fortnight. But whatever the modern practice may be, Hiuen Tsiang (*Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 71; and Stanislas Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. II. p. 61f.), in stating specifically that the dark fortnight precedes the bright in the arrangement of the month, also tells us,

month Kârttika should consist of 30 days; and the new-moon day should normally be the 266th day in the year. Dividing this by 7, the result is 38 weeks exactly, with no remainder; and consequently the week-day would be a Tuesday, reckoning from Wednesday, the initial day of the year. Then[4]—

3rd March	1
4th to 31st March	28
April	30
May	31
June	30
July	31
August	31
September	30
October	31
	243
1st to 23rd November..	23
	266

The corresponding English date, accordingly, is the 23rd November A.D. 1025, which, a reference to Gen. Cunningham's Table I. shews, was a Tuesday, as required,—the 3rd March of the same year being a Wednesday. And Gen. Cunningham's Table XVIII. p. 214, shews that an eclipse of the sun did occur on that day.

Again, making the calculation for Śaka-Saṁvat 948 (A.D. 1026-27) current, the Kshaya *saṁvatsara,*—Gen. Cunningham's Table XVII. p. 171, shews that it began on Tuesday, the 22nd March, A.D 1026, whereas Mr. Cowasjee Patell's Table I. p. 138, gives (Wednesday) the 23rd March. This year had no intercalary month. Consequently according to the southern reckoning, by Mr. Cowasjee Patell's Table IV., the month Kârttika should consist of 29 days, and the new-moon day should be the 236th day in the year. This gives 33 weeks and 5 days over; and thus, adopting Gen. Cunningham's initial day, and counting from, and inclusive of, Tuesday (the initial day of the year), the week-day would be a Saturday. And, proceeding as before, we find that the English date is the 12th November A.D. 1026, which was a Saturday, as required. Adopting Mr. Cowasjee Patell's initial day, the resulting English date would be Sunday, the 13th November.

Turning, however, to Gen. Cunningham's Table XVIII. p. 214, we find that the solar eclipse of A.D. 1026 occurred on the 12th November; which duly satisfies the result obtained from his Tables.

The results here are equally applicable to the two years. Consequently, the original record containing no mention of the name of the week-day, it is impossible to choose between them, and to decide, from them, whether the real date intended is that of the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara, viz.* Tuesday, the 23rd November, A.D. 1025, or that of Śaka-Saṁvat 948, *viz.* Saturday, the 12th November, A.D. 1026. The probability, however, is that the record really refers to the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara.*

The result for Śaka-Saṁvat 948, however, is of interest, as seeming to shew that the initial day of that year did fall on the 22nd March, as given by Gen. Cunningham; not on the 23rd, as given by Mr. Cowasjee Patell. And we also have the following details in support of Gen. Cunningham's initial day. Both authorities agree in respect of the 3rd March, A. D. 1025, as the initial day of the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 947. In that year the month Bhâdrapada was intercalary. This is, theoretically, a 29-day month; consequently 30 days have to be added to the subsequent portion of the year, thus raising the normal total number of days from 354 to 384. Of these 384 days, 304 fell in A. D. 1025; and the remainder, 80, brings us up to the 21st March, A.D. 1026, as the last day of Śaka-Saṁvat 947. Therefore Śaka-Saṁvat 948 ought, under normal circumstances, to commence on the 22nd March, A.D. 1026, as given by Gen. Cunningham. And this is further corroborated by the fact that both authorities agree again in respect of the 12th March, A.D. 1027, as the initial day of the next year, Śaka-Saṁvat 949.

No. 2.

The solar eclipse of Śaka-Saṁvat 948 is mentioned again in the Bhâṇḍûp grant of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Chhittarâja, of the family of the Śilâhâras of the Koṅkaṇ. The date (*ante,* Vol. V. p. 278, l. 12ff.) runs—Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu navasu ashṭa-chatvariṁśad-adhikêshu Kshaya-saṁvatsar-ântargata-

very distinctly, that it is the dark fortnight which consists sometimes of 14 and sometimes of 15 days, because the month is sometimes short and sometimes long. This hint requires some consideration. But, if it is accepted and applied strictly, then, in fixing the arrangement of a theoretical Hindu Luni-solar year in which there is no intercalation of a month, the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha, according to the northern scheme, is really the 30th day in the year; not the 31st, as given in the Tables; and a similar correction of one day has to be made all through the bright fortnight of every 29-day month in the year. Of course we must always bear in mind the difference between solar days and lunar *tithis.* A *tithi* being the 30th division (but not the exact 30th part) of a lunation, there are always 30 *tithis* in the Hindu month; even though, in adjusting them, by expunction and repetition, to the solar days, only 29 of them may actually appear in the calendar. And the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśâkha will always be the 31st *tithi* in the year, whether it happens to fall on the 30th or on the 31st day.

[4] Gen. Cunningham's Table IV. and C. Patell's Table II. are intended for this part of the process: but the use of them involves certain inconveniences of addition and subtraction that may easily introduce errors.

Kârttik-âśuddha[5]-pañchadaśyâm yatr=ânkatô=pi saṁvat 948 Kârttik-âśuddha 15 Ravau saṁjâtê âdityagrahana-parvaṇi,—"in nine centuries of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, increased by forty-eight; on the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of (the month) Kârttika which is in the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*; or, in figures, 948 years; the dark fortnight of Kârttika; (*the lunar tithi or solar day*) 15; on Sunday; on the occurrence of the occasion of an eclipse of the sun."

The contents of the inscription connect it absolutely with the neighbourhood in which it was found, a locality in the Ṭhâṇa (Ṭhâṇêm) District; and all the details of the date have, therefore, to be treated in accordance with the southern system.

This record gives us Śaka-Saṁvat 948, the Kshaya *saṁvatsara* both current; and, as pointed out under No. 1 above, Śaka-Saṁvat 948 was the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*.

It also adds the information that the day, on which the eclipse occurred, was a Sunday.

We have already seen above that the Hindu date corresponds, by Gen. Cunningham's Tables, to Saturday, the 12th November, A.D. 1086, when there was an eclipse of the sun, as required; but, by Mr. Cowasjee Patell's Tables, to Sunday, the 13th November, which agrees in respect of the week-day, but not in respect of the eclipse. Making allowance for the difference of time between Greenwich and Bombay, possibly detailed computations might shew that the eclipse took place at such an hour as to culminate, for Greenwich, very late on Saturday night, and, in the neighbourhood of Bombay early on Sunday morning. This would remove the apparent discrepancy in respect of the week-day. But, in that case, the result would seem to support Mr. Cowasjee Patell's initial day, Wednesday, the 23rd March, A.D. 1026, rather than Gen. Cunningham's, Tuesday, the 22nd March; where, as we have seen above that Gen. Cunningham's initial day is more probably the correct one. Another explanation might be, that the 30th *tithi* of Kârttika, the 15th of the dark fortnight, commenced after sunrise on the 12th November, and lasted until after sunrise on Sunday, the 13th. In this case, it appears, the name of Sunday, not of Saturday, would be connected with the *tithi*.[6]

6th November 1886. J. F. FLEET.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

THE STORY OF KING DAHARIYA-KARṆA AND THE PANDIT'S PROMISE.

King Dahariyâ once went to the Ganges to bathe, taking his mother with him, and in honour of the event he made her a present of 125,000 head of cattle. It happened that at the same *ghâṭ* there was a poor Brâhmaṇ, who also had brought his mother with him. In spite of his poverty he told her to choose whatever gift she might desire. Thereupon she asked for the same gift as that which had been given by the king to his mother, laughing at the same time at the idea of his being able to fulfil such a request. The Brâhmaṇ however, who was a great Paṇḍit, swore by a mighty oath that he would seize the king by the lips and bring him before his mother, and cause him to make her a present of the required number of cattle. Before, however, he could carry out his design, the king had heard of it, and for fear of its being accomplished shut himself up in his tent and refused admission to all Brâhmaṇs of every kind, and, after concluding his bathing ceremonies, returned to his palace, where he again shut himself up carefully, and refused to admit any Brâhmaṇs to see him. The Paṇḍit tried his best to gain an audience, but unsuccessfully; so at length he gave up overt attempts, and built a small hut for himself near the king's palace, where he lived continually on the watch. One night, a very rainy one in Bhâdra, when the clouds produced a thick darkness, and the wind and the thunder conspired to make the hour terrible, he began to sing a song to the melody called *Mallâra*, which was very sweet, and dealt with the passion of love. So sweetly did he sing, that when the queen, the wife of king Dahariyâ, heard his voice where she was sleeping by her husband, she could not restrain her feelings, and leaving her husband's side went out through the blinding rain to the Paṇḍit's hut and entreated him to allow her to enter and to throw herself into his embraces.

The king, who had been awake when she went out, had followed her in secret, and had heard her request. The Paṇḍit refused, in spite of all her entreaties, and advised her to go home quietly as she had come. She replied that she was afraid to go back in the rain, and added:—

अनाहूतैवैमि प्रचुरगुणलोभेन भवतः
समीहे सौहार्दं तदपि परितापं च तनुते ।

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[5] The original has, in both places, *Kârttika-śuddha*, "the bright fortnight of Kârttika." As pointed out by Dr. Bühler, in editing the inscription, there is evidently a mistake somewhere here; since an eclipse of the sun cannot take place on the fifteenth *tithi* of the *bright* fortnight, *i.e.* on the full-moon day. His inclination was that, instead of an eclipse of the sun, an eclipse of the moon was intended. And there was an eclipse of the moon in Kârttika in that year; *viz.* on Friday, the 28th October A.D. 1026; or, by the Hindu calendar, on Saturday, the 29th October, or Sunday, the 30th, according as we adopt Gen. Cunninghan's initial day, or Mr. Cowasjee Patell's. But, as we also have a solar eclipse as required, my own opinion is that the mistake lies in the drafter or engraver having written *Kârttika-śuddha*, "the bright fortnight of Kârttika," instead of *Kârttik-âśuddha*, "the dark fortnight of Kârttika." The use of *aśuddha*, for *kṛishna* or *bahula*, is perhaps rare; and I am not provided with other instances of it at present. But I have instances in which the exactly synonymous term *aśukla* is used.

[6] See C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 42, para. 5.

'Uncalled I come, attracted by your excellence, I long for your friendship, and nevertheless my anguish increases'

Finding her efforts unavailing, she went on :—

विदग्ध त्वामेवं तदिह परियाचे कुरु तथा
यथा नश्यादालीकपटकरतालीकटुरव. ॥

'O wise sir, I beg thee, even here, to do that by which the deceitful hand-clappings and jeers of my companions will be prevented.' Whereupon the Paṇḍit recited the following verses :—

उन्नादाम्बुदवर्धितान्धतमसप्रभ्रष्टदिग्मण्डले
यामे यामिकजाग्रदुग्रसुभटव्याकीर्णकोलाहले ।
कर्णस्यारिमहार्णवाम्बुवडवावह्नेर्यदन्तः पुरा-
दायातासि तदम्बुजाक्षि कृतिकं मन्ये भयं योषिताम्॥

'Inasmuch-as, O lotus-eyed one, you have come from the inner apartments of (Dahariyâ) Karṇa, who is as it were a consuming subaqueous fire amidst the sea of his enemies, on a night in which the circle of the universe has disappeared in a thick darkness increased by bellowing clouds, and in which the turmoil is pervaded by watchmen, and by waking, fierce warriors, I think the fear of women is but a sham.'

The queen at length consented to go home, provided he would sing his song again to cheer her on her journey. He consented to do so, and sang for her the *Mallára* as she hurried back through the wind and rain. The king also went home, thinking on what had occurred, and well pleased with the Paṇḍit. The next morning he sent for him The Paṇḍit came, much pleased at having at length got an audience. Directly on his arrival the king said, 'That was a very pretty verse you recited last night, pray recite it again, as I have forgotten it.' I can only remember that it ended कृतिकं मन्ये भयं योषितां; "I think the fear of women is but a sham."

When the Paṇḍit heard this he was terribly frightened, for, of course, he did not know that the king had followed his wife, and had heard all that had taken place. On the contrary, he imagined that the queen had told her spouse some lie, and that the king intended to kill him. He knew that if he repeated the verses which he had said the night before his fate would be sealed, and so on the spur of the moment he invented another set of lines having the same ending. They are as follows :—

उद्यद्ग्राहमुदन्वति जलमतिक्रामत्यनालम्बिनि
व्योम्नि भ्राम्यति दुर्गमक्षितिभृतां मूर्धानमारोहति ।
व्याप्तं याति विषाकुलैरहिकुलैः पातालमेकाकिनी
कीर्त्तिस्ते मदनाभिराम कृतिकं मन्ये भयं योषिताम् ॥

'(O king) who art as handsome as the God of Love, thy Fame [*the word for fame,* कीर्त्ति, *is of the feminine gender, and is here personified as a woman*], passes across the sea in whose waters crocodiles are rising, wanders about in the unsuspended sky, and has mounted on to the heads of mountains hard to be approached. She has gone alone down to Hell, full of poisonous serpents, and therefore I think the fear of woman is but a sham.'

The king had been pleased on the previous night by the high principles shown by the Paṇḍit; and now he was astonished to find that his learning was at least equal to his virtue, for he had without doubt made an impromptu verse, in a complicated metre, without any hesitation. He was sitting facing the east, and covering his face with his hand he determined, after consideration, to give him all that portion of his kingdom which was before him. Then, that he might not covet another man's goods he turned round, and sat facing the north. The poor Paṇḍit, however, not understanding these motions, concluded that the king was even still more displeased, and in order to pacify him, began again as follows :—

कीर्त्तिस्ते नृप दूतिका मुररिपोरङ्के स्थितां भारतीं
मां चाकृष्य ददौ तवेति गिरिशः श्रुत्वार्धनारीश्वरः ।
ब्रह्माभूच्चतुराननः सुरपतिश्चक्षुःसहस्रं दधौ
स्कन्दो मन्दमतिर्विवाहविमुखो धत्ते कुमारव्रतम् ॥

'Thy Fame, O king, is the procuress who seduced Sârasvati (the goddess of learning) seated in the lap of Vishṇu, and Lakshmî (the goddess of prosperity), and gave them to thee. When Śiva heard this, he absorbed Pârvatî into himself, while Brahmâ put on his four faces, and Indra his thousand eyes (*so as to be better on the watch*), and Kârttikêya, dull-witted god, became averse to marriage, and swore to be a bachelor.'

The king was so pleased with the ingenuity of the compliments contained in these verses that he again considered as before, and determined to give the Paṇḍit all that portion of his kingdom then in front of him, that is to say, the northern quarter of it. The poor Paṇḍit, however, terrified still more by his actions, and thinking that his death was near, again began as follows, the king at the same time having turned as before,—this time to the west :—

राजन् कनकधाराभिस्त्वयि वर्षति सर्वदा ।
अभाग्यच्छत्रसंपन्ने मयि नायान्ति बिन्दवः ॥

'O king, the heavens continually pour golden showers on thee, but no drops fall on me, luckless one, who have taken refuge beneath thy umbrella.'

This verse had the same result as the others. The king was again pleased, and again determined to give all his kingdom, which was then before his face, *viz.* all that to the west. He thereupon turned to the south. The Paṇḍit, frightened as before, went on :—

असिधारापथे नाथ शत्रुशोणितपिच्छिले ।
आजगाम कथं लक्ष्मीर्निर्जगाम कथं यशः ॥

'How did Lakshmî come to you, and how did your glory go forth along the path of the edge of your sword, all slippery with the blood of your enemies?'

Thereupon the king determined to give him the southern, and last, quarter of his kingdom. By this

time he had mentally given the Brâhman all his kingdom, and his prime minister recognized the Pandit as the man who had made the oath about which the king was so much afraid, and told the king so. The latter welcomed the Pandit with open arms, and instead of carrying out his mental resolutions, gave him 125,000 head of cattle, and sending for a pair of tongs (चिपटा or झटका) allowed the Pandit to catch him by the lips, and bring him in this state, together with the cattle, before his mother.

G. A. GRIERSON.

BOOK NOTICE.

KAVYAMALA, a collection of old and rare Sanskrit Kâvyas, Nâṭakas, Champûs, Bhâṇas, Prahasanas, Chhandas, Alaṅkâras, etc. Edited by PANDITA DURGAPRASADA and KASHINATHA PANDURANGA PARABA. Printed and published by the Proprietor of the Nirṇaya-Sâgara Press, Bombay. Parts I.-VI., January to June 1886.

In a short notice of an edition of the *Kirâtârjunîya* (*ante*, page 156) I have already expressed the opinion, that no Indian publishers have during late years done more for Sanskṛit literature than the proprietor of the Nirṇaya-Sâgara Press of Bombay, and I have mentioned the titles of some of the works published by that firm. Since then I have had occasion to inspect the editions, brought out by the same press, of several of Kâlidâsa's works, and to examine more carefully, and with very great pleasure, an edition by Pandit Durgâprasâda of Trivikramabhaṭṭa's *Damayantîkathâ*, and a handy and useful copy of the *Siddhântakaumudî*. About some of these works I may perhaps venture to write more fully on a future occasion. At present, I wish to express to the enterprising publisher and to the learned editors Pandit Durgâprasâda and Kâśinâth P. Paraba my best thanks for having started the journal, to which they have given the appropriate title **Kâvyamâlâ**, and to draw the attention of European scholars to this most interesting and useful publication.

The *Kâvyamâlâ* is devoted to the poetical literature of the Indian middle ages. It is intended mainly for the publication of such Sanskṛit Kâvyas, Nâṭakas, Champûs, works on rhetorics and metrics, etc., as have not hitherto been generally accessible. The more extensive works published in it are accompanied by the best commentaries that were available; and, in the case of works printed without running commentaries, short footnotes have been added by the editors for the elucidation of difficult or unusual words or phrases. Besides, in introductory notes an attempt has been made to fix the time of each writer and to give a list of his works. Each number consists of 96 octavo pages of closely but clearly printed matter, and contains portions varying from 12 to 24 pages of more extensive works, while the rest of the number is made up by shorter works. The pagination of these shorter works is continuous, but the pages of every larger work are numbered separately, so that each work, when finished, may be bound up by itself. The annual subscription is exceedingly moderate, amounting to six rupees; and, in the interest of intending European subscribers, I would only suggest that the publisher should fix the price, including postage to Europe, also in shillings. Unfortunately, Indian publications become very slowly known in Europe; and, when they are known, nobody knows how to get them without paying the most extravagant prices.

The following are the larger works, the publication of which has been begun in the first six numbers of the *Kâvyamâlâ*: **Maṅkhaka's** *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita*, with **Jônarâja's** commentary, pp. 112, Sargas I.-VIII., 20; **Gôvardhanâchârya's** *Âryâsaptaśatî*, with **Anantapaṇḍita's** Com., pp. 112, 308 Âryâs; **Murâri's** *Anargharâghava*, with **Ruchipati's** Com, pp. 64, up to the beginning of Act II.; **Rudraṭa's** *Kâvyâlaṁkâra*, with **Namisâdhu's** Com., pp. 64, Adhyâyas I.-VI., 15. The list of the shorter works, that have been completed (on 160 and 64 pages), is as follows: **Râghavachaitanya's** *Mahâgaṇapatistôtra*, with Com.; **Laṅkêsvara's** *Śivastuti*; **Kâlidâsa's** *Śyâmalâdaṇḍaka*; **Kulasêkharanṛipati's** *Mukundamâlâ*; **Jagannâthapaṇḍitarâja's** *Sudhâlaharî*, *Prâṇâbharaṇa* with Com., *Amṛitalaharî*, and *Karuṇâlaharî*; **Sambhumahâkavi's** *Râjêndrakarṇapûra* and *Anyôktimuktâlatâ*; **Kshêmêndra's** *Kalâvilâsa*, *Auchityavichâracharchâ*, and *Suvṛittatilaka*; **Appayadîkshita's** *Vairâgyaśataka*; **Ratnâkara's** *Vakrôktipañchâśikâ*; **Saṅkarâchârya's** *Vishṇupâdâdikêśântavarṇanastôtra*; and **Gumânikavi's** *Upadêśaśataka*.

I do not profess to have studied carefully every one of these works. But, as the *Kâvyamâlâ* has been a pleasant companion to me during my summer-holiday, I have certainly read through by far the greater portion of the numbers under notice, and I feel no hesitation in saying, that the editors have performed their task in a very scholarly and satisfactory manner. There are some passages, particularly in the commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kâvyâlaṁkâra*, which, to judge from the interpunctuation, appear to me to have been misunderstood, and readings (such as *Mêdhâvirudra* on pages 2 and 9), which, I believe, are not supported by the best MSS.; but, on the whole, I must congratulate both the editors and the publisher on what they have already achieved, and I wish their undertaking every success.

F. KIELHORN.

THE DAKHAN IN THE TIME OF GAUTAMA-BUDDHA.

BY THE REV. THOMAS FOULKES, CHAPLAIN OF COIMBATORE.

(*Concluded from p.* 8.)

WE now turn to the inland routes within the Dakhaṇ, and from places within the Dakhaṇ to others beyond its limits in Northern India. They are traced mainly from incidental references in the journeys of Buddha and his converts.

(1) One of these routes extended from **Suppâraka** on the western coast to **Sewet** (Śrâvastî) in Oudh.[1] Punna, who has been mentioned above, and his merchant companions in Suppâraka, used this route in the ordinary course of their mercantile pursuits, about the commencement of Buddha's public career. During a visit of curiosity from his cart-encampment near Sewet to see the new prophet, he first heard Buddha preach, and became one of his most hearty disciples; and he was apparently the first convert to Buddhism from the Dakhaṇ. Buddha himself subsequently travelled along this route[2] with a large retinue of his disciples on his visit to Punna in his hermitage near Suppâraka to receive and consecrate the new *vihâra* which he had induced his former mercantile associates to erect in the grove of Mulu with a portion of the red-sanders timber which they had brought home on one of their sea-voyages.[3] The direction of this route is shown by the circumstance that Buddha on his return journey crossed the **Narmadâ** where it washed the Yôn country of subsequent times[4] and the unidentified **Sachabaddy** rock, mentioned above, the abode of another of Buddha's hermit friends,[5] and from which he made his third visit to Ceylon,[6] lay in the line of the remaining northern section of this route. Buddha and his company travelled on this road in litters,[7] or palanquins,[8] or seats:[9] but it was used for wheeled traffic also; for Punna carried his merchandise upon it in a large caravan of wagons.[10]

(2) Another of these land-routes, part only of which lay within the Dakhaṇ, ran east and west across the peninsula from **Bengal** through **Magadha** to **Lâla**.[11] In the *Mahâwaṁsa* version of the Vijayan legend, a party of merchants, whom the daughter of the king of Baṅga joined on their way, were travelling by this route[12] when they were met by the lion which carried the princess off to his lair. It was traversed also by Vijaya's father when he fled from the lion's cave;[13] and again when he returned from Baṅga to Lâḷa.[14]

(3) The *Si-yu-ki* version of this legend has a route[15] from an unnamed kingdom in Southern India, probably **Kaliṅga**, to **Lâḷa**, supposing the lion's lair of this version to have been in Lâḷa.

(4) The legend of Bâvari has a north-and-south route running from **Śrâvastî** in Northern **Kôsala** to **Alaka** in the kingdom of Assaka on the banks of the Gôdâvarî.[16] The Brâhmaṇ ascetic Bâvari travelled by this road to establish his monastery on the banks of that river: and by this route he subsequently sent his disciples to Śrâvastî to Buddha to seek some means of relief from the persecution under which he was suffering.[17] It was a cart-road; for the materials for the monastery were brought by it all the way from Sewet.[18]

(5) Another north-and-south route with capacity for wheeled traffic, ran parallel to the eastern coast from the port of **Adzeitta** mentioned above through **Uruvêla** in the neighbourhood of Bôdh-gayâ to **Suvama**.[19] The Burmese merchant-brothers, Tapusa and Paleka used this route after transferring their merchandise from their ship into carts which they hired at Adzeitta.

(6) The legend of Vijaya's marriage with a Pâṇḍyan princess has a route from **Madhurâ** to a sea-port on the coast of **Tinnevelly** opposite Ceylon.[20] Vijaya's embassy to the Pâṇḍyan king to solicit the hand of his daughter travelled by this route; as did also the princess and her retinue on their way to her new home.

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[1] *Man. Bud.* 259.
[2] *Uph.* II. 21; III. 113: *Man. Bud.* 57, 209, 260: *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 244.
[3] *Uph.* II. 21; III. 113: *Man. Bud.* 57.
[4] *Man. Bud.* 210.
[5] *Man. Bud.* 260. See *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 244.
[6] *Man. Bud.* 210.
[7] *Man. Bud.* 260.
[8] *Uph.* II. 113: *Man. Bud.* 209.
[9] *Uph.* II. 21.
[10] *Man. Bud.* 259.
[11] *Uph.* II. 164, 165: *Turn.* 43.
[12] *Turn.* 43.
[13] *Turn.* 44.
[14] *Turn.* 46.
[15] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 236.
[16] *Man. Bud.* 334, 362: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184.
[17] *Man. Bud.* 334.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Bigandet*, 101, 425.
[20] *Turn.* 51.

The **measures of distance** which occur in the descriptions of these routes are *isibus*,[21] and *yôjanas*.[22]

The **trade and commerce** along these land and sea-routes appear to have been usually in the hands of **companies of merchants**,[23] of whom one was the recognised head;[24] each partner contributing a portion of the capital to fit out a ship.[25] But few instances occur of individual traders.[26] The city of Suppâraka was inhabited by many merchants:[27] and so also was the renowned Bharukachchha (Broach), and its suburban villages.[28] Most of the versions of the elopement of Vijaya's grandmother are connected with the movements of merchants. In one of them[29] her lover is a merchant travelling from Bengal to Lâḷa: in another,[30] he is the chief of a caravan: and in a third,[31] she joins a party of travelling merchants without reference to any individual member of their company. Punna (Pûrṇa or Mahâpuṇṇa),[32] a conspicuous early convert of Buddha, was a merchant of the Sunâparanta region of the western coast, trading on a large scale with Northern Kôsala[33] in partnership with his younger brother:[34] and when he embraced the ascetic life upon his conversion, his brother Chula-Puṇṇa[35] continued to carry on the family or guild occupation both by sea and by land. One occasion is mentioned on which Chula-Puṇṇa undertook a distant sea-voyage in company with three hundred associate-merchants,[36] whose common action in the incidents of the voyage point to a community of interests in the transaction. These common interests survived the termination of the voyage; for these merchants, at the suggestion of Punna, jointly devoted a portion of the valuable timber of their homeward cargo to the erection of a *vihâra*[37] for Buddha in the neighbourhood of their home. These mercantile associations were survivals from former times; for Buddha himself, in an earlier incarnation, undertook a similar voyage in company with seven hundred other merchants[38] belonging to a village near Bharukachchha. The two Burmese brothers[39] jointly hired the five hundred carts into which they transferred their merchandise on their debarkation, which the description implies to have been their common property. In another legend mention is made of a company of merchants of Śrâvastî,[40] or a body of merchants of Madhyadêśa,[41] who visited Ceylon with common interests in view, and who jointly bore reciprocal messages between Buddha and the princess Ratnâvalî. Siṁhala also, the hero of another legend,[42] was the chief of a large company of merchants, who embarked on a similar joint mercantile venture

Of the more minute details of the transactions of these early traders, it is not to be expected that the incidental references to these matters in these wholly religious legends should afford much information. They used the *drôṇa*[43] as their standard **measure of capacity**. We have just seen that they employed carts by land,[44] and ships by sea, for the transportation of their goods. The people of Ceylon exhibited signals upon high flag-staffs when ships approached their shores.[45] Some transactions were in the form of **barter**:[46] but it may be concluded that **money** was the common medium of trade from the circumstances that the existence of money[47] at that time in these parts is otherwise referred to. Thus, the nobles of the king of Kôsala paid a lakh to each of the kings Assaka and Mûlaka for the site of Bâvari's monastery and its dependent village:[48] and Bâvari's Brâhmaṇ enemy demanded of him five hundred pieces of money on penalty of his threatened curse.[49] So also the South-Indian artizan, who constructed a catapult for the destruction of Buddha, was rewarded by Dêvadatta with a pearl necklace worth a hundred thousand pieces of gold.[50] Similarly, the reward offered by the

21 *Man. Bud.* 14, 18.
22 *Uph.* II. 165: *Turn.* 3, 44: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 370.
23 *ante*, XIII. p. 35, 37, 46: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332: *Rock.* 59.
24 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332, 334: *ante*, XIII. 46: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 241.
25 *Bigandet*, 415.
26 *Uph.* I. 69.
27 *Man. Bud.* 13, 209.
28 *Man. Bud.* 13.
29 *Uph.* I. 69.
30 *Turn.* 43.
31 *Uph.* II. 164: *ante*, XIII. 37.
32 *Uph.* III. 112.
33 *Man. Bud.* 56, 259.
34 *Man. Bud.* 259.
35 *Uph.* III. p. 112: *Man. Bud.* 56. Perhaps Punna, and his brother are the Davakin and Nikin of the Chinese version of the sandal-wood *vihâra* legend in *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 244.
36 *Man. Bud.* 57, 260.
37 *Man. Bud.* 57, 209, 260: *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 244.
38 *Man. Bud.* 13.
39 *Bigandet*, 101.
40 *Rock.* 59.
41 *Tib. Gram.* 164.
42 *Si-yu-ki*, II. 241.
43 *Rock.* 60.
44 *Man. Bud.* 259: *Bigandet*, 101.
45 *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240.
46 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332.
47 See *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 276, 388.
48 *Man. Bud.* 334.
49 *Man. Bud.* 334: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184.
50 *Rock.* 92. See *Man. Bud.* 320, where the "machine" may be regarded as the connecting link of the two versions of this legend. See also *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 246.

king in one of the Vijayan legends for the destruction of the lion which was ravaging his territory, was successively a thousand, two thousand, and three thousand pieces of money.[51] A few years later on we read of a present of a thousand pieces made for the concealment of the doomed infant of the princess Chittâ of Ceylon;[52] and of another thousand being sent afterwards to carry him to a more distant hiding place.[53] A small quantity of red-sanders was of the money-value of a lakh of treasure:[54] and an annual tribute of chanks and pearls with two lakhs was sent from Ceylon to the Pâṇḍyan king.[55]

These legends contain several incidental references to the **architecture** of the Dakhaṇ at this time, both secular and religious. The **domestic buildings** are represented by palaces, houses, and fragile huts. We have the palaces of the Nâga king of Kalyâṇi,[56] and of Kuvèṇî[57] in Ceylon, the 'golden palace'[58] of another king of Ceylon in Buddha's earlier days, and that of king Panduwâsa in the generation after his death, with its prison-apartment attached to it built upon an isolated pillar,[59] that of the Pâṇḍyan king of Madhurâ,[60] and of the king of Vaṅga;[61] that of the king of Kaliṅga who received the tooth-relic of Buddha;[62] that of another king of Kaliṅga at Kumbhâvatî;[63] that of still another Kaliṅga prince, king Nâlikêra;[64] and that of Siṁhala's father,[65] with its 'after-palace,' or 'women' apartments. We have also the palace of the Brâhmaṇ minister of the king of Avantî,[66] the houses[67] of the Râkshasîs of Ceylon, the Brâhmaṇ's hut[68] at the door of Bâvari's hermitage, and the enclosed prison[69] of the cannibal demon-women.

Examples of the **religious buildings** are afforded by the 'hall',[70] 'residence,'[71] 'temple,'[72] or *vihâra*,[73] built for Buddha by Punna's brother and his brother-merchants,[74]—the splendid temple built by the king of Kaliṅga in Dantapura to enshrine the tooth-relic of Buddha,[75]—the monastery of Bâvari on the banks of the Gôdâvarî,[76]—the hermitage of the recluse of the Sachabaddy rock,[77]—and the two hermitages of Punna on the western coast.[78]

The **materials** used in the erection of these buildings were wood, stone, and iron. Chula-Punna's *vihâra* was built of wood.[79] The undescribed materials for Bâvari's monastery were carried from Northern Kôsala[80] to the banks of the Gôdâvarî: and it was, therefore, probably built of timber. The walls of the Râkshasî city of the Horse-king legend, were built of stone.[81] The only other reference to building materials is in the case of the iron city[82] of the Râkshasîs in Ceylon, and the prison of these demons in the vicinity, which was also built of iron.[83]

With regard to their **form**, the palace of the king of Kaliṅga at Kumbhâvatî had an upper storey:[84] the tooth-relic temple of Dantapura had one or more upper storeys containing "hundreds of rooms at the top:"[85] and these numerous rooms imply that it was a very extensive building: the prison-chamber of the princess Chittâ built on a pillar,[86] implies that the royal dormitory with which it communicated was in an upper-storeyed palace: the staircase of the palace of king Nalikêra[87] points also to an upper storey. The palaces had gates[88] and doors,[89] halls,[90] windows,[91] and staircases[92] and they had inner apartments for the women[93] The princess Chittâ's prison had a door communicating inwards, and a ventilating aperture opening to the outer air.[94] Some of the cities were surrounded by walls,[95] with towers,[96] and surmounted with flagstaffs decorated with flags and garlands and umbrella-canopies.[97]

The **furniture** of these buildings, such as is mentioned in these legends, consisted of

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[51] *Turn.* 45: *ante*, XIII. 37. [52] *Turn.* 58, 59.
[53] *Turn.* 60. [54] *Man. Bud.* 57.
[55] *Turn.* 53. [56] *Turn.* 7. [57] *Uph.* II. 174.
[58] *Turn.* 7. [59] *Turn.* 56. 57. [60] *Turn.* 51.
[61] *Uph.*, II. 164. [62] *Dâth.* 40. [63] *Man. Bud.* 54.
[64] *Man. Bud.* 55. [65] *ante*, XIII. 37: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 244.
[66] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275.
[67] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 333, 334 [68] *Man. Bud.* 334.
[69] *Fa-Hian*, 149 *Si-yu-ki*, II 241, 246.
[70] *Uph.* I. 7: *Man Bud.* 209: *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 244.
[71] *Man Bud.* 57. 260.
[72] *Uph.* II. 21; III. 112, 113.
[73] *Man. Bud.* 260. [74] See references above.
[75] *Dâth.* 38: See *Uph.* I. 236; II. 70, 239. *Turn.* 241: *Rock.* 147.

[76] *Man. Bud.* 334: *Sacr. Bks* X. (pt. 2), 184.
[77] *Uph.* II. 22: *Man. Bud.* 260.
[78] *Man. Bud.* 260. [79] See references above
[80] *Man. Bud.* 334. [81] *Rom Hist. Bud.* 334
[82] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 333, 335, 336, 338: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240 241, 246, 248.
[83] See references in notes 243 and 247.
[84] *Man. Bud.* 54. [85] *Dâth.* 38.
[86] *Turn.* 56 [87] *Man. Bud.* 56.
[88] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 245. [89] *Turn.* 57: *Si-yu-ki*, II 245
[90] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 245. [91] *Dâth.* 40. [92] *Man. Bud* 56.
[93] *ante*, XIII. 37, *Si-yu-ki*, II. 244. [94] *Turn.* 57.
[95] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 334, 335
[96] *Ibid.* 334: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240.
[97] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 334.

seats,[98] thrones,[99] which were sometimes set with gems,[100] beds,[101] some of which were curtained and incensed,[102] basket-cradles,[103] carpets,[104] lamps,[105] golden platters,[106] golden caskets,[107] and other "vessels of gold,"[108] water-jugs,[109] iron-ladders,[110] and metal censers.[111] We have an instance of the decorations of some of the temples in the description of the tooth-relic shrine of Kaliṅga, which was "inlaid with gold, adorned with hanging pearl-necklaces, . . . difficult like the early sun to look at, owing to the radiance of various gems dazzling the eyes."[112]

They give us also some instances of the **dress and personal ornaments** of the different classes of the people in those days. We have the 'court-dress' of the king of Siriwattha,[113] and the 'vestments,'[114] of his subjects; the woman's clothes of richest texture in the legend of Vijaya's mother;[115] the 'splendid clothing' of the Yakkhinis of Ceylon;[116] and the 'best attire' of the women of Madhurâ.[117] Some of the women's clothes were of fine linen; of which there is a remarkable example in the almost transparent linen dress sent as a present by the king of Kaliṅga to Buddha's friend the king of Kôsala.[118] Some of the men wore coats with sleeves.[119] Vijaya's Yakkhini mistress wore innumerable ornaments when she adorned herself to captivate him;[120] so also the princess of Madhurâ wore every description of golden ornaments when dressed up to go to her new home.[121] Jewels[122] are mentioned in general terms, and also pearl necklaces[123] and valuable rings.[124] They used garlands and bouquets of flowers,[125] and incense,[126] and perfumes,[127] and every kind of charming ornament;[128] and they bathed in warm scented water.[129] Jewels were regarded as a suitable present from a father to his son, to mark his appreciation of his distinguished conduct;[130] and so were gems from an amorous bridegroom to his bride-elect's father in support of his marriage proposal:[131] and they also formed part of the reciprocal complimentary presents sent by one sovereign to another by the hands of their ambassadors.[132]

The legends have preserved some traces of the **domestic and social life** of the people of the Dakhaṇ in these early times. Amongst the articles of their **food** were rice,[133] rice-gruel,[134] cakes,[135] cocoa-nuts,[136] edible roots,[137] and other victuals.[138] They cooked their food with wood fuel:[139] and they ate their rice off platters of leaves.[140] When away from home every man, except their princes,[141] cooked his own food:[142] and when at home their wives and other women ate what remained of the men's meals.[143] They entertained their friends, and especially distinguished guests, with feasts and banquets:[144] and they showed hospitality to travellers, and particularly towards distressed strangers.[145] They paid and received complimentary visits,[146] and used mutual salutations and congratulations,[147] and friendly greetings;[148] and they exchanged complimentary presents,[149] some of which were of considerable value,[150] while the more ordinary sort were betel-leaves and flowers.[151] Aged female relatives made valuable gifts to the younger members of their families:[152] and these presents sometimes caused dissensions amongst their other relations.[153] Women carried their children straddled upon their hips:[154] they employed their leisure time in spinning thread under the shade of the trees on the banks of tanks;[155] the wives of Brâhmaṇs sometimes cultivated the ground;[156] and some

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98 *Uph.* II. 19; III. 92, 93, 127: *Dâṭh.* 38: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 334.
99 *Turn.* 4, 5, 7: *Man. Bud.* 208.
100 *Uph.* II. 19: *Turn.* 4, 5: *Man. Bud.* 208: *Dâṭh.* 38.
101 *Turn.* 49: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 334.
102 *Turn.* 49.
103 *Turn.* 59.
104 *Turn.* 3: *Man. Bud.* 207.
105 *Dâṭh.* 39: *ante*, XIII. 36, 37.
106 *ante.* XIII. 37.
107 *Turn.* 3.
108 *Turn.* 44.
109 *Turn.* 48.
110 *Turn.* 57.
111 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 334.
112 *Dâṭh.* 38.
113 *Turn.* 50: *ante*, XIII. 46.
114 *Ibid.*
115 *ante*, III. 37.
116 *ante*, XIII. 46.
117 *Turn.* 51.
118 *As. Res.* XX. 85.
119 *Si-yu-ki*, II. 238.
120 *Turn.* 49.
121 *Turn.* 51.
122 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 276, 333.
123 *Turn.* 48: *Dâṭh.* 38: *Rock.* 92.
124 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 281, 282.
125 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 334: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240, 241.
126 *Turn.* 49: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 334.
127 *Dâṭh.* 39: *Fa-Hian*, 157: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240, 241.
128 *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 333.
129 *Ibid.* 334.
130 *Ibid.* 276.
131 *Turn.* 51.
132 *Turn.* 51: *ante*, XIII. 46.
133 *ante*, XIII. 46: *Uph.* II. 174: *Turn.* 44, 49. Rice was imported into Ceylon from India at this time. (See *Turn.* 49). Wild paddy grew in Ceylon. (See *Uph.* II. 174: *ante*, XIII. 46).
134 *ante*, XIII. 46.
135 *Turn.* 59.
136 *Uph.* II. 174.
137 *Turn.* 48.
138 *Turn.* 49.
139 *Man. Bud.* 57.
140 *Turn.* 44: *ante*, XIII. 37.
141 *Turn.* 49:
142 *Turn.* 49: *Man. Bud.* 57: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 40, 241.
143 *Turn.* 49.
144 *Uph.* II. 21, 22, 174; III. 128: *Turn.* 49: *Man. Bud.* 56, 209, 211.
145 *ante*, XIII. 46: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240, 241.
146 *Si-yu-ki*, II. 236.
147 *Ibid.* 243.
148 *ante*, XIII. 46.
149 *As. Res.* XX. 85: *Tib. Gram.* 164: *Rock.* 59.
150 *Uph.* II. 175: *Turn.* 51, 53: *ante*, XIII. 46.
151 *Turn.* 57.
152 *Turn.* 5.
153 *Uph.* II. 19: *Turn.* 5.
154 *ante*, XIII. 46. The custom is the same in the present day.
155 *Uph.* II. 173: *Turn.* 48.
156 *Man. Bud.* 334.

of them put their husbands up to mischief.[157] The men amused themselves in hunting wild animals;[158] and the hunters used knives to despatch their game.[159] Sons conducted the family affairs when their fathers became infirm.[160] Coercion was employed against recalcitrant debtors, or as a means of extortion.[161] Amongst their recreations they had theatrical exhibitions.[162] They decorated their streets on festive occasions with triumphal arches, flags, plantain-trees, and festoons of flowers.[163] They communicated with ships making for their shores, and amongst themselves on land, by means of signal-flags floating from high masts.[164] They used leaf-platters and dishes at their meals and water-jugs for drinking:[165] and they had caskets, and platters, and other household vessels which were sometimes made of gold.[166] They had umbrellas to shade themselves from the sun.[167] They used horses both for riding and driving, and trained elephants:[168] and they fed their horses on paddy and corn, and sometimes on aromatic grain.[169] When they travelled they used litters,[170] and sedan-chairs,[171] and palanquins[172] and carriages,[173] and wagons[174] and carts[175] for their goods. They employed both male and female domestic servants;[176] and the institution of domestic slavery prevailed in Lâḷa,[177] in the Pâṇḍyan kingdom,[178] and in Ceylon.[179] When they died their bodies were burned; and though in one of the legends corpses were in danger of being exposed,[180] this was only because there would be no survivors to perform the funeral rites.

We obtain some glimpses also of the **marriage customs** of the Dakhaṇ in Buddha's days. Marriage was preceded by betrothal.[181] The first overtures came from the bridegroom's side:[182] and in the case of princes they were initiated by their ministers.[183] The proposal was accompanied by presents to the bride-elect's father.[184] Parents disposed of their daughters' hands:[185] and the brides received dowries on their marriage;[186] in the instance of the Pâṇḍyan princess it consisted of elephants, horses, chariots, and slaves.[187] Marriages were accompanied with feasting, which sometimes lasted for several days;[188] and large numbers of friends were entertained on these occasions. The nearest consanguineous relationship was no bar to marriage.[189] Irregular marriages[190] were not reprobated, though they had their disadvantages; and the unrecognised wife could be put away at pleasure, though not without some provision for her maintenance.[191] The trade of the courtezan was under state control;[192] and it was carried on without dishonour.[193] The remarriage of widows and separated wives was permissible:[194] and a husband's absence for three years constituted his wife a widow.[195]

The various **employments** of the people are frequently referred to both directly and indirectly: and when the products of their different industries are mentioned, their producers and their occupations are virtually enkernelled within the names of these articles. Their commercial pursuits have already been noticed above. There are traditions also of their agricultural pursuits: they ploughed and cultivated the land;[196]—they grew rice[197] and other food-grains,[198] and flax and cotton,[199]—unless the fabrics of these two products were made of imported material,—and cocoanuts,[200] and plantains.[201] They possessed herds of cattle[202] also, which they tended; and they had dogs[203] to watch them as well as for domestic use.[204] They cultivated flower-gardens,[205] and vegetable and fruit-gardens;[206] and they made bouquets and wove garlands and festoons[207]

[157] *Man. Bud.* 334: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184.
[158] *Turn.* 59.
[159] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 238, 239.
[160] *Ibid.* 241.
[161] *Man. Bud.* 334.
[162] *Man. Bud.* 55.
[163] *Dâth.* 40.
[164] See note 45 above, p. 50.
[165] *Turn.* 4, 48.
[166] *Turn.* 3, 44. See also above.
[167] *Man. Bud.* 208.
[168] *Uph.* II. 174: *Turn.* 51: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332, 337: *ante*, XIII. 37, 46, 47.
[169] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 337: *ante*, XIII. 46.
[170] *Man. Bud.* 260.
[171] *Uph.* II. 21.
[172] *Man. Bud.* 209.
[173] *Turn.* 51: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 236.
[174] *Man. Bud.* 259.
[175] *Bigandet*, 101.
[176] *Turn.* 48, 51: *ante*, XIII. 35.
[177] *ante*, XIII. 35.
[178] *Turn.* 51, 56, 57, 58.
[179] *Turn.* 51: *ante*, XIII. 46.
[180] *Man. Bud.* 57.
[181] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 236.
[182] *Uph.* II. 175: *Turn.* 51, 55.
[183] *Uph.* II. 175: *Turn.* 51, 55.
[184] *Uph.* I. 70; II. 175: *Turn.* 51, 55.
[185] *Turn.* 49, 51, 57.
[186] *Turn.* 51.
[187] *Turn.* 51.
[188] *Uph.* II. 174: *Turn.* 49.
[189] *Uph.* I. 69; II. 167, 174: *Turn.* 45, 46, 53, 57, *ante*, XIII. 37, 38.
[190] *Uph.* II. 167, 174: *Turn.* 49: *ante*, XIII. 36, 46.
[191] *Turn.* 52.
[192] *Man. Bud.* 54.
[193] *Ibid.*
[194] *Turn.* 45: *ante*, XIII. 36: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 244.
[195] *ante*, XIII. 46.
[196] *Turn.* 61: *Man. Bud.* 334: *ante*, XIII. 46.
[197] *Uph.* II. 174: *ante*, XIII. 46.
[198] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 337.
[199] *Turn.* 48, 49, 50: *As. Res.* XX. 85: *Tib. Gram.* 164: *Rock.* 59.
[200] *Uph.* II. 174.
[201] *Dâth.* 40.
[202] *Turn.* 59, 60: *ante*, XIII. 46.
[203] *ante*, XIII. 46.
[204] *Uph.* II. 172: *Turn.* 48: *ante*, XIII. 46.
[205] *Uph.* II. 16: *Turn.* 3: *Man. Bud.* 53, 54, 55, 207: *Dâth.* 39, 40.
[206] *Dâth.* 40: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184.
[207] *Fa-Hian*, 149: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240.

of the flowers. They had also groves,[208] and plantations,[209] and parks.[210] Their women spun thread[211] and they wove linen and cotton fabrics, which were sometimes of exquisite fineness[212] and softness[213] and richness.[214] They had skilled mechanics,[215] shipwrights and cartwrights, carriage builders and harness-makers, carpenters and masons, house-builders and house-decorators, gold and silver-smiths[216] and jewellers,[217] artists,[218] musical-instrument-makers,[219] and bell-founders, lamp-makers[220] and umbrella-makers, builders of palanquins and sedan-chairs, and hirers of carts,[221] the recognized "five sorts of tradesmen,"[222] ploughmen and herdsmen and shepherds, gardeners and garland-makers, incense-compounders and perfumers, barbers, horsekeepers[223] elephant-mahouts,[224] and charioteers.[225]

There are also some traces of the **higher arts** of the Dakhan in these times. Its architecture has already been noticed. The contemporaries of Buddha employed **music**, both vocal and instrumental, in their festivities: and they were also familiar with **dancing**.[226] The portrait of Buddha painted on semi-transparent cotton-cloth for the princess Ratnâvali, shows that they had some dexterity in the arts of **drawing** and **painting**.[227] The art of **writing** was also known to them; for Buddha himself wrote two texts of his doctrine upon the cotton-cloth just mentioned above his portrait, and a summary of his precepts below it,[228] he also wrote a letter to the king of Ceylon, prescribing the solemnity with which his portrait was to be received on its arrival.[229] The princess Ratnâvali wrote a letter to Buddha begging for the spiritual ambrosia from him.[230] And again, in the generation after Buddha's death, Vijaya wrote a letter on his death-bed to his brother inviting him to come to take possession of his throne.[231] Two or three, if not more, forms of written characters, were in use in different parts of the Dakhaṇ in Buddha's school-days, namely, the Drâviḍian, the Marâṭhâ ('Dakshiṇâvatas'), and apparently the Paiśâchaka.[232] The catapult built by the South-Indian artificer for Dêvadatta for the destruction of Buddha,[233] is an instance of the progress of the **mechanical arts**: and the condition of the **decorative arts** is illustrated by the use of triumphal arches, flags, banners, festoons, gold and silver filigree-work and inlaid work, plantain-tree standards, curtains, and lamps.[234] They inlaid or covered their temples[235] and palaces[236] with gold; and they gilded their palanquins.[237]

Regarding their **chronology**, we learn that their years were divided into months,[238] and that these months were lunar months;[239] that their year was further distributed into seasons;[240] and that seven-day periods formed part of their calendar.[241]

In addition to the prevalence of the art of writing and of epistolary correspondence noticed above, the advancement of the Dakhaṇ in **education** and **literature** at this time is marked by the existence of large colleges and schools of theology and philosophy,[242] in which accomplished popular teachers taught the Vêdas,[243] the Śâstras,[244] the doctrines of the different schools of philosophy,[245] and all the known sciences,[246] to numerous pupils.[247] Some of these pupils were the sons of ministers

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[208] *Uph.* I 7: *Turn.* 3: *Man. Bud.* 200

[209] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 39, 370

[210] *Turn.* 3: *Uph.* II 16, 25: *ante*, XIII. 46.

[211] *Uph.* II. 173: *Turn.* 18.

[212] See above, and *Sacr. Bks.* XXI 116

[213] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 43: *Lal. Vist.* 115, 116

[214] *ante*, XIII 37. [215] *ante*, XIII. 35: *Rock.* 92.

[216] *Dûth.* 40, and references to 'gold' above.

[217] *Turn.* 81. [218] *Rock.* 59.

[219] *Turn.* 19. [220] *Dûth.* 30.

[221] *Bigandet* 101.

[222] *Uph.* I 70, II. 175.

[223] *Turn.* 51. See *ante* XIII 37. [224] *Turn.* 51.

[225] *Turn.* 51: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 236

[226] *Turn.* 19: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 331: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240, 241.

[227] *Tib. Gram.* 161 *Rock.* 59.

[228] *Tib. Gram.* 164: *Rock* 59. It is on record that writing formed part of his education in his boyhood (*Rom. Hist. Bud.* 68. See also *Lal. vist.* 205, 213.)

[229] *Tib. Gram.* 164.

[230] *Rock.* 59. It was not an unusual accomplishment for girls to be able to write at this time; for in sketching the qualifications of the maiden suitable to be his wife, Buddha says,—"I shall need the maiden who is accomplished in writing and in composing poetry." *Lal. vist.* (199, 215.)

[231] *Turn.* 53: *ante*, XIII. 36.

[232] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 68: *Lal. vist.* 183.

[323] *Rock* 92.

[234] *Turn.* 19: *Dûth.* 39: *Man. Bud.* 212.

[235] *Dûth.* 38 [236] *Turn.* 7. [237] *Man. Bud.* 209.

[238] *Uph.* I. 5 II 15, 169, 170: *Turn* 2, 6, 7: *Man. Bud.* 13. See *Bigandet*, 160.

[239] *Uph.* I 5: II. 19, 22, 170: *Turn* 2, 4, 108: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 336, 338. See also *Uph.* III. 161: *Man. Bud.* 24, note: *Bigandet*, 160, 205.

[240] See *Bigandet*, 160, 195, &c.

[241] *Uph.* II 168: *Turn.* 2, 4, 9, 51, 108: *ante*, XIII. 38: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 85. See also *Uph* III 161: *Bigandet* 160.

[242] *Man. Bud.* 334: *Rom. Hist. Bud* 275, 282: *Rock.* 44: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184. See Buhler in *Archæol. Surv. W. Ind.* V. 74.

[243] *Man. Bud.* 335: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275, 276.

[244] *Rom. Hist. Bud* 275, 276: *Rock.* 44.

[245] *Rock* 44. [246] *Rock* 44

[247] *Man. Bud* 335: *Rom. Hist. Bud* 39, 40: *Rock.* 44.

of State:[248] others were young Brâhmaṇs from Northern India.[249] Amongst their accomplishments was the power of reciting extensive works from memory.[250] Young princes, and the sons of rich noblemen had their own private tutors.[251] Education was not confined to the male sex; for princesses, and other girls received a literary training.[252]

Illustrative of their **superstitions,** they employed charms,[253] mantrams,[254] and sorceries;[255]—they interpreted dreams,[256] and visions:[257]—they reverenced sacred footprints,[258] sacred trees,[259] and relics;[260]—they believed in superhuman animals,[261] and superhuman beings,[262] Râkshasas[263] and Râkshasîs,[264] Yakkhas[265] and Yakkhinîs,[266] and Nâgas,[267] able to assume different human[268] and animal[269] forms, and to conjure up phantasmata[270] at will, and kings also of this serpent-race, such as the two Nâga kings of Ceylon who were reconciled by Buddha,[271] the king who entertained him of the banks of the Narmadâ,[272] and the king of Mañjerika who had seen Buddha in the flesh and could call up visions of his bodily form.[273] They had amongst them experts in the magical arts,[274] fortune-telling,[275] divination,[276] and prophecy,[277] men gifted with various supernatural powers,[278] and who could command several kinds of ecstatic reverie.[279]

Very little is found in these legends respecting the **religion** of the Dakhaṇ at this time, outside of Buddha's own sphere. The *Dêvas* to whom Punna's friends cried aloud in their distress,[280] and the early gods of Ceylon,[281] may or may not have belonged to the pre-Buddhist cults. There were, however, in those days, Brâhmaṇs[282] and Brâhmaṇ fraternities,[283] and a hieratical priesthood;[284] we read also of the Ṛishis,[285] hermits,[286] recluses,[287] and ascetics,[288] and also the *Purôhitas,*[289] of the older faith; and possibly also of other heretics[290] from the Buddhist point of view. Mention is made of the doctrine of punitive transmigration,[291] common to the older creed and the new. There are also instances of Brâhmaṇical monasteries,[292] and hermitages,[293] and caves.[294] The Buddhists themselves had their hermitages,[295] with their adjacent sacred groves,[296] and their *vihâras,*[297] and houses for Buddha,[298] their shrine-temples,[299] which were sometimes of superb magnificence, with their daily public worship,[300] their mutual confessions,[301] prayers,[302] fastings,[303] and vows,[304] their religious offerings,[305] and their almsgiving.[306] We meet with monks innumerable,[307] religious mendicants,[308] both male and female, recluses,[309] and male and female devotees.[310]

The **internal organization** of the king-

[248] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275. [249] *Rock.* 44.
[250] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275, 276.
[251] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 68, 276.
[252] *Rock.* 59: *Lal. vist* 199, 215.
[253] *Uph.* II 28, 171, 173: *Turn.* 48: *Man. Bud.* 13: *Si-yu-ki*, II .243, 244. 246.
[254] *Turn.* 56: *Man. Bud.* 209.
[255] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 241 [256] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 241, 245.
[257] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 283.
[258] *Uph.* I 7; II 22; III 113: *Turn.* 7: *Man. Bud.* 210, 211, 212. *E. Monach.* 227: *Fa-Hian*, 150: *Sacr. Bks.* XIX. 244. [259] *Uph* II. 21, 171: *Turn.* 6.
[260] *As. Res* XX. 317: *Jour As. Soc. Beng.* VI 856; VII 1014: *Uph* I 6, 7; II 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 209: III 92, 111, 127: *Turn.* 3. 4, 6, 7: *Man Bud.* 208, 209: *E. Monach.* 224, 225: *Legend et.* 344: *Dith.* 38. *Rock.* 147 *Si-yu-ki*, II. 248. See *Bhilsa Topes*, 30: *Fa-Hian*, 153.
[261] *Rom Hist Bud.* 332, 336: *ante*, XIII. 37, 46: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 242, 245.
[262] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* II 333. [263] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 244.
[264] *Rom Hist Bud.* 333: *ante*, XIII. 36, 37, 47: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 240 to 245
[265] *Turn.* 2. 3. 49, 52: *Man. Bud.* 57, 207, 209: *Fa-Hian*, 149, *ante*, XIII, 36. 45
[266] *Turn* 18. 52: *Man Bud.* 209: *ante*, XIII 46. 47
[267] *Uph* I. 6; II. 19, 22, 170: *Turn.* 4, 5 27: *Man. Bud* 208 to 211: *Fa-Hian.* 149, 150: *ante*, XIII 36.
[268] *Uph.* I 61. III. 66: *Turn.* 49: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 333: *ante*, XIII 36: *Si-yu-ki*, II 240.
[269] *Uph.* II 172. 174: *Turn.* 18: *Man. Bud.* 56.
[270] *Turn.* 27. [271] *Turn.* 4. [272] *Uph.* II 22.
[273] *Uph.* I. 60, 61; III. 128: *Man. Bud.* 172: *E. Monach.* 274.
[274] *Uph.* II. 174, 175: *Turn.* 44, 49, 50: *Rock.*, 92: *ante*, XIII. 46.
[275] *Turn.* 44. 54, 55. [276] *Turn.* 56.
[277] *Uph.* II. 27. 163, 167, 171, 172 · *Turn.* 54 56.
[278] *Uph.* I. 5, 60; II. 16, 17. 21, 169; III. 92, 112, 126: *Turn.* 3, 5, 50: *Man. Bud.* 57, 207, 209, 260: *Fa-Hian*, 150: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 276. 339: *ante*, XIII. 46. 47: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 210, 227, 242, 243, 244, 246, 248, 255: *Sacr Bks.* XIX. 244.
[279] *Rom. Hist. Bud* 276, 282. [280] *Man. Bud.* 57.
[281] *Uph.* II. 19, 20, 21, 23, 27, 172.
[282] *Turn.* 56: *Man. Bud.* 334, 335: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275: *Rock.* 44: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt 2), 184: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 58.
[283] *Man. Bud.* 334
[284] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275: *Rock* 44: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 248.
[285] *Man. Bud.* 50, 362, 363: *Rom Hist. Bud* 39, 275.
[286] *Uph.* II 21, 22. 171. [287] *Man. Bud.* 333.
[288] *Turn.* 47: *Man. Bud* 53: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 282.
[289] *Man. Bud.* 54. 333.
[290] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 39: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 210, 230.
[291] *Man. Bud.* 55. [292] *Man. Bud* 334.
[293] *Man Bud* 200. 334: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184.
[294] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 276. [295] *Man. Bud.* 260.
[296] *Man. Bud.* 260.
[297] *Uph.* II. 21: *Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* XV. 275, 291, 326. 328.
[298] *Man Bud.* 57. [299] *Dith.* 38. [300] *Dith.* 38.
[301] *Rom Hist. Bud.* 332.
[302] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 332: *Si-yu-ki*, II 242. 248
[303] *Si-yu-ki*, II. 248. [304] *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 338.
[305] *Uph* II. 19, 21, 23, 70: *Turn.* 5: *Man. Bud.* 209 *Dith.* 38: *Rock.* 60.
[306] *Tib Gram.* 164: *Man. Bud.* 334: *Sacr. Bks.* X. (pt. 2), 184 *Si-yu-ki*, II. 237.
[307] *Uph* II 21: *Man. Bud.*: 56, 209, 212, 260, 335.
[308] *Man Bud.* 260. [309] *Man. Bud.* 255, 334, 335.
[310] *Uph.* II. 177: *Turn.* 47, 48, 54, 55.

doms of the Dakhaṇ at this time is abundantly illustrated in these legends. Most of the kings of these states were hereditary monarchs;[311] and in other instances, as in that of Sîhabahu,[312] Vijaya,[313] and Pâṇḍuvas,[314] royalty was assumed either personally or on the petition of the ministers,[315] the chiefs of the state,[316] the priests,[317] the elders,[318] or the people,[319] or on the nomination of the abdicating[320] or dying[321] king, and sometimes on popular election.[322] Their coronation[323] was conducted with solemnity and high pageantry;[324] and their consorts were inaugurated by their royal husbands immediately upon their own elevation, this proceeding being apparently essential to the completion of their own enthronement.[325] They were supported by ministers,[326] and other officers of State[327] and nobles of the court,[328] whom they consulted on their domestic[329] as well as public[330] affairs, who were selected for their positions and invested in their offices by the king,[331] and who, in their turn, installed the king on his accession to the throne;[332] they also became the regents of the kingdom upon the heirless demise of the king.[333] Elected kings had power to decline their election,[334] to abdicate,[335] and to nominate or recommend their successors.[336] Their kingdoms had settled recognized boundaries.[337] The land, or the unoccupied land, belonged to the crown; for the king had power to sell it,[338] to present it in gift,[339] and to alienate the tax to which it was subject.[340] One source of their revenue consisted of a tax of one-tenth of the produce of cultivation;[341] they also received tribute from other princes:[342] and both the land-revenue and the tribute appear to have been paid in kind.[343] The king sometimes recommended certain conduct to his subjects in their domestic affairs.[344] There were also mercantile communities who appear to have had some independence in conducting their affairs, and had merchant-princes[345] to preside over them elected by their community.[346] These kings dwelt in palaces,[347] and sat upon thrones[348] which were sometimes richly decorated.[349] The royal palace was under the charge of a chamberlain, who was a member of the royal family.[350] Members of the royal family were attended or guarded by retinues of friends or servants when travelling abroad,[351] and when paying social visits.[352] Princes amused themselves with hunting the elk[353] and the wild boar;[354] and they employed organized bands of hunters.[355] The kings were the source of honour and promotion;[356] and they punished evil doers of all ranks with censures,[357] head-shavings,[358] imprisonment,[359] banishment,[360] and death;[361] they also rewarded public deeds of usefulness.[362] Wives and children and other relatives, and even the male and female servants, workmen, and slaves, shared the punishment of the crimes, or of some of the crimes, of the heads of their family.[363] The kings issued proclamations and decrees, which were published by beat of drum from the backs of elephants traversing the streets of the city.[364] They coined gold money[365] but, although the metal of the coins referred to is not always mentioned, there are no distinct traces here either a silver or a copper coinage. They had standing armies,[366] consisting of infantry, elephants, cavalry, and war-chariots,[367] under

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311 *Turn.* 5, 46, 53, 54, 57, 58: *Dâth.* 39: *ante,* XIII. 38.

312 *Turn.* 46.

313 *Uph.* II. 167: *Turn.* 51: *ante,* XIII. 38.

314 *Uph.* II. 176.

315 *Turn.* 45: *ante,* XIII. 38: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 245.

316 *Uph.* II. 175: *Turn.* 51.

317 *Si-yu-ki,* II. 248.

318 *Si-yu-ki,* II. 245.

319 *ante,* XIII. 37: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 245, 248.

320 *Turn.* 46.

321 *Turn.* 53: *ante,* XIII. 83.

322 *Uph.* II. 176; III. 176: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 240.

323 *Uph,* I. 70, 71; II. 175, 176.

324 *Uph* I. 71; *Turn.* 53.

325 *Uph.* I. 71; II. 175, 176: *Turn.* 51, 53, 54, 55.

326 *Uph.* II. 28, 176: *Turn.* 48, 51, 54, 55: *Dâth.* 38: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 275: *ante,* XIII. 34, 38: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 245.

327 *Uph.* II. 70: *Turn.* 51: *Man. Bud.* 333: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 246.

328 *Turn.* 53.

329 *Turn.* 51: *Man. Bud.* 333.

330 *Turn.* 53.

331 *Turn.* 53.

332 *Turn.* 53, 54, 55.

333 *Turn.* 53, 54.

334 *Si-yu-ki,* II. 245.

335 *Turn.* 46: *ante,* XIII. 38.

336 *Turn.* 46, 53: *ante,* XIII. 38: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 239.

337 *Man. Bud.* 334.

338 *Man. Bud.* 334.

339 *Turn.* 45: *Uph.* II. 165: *ante,* XIII. 37.

340 *Man. Bud.* 334.

341 *Man. Bud.* 334.

342 *Turn.* 53.

343 *Turn.* 53.

344 *Turn.* 51.

345 *ante,* XIII. 37: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 241, 244.

346 *Si-yu-ki,* II. 245.

347 See under 'architecture' above.

348 See 'furniture' above.

349 See 'thrones' above.

350 *Turn.* 57.

351 *Uph.* I. 70, 71; II. 28, 176, 177: *Turn.* 51, 54, 55.

352 *Si-yu-ki,* II. 236.

353 *Turn.* 59.

354 *Turn.* 59.

355 *Si-yu-ki,* II. 238.

356 *ante,* XIII. 37: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 246.

357 *Turn.* 46.

358 *Turn.* 46.

359 *Turn.* 56: *ante,* XIII. 36: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 241.

360 *ibid.*

361 *ibid.*

362 *ante,* XIII. 37: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 239.

363 *Uph.* II. 168: *Turn.* 46: *ante,* XIII. 35: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 239.

364 *Uph.* II. 165: *Turn.* 45: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 238.

365 See 'money' above.

366 *Uph.* II. 165: *Turn.* 4: *Man. Bud.* 54, 207, 208: *Si-yu-ki,* II. 238, 246.

367 *Uph.* II. 174, 175: *Turn.* 51.

the direction of Commanders-in-chief.[368] The armies had standards and standard-bearers,[369] drums,[370] and conch-trumpets.[371] Their weapons were swords,[372] and spears,[373] bows and arrows,[374] darts,[375] maces,[376] clubs,[377] crowbars,[378] and other weapons,[379] in which must be included as a weapon of offence, the catapult mentioned above; and they defended themselves with shields.[380]

A mosaic picture, such as is presented in the present paper,—composed of pebbles gathered from so many literary sea-beaches, and so distantly separated from each other both in locality and time,—may be considered to be sufficiently useful at that early stage of research in which the materials at present accessible for the study of the early history of India necessarily place us, if it enables us to form a tolerably correct judgment of the main outlines of the condition of Southern India at the period which it embraces. It appears to me that the method on which this paper is constructed is well calculated to give their due place and importance to such materials as are available for such a picture: and, presuming these materials to be trustworthy, a picture in which they occupy their proper relative positions cannot fail to be correspondingly trustworthy. The question of the comparative value of some of the authorities which I have used here, will no doubt arise in the criticism which naturally awaits a pioneering study like this in respect of these almost unknown historical times. But, even should any portion of the alleged facts here gathered together have to be abandoned on any ground, a sufficient number of such as are unquestionably genuine will still remain, to uphold the general conclusion which this method of grouping them brings home to our mind; namely, that a fairly true picture is here presented of the condition of the Dakhan in the time of Gautama-Buddha, and that the condition thus presented is one of highly advanced civilization.

DISCURSIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASIATIC SYMBOLISM.

BY H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

XI.

Spain or "Further Europe."

The extraordinary dissimilarity between the manners and customs of the people of Spain and those of the other nations of Europe, makes the title of "**Further Europe,**" not inappropriate, if used in the sense in which Burma and Siam are "Further India." This difference is no doubt due to the occupation of portions of the Spanish Peninsula by the Moors, which lasted for some centuries.

A survival of Moorish ways is to be seen in the mantilla still worn by Spanish women of all classes, which strongly resembles the *fouta* or head-covering of the modern Moorish women of Algeria.

Another is to be seen in the fact that Spanish churches have very rarely any seats or benches in them. The men either stand or kneel, and the women of the people, when not kneeling, squat on their heels and not unfrequently seat themselves cross-legged on the pavement.[1] A considerable area in front of the high altar too is covered with matting, as are the corresponding portions of Muhammadan mosques.

Toledo, whose Archbishop is the Primate of all Spain, is generally believed to have had a considerable Christian population at the time it was conquered by the Moors, when a good many of the Christians either fled or were killed in battle. Some, however, remained, bowed themselves to the yoke of the conqueror, and were unmolested in the exercise of their religion. A reminiscence of this circumstance is preserved in the well-known and curious fact, that in a chapel within the walls of the Cathe-

[368] *ante*, XIII. 37.
[369] *Turn.* 44.
[370] *Uph.* II. 165: *Man. Bud.* 209: *Rom. Hist. Bud.* 36; *Si-yu-ki*, II. 233.
[371] *Man. Bud.* 209: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 238.
[372] *Uph.* II. 173, 175: *Turn.* 48, *Man. Bud.* 208: *ante*, XIII. 37: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 243.
[373] *Man. Bud.* 208: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 238.
[374] *Uph.* II. 166: *Turn.* 45, 48: *Man. Bud.* 208: *ante*, XIII. 37: *Si-yu-ki*, II. 238.
[375] *Man. Bud.* 208.
[376] *Man. Bud.* 208.
[377] *Man. Bud.* 208.
[378] *Man. Bud.* 208.
[379] *Man. Bud.* 208: *Turn.* 48.
[380] *Man. Bud.* 208.

[1] The women of the upper classes and invalids take their own camp-stools with them when they go to church.

dral at Toledo, what is called the **Mus-Arabic**[2] **Ritual** is still followed. It is so different to that of the modern Roman-Catholic Church, which goes on in the same building and often at the same hour, that the priests and the choir, who serve in the Mus-Arabic Chapel, receive a special training. I attended at the eight o'clock mass in this Chapel on Easter Monday, 1884, when there were not many more than twenty worshippers present, as the Archbishop happened to be celebrating High Mass at the time. The service was not an ornate one; and in many particulars it was not unlike the Protestant Ritual. I observed one or two peculiarities in it;—on the credence table at the right hand of the altar were a crucifix about ten inches high and a pair of lighted candles; and on the altar were also the tall lighted candlesticks always used; but just before the celebration of the Mass an attendant placed a small lighted taper **candlestick** on the altar,—a custom common to all Spanish churches and peculiar to them. But, as I will show below, the most remarkable part of the service was, that, at the moment of the consecration of the host, a curious machine, which was near a window and facing the altar, was put in motion by one of the Canons, or perhaps an attendant, who pulled a rope and then allowed it to return. This apparatus was formed of flat pieces of wood, so arranged that they looked like the spokes of a water-wheel, working apparently on a common pivot. As the wheel revolved, each spoke dropped down on to the one below it, and caused a sound resembling that of a loud clapper or a watchman's rattle. Similar **clappers,** but, of course, on a much larger scale, are fixed on the top of the towers of churches in Spain and used during the latter part of Holy Week, when bells are not allowed to be rung, nor clocks to strike.[3]

It seems highly probable that this **clapper** was the primitive Christian mode of calling the people to worship before bells were invented; and in evidence of this I quote the following from an Early Christian writer. In the *Eutychian Annals*,[4] p. 37, it is stated that "the Eastern Christians say that, when God ordered Noah to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of at this day (Xth Century A. D.) in the East, instead of bells, to call the people to church, and named in Arabic *nâqûs*, and in modern (Xth Century) Greek *sumandra*, on which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the work, but to give him an opportunity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the deluge, which would certainly destroy them, if they did not repent." It is clear that the above passage has reference to the use of a clapper such as that at present in use at Toledo.

We shall now see that a very similar instrument is to be found in India used for a similar purpose. If one lives within ear-shot of a Hindu temple, a sort of clashing sound may be heard at dusk, produced either by **cymbals,** or by a kind of **clapper,** which has both a metallic and a wooden tone. I had heard it many times from a distance, but only on one occasion, when going over the palace at Âmbêr, did I seek to gratify my curiosity, and witness what was going on in a temple there. I arrived just in time to see the machine at work which caused the noise, making together with the voices of the people around a perfect Babel of discordant sounds. It consisted of a clapper, attached, as far as I could make out, to a kind of wheel with loose boards and bits of metal affixed to it, worked with a rope by one of the attendant priests. I had a fairly good, though not a very near, view of the apparatus, over a perfect sea of heads of natives who were all prostrate, with their faces touching the pavement. A nine-wicked brass lamp of singular form was on the ground immediately before the altar, on which was an idol; and as soon as the clashing noise ceased, all rose, and the lamp was taken up and handed round to many of the congre-

[2] [Mos-Arabic or Mus-Arabic, Mos-Arabian, etc., are all corruptions of *Mut'arrib*, an 'Arab half-breed, an impure Arab or one who would pass for an Arab.' Therefore the "Mus-Arabic Ritual" would apparently mean that of the Arab or Moorish half-breeds of Spain.—ED.]

[3] This custom also exists in Naples; but there, though the church-bells and clocks are mute, no clapper is substituted for the bells: except in private houses, where a kind of watchman's rattle gives notice of the meals instead of the usual dinner bell.

[4] Eutychius was a Christian author of the sect of the Melchites, born at Cairo in 876 A. D. His real name was Sayyid Batrak, but when chosen Patriarch of Alexandria he took the name of Eutychius. The title of his book was *Annals from the beginning of the World to the year 900*. An extract from these *Annals* under the title of *Annals of the Church of Alexandria*, was published by Selden in Arabic and Latin in 1642, and the whole book in Arabic and Latin by Pococke in 1659 with a preface by Selden.

gation, each of whom passed his hands over the flames, and then touching his forehead seemed to repeat a prayer.

Though, as above said, modern Spanish customs are largely survivals of former Moorish ways, many of them appear to have a still more Eastern affinity. Thus, for example, the **staple food** of the Moors is, and has been for many generations, a preparation of wheat called *kûs-kûs*, consisting of flour rolled into tiny pellets with a peculiar motion of the hand, and then boiled (or rather steamed), and served either with ungainly lumps of boiled mutton or with various kinds of sauces, each in its separate sauce-boat, some savoury, and sôme sweet. *Kûs-kûs* is eaten with a spoon. But the peasant of the province of Murcia, in the South of Spain, is a rice-grower and a rice-eater, as are the natives of many parts of the plains of India! He is ignorant of the use of the knife, fork, or spoon, and moreover eats his rice in the same manner as the Indian does, by working it up into a ball with his right hand and tossing this into his mouth with the peculiar motion adopted by the Indian. The above facts were related to me in 1884 by an officer of long service in India, who had just made a walking tour through Murcia, frequently obtaining food and a night's lodging in the peasant's houses.[5]

Again, the position of the **cow-stall** in the houses of many Spanish villages is similar to that already described (p. 10 above) in the Hill Districts in India and elsewhere. In the remoter parts of the north of the Spanish Peninsula, which I visited many years ago, before there were any railways in the country, and when the particular district of which I speak had only a year or two previously been provided with a carriage-road, one actually entered the house through these stalls. It was not an easy matter to find the staircase which led up to the living rooms of the family, (which when entered were invariably spotlessly clean), for one had to pick one's way through a number of cows and goats, with perhaps a pig or two thrown in.

As other instances I would note that the women of Hindustân carry their young children on the hip, with one leg of the child before and the other behind its mother. The same mode of **carrying children** is not uncommon in Spain, but I doubt its existence elsewhere in Europe. Also, the movements executed by Spanish Gipsy girls when **dancing** are precisely those of the hired dancing-women of Algeria and of the plains of India.

In Valencia there is a curious **church** called La Patriarca, which no woman is permitted to enter unveiled. The name given to this building at once suggests that it may be a very old one, and the ritual adopted there is said to differ very considerably from that of the other Roman Catholic churches in that city. I visited it several times, but was never fortunate enough to be present at an ordinary Mass, as, each time I went, only a service for the repose of the souls of the deceased relations or friends of those who assisted at it was being performed. To find the origin of this custom, I fancy we must turn to Asia, where the Hindus are in the habit of celebrating the anniversaries of the decease of their relations, and the *pûjâ* performed at Benares by all who can afford to go thither is made (once for all by the pilgrim) with the object of purifying the souls of his ancestors. In Spain, if a person loses either parent, he observes the **anniversary** as long as he lives; if a child, or a brother or sister, for a certain number of years; if an uncle for seven years (I have been told). A few days previously, notices are sent to relations and friends that such a service will be held, and all meet at the church, clad in mourning, at the appointed hour.

At Tarragona we find sculptures and symbols which remind us of both Asian and Northern European mythology as to the **hare**, the **frog**, and the **serpent**.

The **hare** has long been everywhere connected with the phenomena of the sky, though I could never quite see on what grounds. Thus, sailors are said to have an idea that the presence of a dead hare on board-ship will bring bad weather. Again the Freyja of Noeta legends, the wife of Odin the storm god, acquired in Saxony the title of Wald-minchen or Wood-nymph, and hares were her attendants. The hare was also evidently, in older

[5] He also added that he found certain Indo-Persian (Hindustânî) words in use in that part of the country, such as *bartan* for 'a plate.' *Bartan*, however, must be a local word, as I am unable to find it in the *Spanish Dictionary*.

times, regarded as a prominent actor in the change of the seasons in Spain, and in the East was closely connected with the Moon,[6] a fact which has given rise to the following myth of Indian origin very popular among the modern Burmese:—"All creatures were making offerings to the Buddha, who was then engaged in preaching the Sacred Law. The hare bethought him that he too must give some alms. But what had he to give? Man might bring costly gifts; the lion found it easy to offer the tender flesh of the fawn; birds of prey brought dainty morsels; fish could practice no less dainty signs of devotion; even the ant was able to drag along grains of sugar and aromatic leaves: but the hare, what had he? He might gather the most tender succulent shoots from the forest glades; but they were useless even to form a couch for the Teacher. There was nothing but his own body; and that he freely offered. The Supreme Lord declined the sacrifice, but in remembrance of the pious intention placed the figure of the hare in the moon and there it remains as a symbol of the Lord of Night to the present day."

The **frog,** too, has a place in Indian mythology; for at sunrise and at sunset the sun near the water is likened to a frog, out of which notion arose a Sanskrit Story,[7] which runs as follows:—"Bhêkî (the frog) was once a beautiful girl, and one day, when sitting near a well, she was seen by a king, who asked her to be his wife. She consented, on condition that he should never show her a drop of water. One day, being tired, she asked the king for water, he forgot his promise, brought water, and Bhêkî disappeared—that is to say, the sun disappeared when it touched the water."[8]

And lastly it has already been shown, in the early part of these papers, that the **serpent** is intimately bound up with Indian mythology.

Now it may only be a coincidence, but surely it is a most singular one, that these three animals,—the **hare,** the **frog,** and the **serpent,**—should all be found on one piece of sculpture in bas-relief at the base of a column in the South-West corner of the Cathedral cloisters at Tarragona; *vide* Plate XXII. fig. 1, p. 11 above. This building is said to date from the beginning of the XIIth Century, and it is possible that the original significance of these symbols was recognized and known by its designers as indicating the Storm, the Sun-snake (or perhaps the Principle of Evil), and the Sun itself; or they may on the other hand be only forms handed down by tradition, and have no meaning attached to them. Another capital of a pillar (see Plate XXII. fig. 3) in the same building has a frog in the centre. The animal is on its back with its limbs extended, while two serpents, one on each side, appear to be attacking it.

The capital of yet another column (see Plate XXII. fig. 2), in these cloisters, possesses a still more decidedly Eastern character. On the extreme left of fig. 2, is a figure, half-man, half-horse, the **Centaur** of Greek mythology and the European representative of the Gandharvas, Naras, Kinnaras, or aerial beings of India, who were regarded as demi-gods. The Centaur, armed with a cross-bow, is aiming at a dragon, represented as an animal with a wide mouth, rolling eyes, and two short straight horns projecting from the forehead. This **dragon** belongs to a type which is most familiar to all of us on articles from China. Figures of the same type, called *Dvârapâlas,* or Door-keepers, are also sculptured on each side of the entrance to the shrine of many Hindu temples in Southern India.[9] It has, besides, been adopted by the Lâmas, or monks, of Ladâk who are, of course, Buddhists. At their high festivals they perform various religious dances, and on these occasions they wear huge masks made of *papier mâché* which entirely cover the head and shoulders. In one of their dances, two of their number put on masks, which are analogous in character to the dragon of the cloisters at Tarragona and the Chinese monster, and their part is to guard the doors of entrance and exit to the court-yard of the house where these dances are performed.[10]

[6] [*cf.* the Skr. term *śaśin* for the moon, so called from a fancied resemblance of its spots to those of a hare (*śaśa*).—ED.]

[7] Quoted in the *Saturday Review* for February 1861.

[8] [This reads very like a version of a tale on which the "comparative mythologist" has been at work, dragging in our old and worn-out friend, the Sun-myth.—ED.]

[9] The Chinese empire was in all probability the original home of this monster, for it is still rampant there, if one may judge from the porcelain and ornaments which come from thence.

[10] I saw the performances at Leh in Ladâk.

Lastly, to complete the Asiatic nature of the Tarragona cloisters, on the extreme right is represented a man stabbing the dragon with a long spear. The dress of this individual is of a distinctly Central Asian character.

As among indications of Eastern civilization in Spain I would draw attention to a **warming-apparatus** in use there. The celebrated Sicilian traveller, Pietro della Valle,[11] when writing from Persia in 1617, says—"Not only in Kurdistân, but in the whole of Persia, even in the most considerable houses, they kindled their fires in a vessel called *tennòr*,[12]—a vase of burnt clay about two palms in height, in which they place burning coals, charcoal, or other combustible matter which quickly lights. After this, they place a plank over this kind of oven in the shape of a small table; this they cover entirely, spreading over it a large cloth, which extends on all sides to the ground, over a part of the floor of the chamber. By this contrivance, the heat being prevented from diffusing itself all at once, it is communicated insensibly and so pleasantly throughout the whole apartment, that it cannot be better compared than to the effect of a stove. A little further on he adds—"Of the excellence of this contrivance I am so fully persuaded, that I am resolved on adopting it when I shall return to Italy." This he very possibly did, but it has not there remained in its entirety. In Southern Italy the arrangement has lost its two most practical features, *viz.* the table and the cloth, which cause the heat to diffuse itself gradually and warm the whole room. The Italian custom in cold weather is to have a large copper vessel, having a domed cover removable at pleasure, filled with embers and placed in a ring of wood provided with four legs, and thus raised to such a height from the ground that it forms a convenient footstool. However this may be, the identical heating apparatus mentioned by Pietro delle Valle may be seen in use at Seville at the present day; only the receptacle for fire, instead of being as he describes a vase of burnt clay, is of copper or brass, fitted into a ring of wood fixed about eight inches from the base of a table resting upon four legs. At a convenient height from the ground is a round table, which is pierced at equal distances with holes about the size of a franc, so that, when covered by a cloth (as in Persia), the heat is felt by those who are sitting at work near it. It also more effectually warms the whole apartment than the Italian vessel.

The question of the warming apparatus at present in use in Kaśmîr under the name of *kâṅgrî* has been extensively discussed in Vol. XIV. p. 264ff. and Vol. XV. p. 57 of this Journal, and, in addition to the evidence as to the origin of portable stoves there given, I would add that during the winters in Florence, which are very cold, no Florentine women of the lower classes walks abroad without carrying a *scaldino*, which is an exact reproduction of the *kâṅgrî* of Kaśmîr.[13]

There is yet another point of connection between Spain and the East, to be noted before leaving this portion of my subject. The inhabitants of the provinces on both sides of the Pyrenean frontier are Basques; and therefore one is not surprised to find that certain **symbols** and **customs** have found their way over the mountains from Spain into France, and have there survived, owing to the circumstance that the peculiar language spoken by the Basque people has isolated them a good deal from their neighbours. At St. Jean de Luz, on the French side of the border, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, who is the patron saint of this town, the people get up what are called *Pastorales*, or representations in a versified narrative form. Their character varies, treating sometimes of secular, and sometimes of religious subjects; the actors are invariably of the male sex; and where women's parts occur they are taken by young lads clad in female attire. The same 'play,' if one may style it such, is carried on for some days, with intervals for rest and refreshment. Here again, in every particular, Indian customs are represented. The acting and recital of the *Râmâyaṇa* last several days; and there also the

[11] *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, il Pellegrino*, Venetia, 1681, p. 18.

[12] [Pers. *tannûr*; but it is a word of *Arabic* origin, with plu. *tanânîr*.—ED.]

[13] [All the above is very interesting in this connection, especially as Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 57, has shown that the use of portable fire-places or braziers was known in India in Kaśmîr as early as the XIIth Century A.D., and here we have their use in Persia (and if Delle Valle's word *tennor* be right, in Arabia) as well as in Spain and Italy, in a manner which implies a long previous history.—ED.]

female characters are taken by youths in women's dress. Certain dances are also performed in Asia by men and boys, the latter dressed as women.[14]

XII.

Concluding Remarks.

There is a point which I would feign touch upon, in conclusion, in the hope of drawing more attention to it than it has hitherto met with. There is a most remarkable collection of sculptures now in the Archæological Museum at Madrid, which up to date have puzzled the most learned antiquarians. They do not seem to be as well known to the world in general as they deserve; and, as the Spanish Government is said to have bought a portion only of what was found, it is to be hoped that some may still find their way into the Art Museum at South Kensington. They are statues discovered in 1870-71 on a hill called El Cerro de los Angeles near Yecla, a small village in the province of Murcia. Mr. Juan Riaño,[15] in an article published in the *Athenæum* of July 6th, 1872, gives it as his opinion that "they do not all belong to the same period." He holds that "some are anterior, and that others are posterior, to the Christian era," and adds "in all of them is a marked Oriental influence. It is probable that the Cerro de los Angeles was the seat of different civilizations, unless some of these objects proceed from different localities." In fact, on studying the different types of dress and of physiognomy shown in the statues, one is tempted to imagine that they may in past ages have adorned the museum of some collector of antiquities, who lived a thousand years ago. One nearly life-size figure is a counterpart of the Egyptian god Isis; while many of the heads bear a strong resemblance to certain statues found in 1884 on the island of Cyprus.[16] The greater number are female figures in a standing position; but there is one male life-sized figure, said to be that of a priest, and a few detached male head. Some of them are inscribed with Greek characters, others bear certain marks which none of the learned have hitherto been able to decipher. One or two of the figures have the hair arranged in the Egyptian fashion, and some have a veil arranged like the *sâṛî* of the Hindu woman; others have the hair dressed very high and the veil put over it, and these remind one of the Sikh women of the Pañjâb; others again look like Lapp women. One or two large heads, presumably male ones, wear turbans, while a small male figure of an Egyptian type has strands of hair brought down on each side of the face and twisted into a coil beneath the chin; but, strange to say, not one single male figure is bearded, which would seem to point to a non-Âryan origin. One little male statue, which is about ten inches high, has in its attitude and features the perfect look of repose peculiar to the statues of Buddha, and the likeness is further carried out in the arrangement of the hair and of the folds of the robe.

The most interesting point about them, as regards the subject of Symbolism, is that all the female figures carry pots in their hands at about the level of the waist, out of some of which flames are issuing, which would seem to mark them as images of votaries of some religion connected with the Sun or Fire. One very remarkable female figure holds such a pot, and on her breast are the symbols of the Sun and Moon with a large star between them. On her robe, also, just below the knees are sculptured a serpent, a tree (?) and other signs in an unfinished state, and therefore not clearly distinguishable. Who the people were that made these statues, is a complete mystery; and it seems hardly possible that they could all have been the work of the same race.

And now that all my observations, discursive as they have been, have drawn to a close, let me say a few last words as to the lesson that studies such as these imply. Doubtless many other points of resemblance between the manners and customs of Asia and Europe still remain to be enumerated, and if, *pace* the latest researches, we once open our eyes to the possibility that Asia was the cradle of most of the nations of Europe, a new light seems to break

[14] [Compare the description of the *swâng* in the *Legends of the Pañjâb*, Vol. I. p. 121. Among the Kahâr caste in Northern India dances, in imitation of the *nâch*, are commonly held in which the women's parts are performed by youths dressed up as girls. There is an admirable representation of such a dance in pottery in the Oxford Indian Institute. Passion Plays are, however, very far from being confined to Spain or India. They seem to have been prevalent in every part of Europe and Asia for many centuries.—ED.]

[15] Author of the South Kensington *Hand-book on Spanish Art*.

[16] These latter I only know from drawings.

in upon us, and any symbols or customs which are common to both continents acquire a value to us which they had not before. They seem to assist us in tracing the rise and growth of religious feeling, of arts and manufactures, amongst European peoples of whose history and actions we are, and must otherwise remain, absolutely ignorant. We are compelled to own that the people of the so-called Bronze Age were not the Keltic savages which we once imagined them to be; that the people of the Stone Age were clever in their generation; and that the Sun and Moon worshippers, who adored these planets because they thought that to them they owed the fertility of the earth, were the pioneers of civilization. We may learn a good deal in other ways, too, by studying what has been left us by these prehistoric races; as it is evident that they put their whole energy and knowledge into whatever they executed. With even our perfect appliances we can, in some respects, hardly equal, much less surpass, what they accomplished with the rudest of tools.

A GAYA INSCRIPTION OF YAKSHAPALA.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GOTTINGEN.

I edit this inscription, which is now published for the first time, from a rubbing made over by General Cunningham to Mr. Fleet. The inscription was discovered by General Cunningham at the Satî Ghâṭ at **Gayâ**, the chief town of the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. It consists of 21 lines, which cover a space of $16\frac{3}{4}''$ by $12\frac{1}{2}''$; the height of the letters is $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch. The language of the inscription is Sanskṛit; and the whole of it, excepting the introductory blessing **ओँ नमः सूर्याय** and the concluding phrase **लिखिता-[सौ]......**, is in verse. The verses were composed (v. 14) by one **Murâri**, of the Âgîgrâma family, a Naiyâyika.

The **characters** of the inscription are Dêvanâgarî; or, to be more particular, a kind of Dêvanâgarî, which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D. As regards sculptured writing, the same alphabet has been employed in the Kṛishṇa-Dvârika Temple inscription of Gayâ (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. Plate xxxvii.); while, of MSS. known to me, that one, the writing of which most nearly resembles the writing of the inscription under notice, is the Cambridge MS. Add. 1693, which was written in A.D. 1165. (Bendall, *Cat. of Buddhist Sanskṛit MSS.* p. 182, and Plate ii. 2, and Table of letters). Regarding the vowel-signs, attention may be drawn to the peculiar forms of the medial *i*, *u*, and diphthongs; and as regards the consonants, I would particularly note, that *r*, when immediately preceding another consonant, though 25 times written by the ordinary superscript sign, is several times represented by a short stroke which starts from the middle of the left side of the following consonant and points slantingly towards the top of the line, or by a short horizontal line drawn towards the left which is added below the top line and above the characteristic portion of the following consonant or group of consonants. In the rubbing this form of *r* is most clearly visible in o°सौर्यैः l. 4, भेत्तुर्यमे° l. 5, and कीर्त्ति° l. 5; but it can also be recognized in °पूर्ण्णै l. 1, °माकर्ण्णय° l. 6, °स्वर्थिसा° l. 16, and अर्थिभ्यो l. 17. The form of *r* here described appears to be the usual one in the Kṛishṇa-Dvârika Temple inscription, in an inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1059 from the Gayâ District, a rubbing of which has been sent to me by Mr. Fleet, and in the Cambridge MS. mentioned above; and it reminds one of the way in which *r* before another consonant is written in the Śârada alphabet. Besides, I may state that the group *tt* exceptionally is written by the sign for *tu*, in कीर्त्ति° l. 15, and कीर्त्तयः l. 21; and that the group *sth*, written as one would expect it to be in °कुस्थं l. 11, is represented by the sign for *schh* in °स्थं l. 4, प्रस्थान° l. 11, °स्थायी l. 13, and स्थिरो l. 14. The consonant *b* is always denoted by the sign for *v*; and it may perhaps be mentioned that the signs for *tha* and *vê*, as well as those for *rê* and initial *ê*, may easily be confounded.—In respect of **orthography** we have to notice the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant in °सौर्यैः l. 4, and °वसीकृतां l. 7, and that of the palatal for the dental sibilant in चकाशति l. 9, इत्याशया° l. 16, and सहश्र° l. 18; the employment of the guttural nasal, instead

of the *anusvâra*, in भूयाङ्गो l. 10; and the absence of *saṁdhi* in °भूत् श्री° l. 5, and तावत् श्री° l. 20.

The inscription is not dated; and, irrespective of such proof as may be afforded by the alphabet in which it is written, there is at present no evidence to show with certainty when it was composed. It records (v. 12) the erection, at **Gayâ**, of a temple dedicated to various local deities, the digging of the Uttaramânasa tank, and the establishment of a charitable hall by the prince (v. 10 *narêndra*) **Yakshapâla**, the son of the prince (v. 4 *nṛipa*) **Viśvarûpa** and grandson of the illustrious **Śûdraka**, of **Gayâ** (v. 3). Of Yakshapâla and Viśvarûpa, nothing of any historical value is mentioned; and of **Śûdraka**, who is not actually styled a prince, it is merely stated that he had defeated his enemies, and that the ruler of **Gauḍa** paid him homage fit for a lord of men.

According to Târânâtha's account of the **Magadha** kings (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 366), a prince **Yakshapâla** was the last of the **Pâla** family; but, as *his* father is stated to have been **Râmapâla**, the son of **Hastipâla**, it is difficult to believe that he is the Yakshapâla of our inscription. I entertain a very strong suspicion that the Kṛishṇa-Dvârika Temple inscription will throw light on the present inscription; for even the lithograph which has been published by General Cunningham, shows that that inscription mentions not only **Śûdraka**—(end of line 6, तस्य तद्नु तनुजन्मा सुररिपुरिव शूद्रको भूतः),—but also **Viśvâditya** (line 8, विश्वादित्यमजीजनत्), who may be supposed to be the **Viśvarûpa** of our inscription.

TEXT.[1]

ओँ नमः सूर्याय ॥

1 विषयमधूत्करपूर्ण्णे प्राणिनिकायालिं विश्वशतपत्रं । अष्टाशादलरम्यं प्रकाशयन्नवतु वो भानुः ॥[2] verse 1.—

2 तीर्थे फल्गु[त[3]]टादितीर्थघ[ट[4]]नाव्याजेन सोपानिनी गन्तॄणां परमस्य धौततमसां धाम्नो गया राजते । श्रीमत्स्यैव य-

3 या महीमयमिलखिन्नस्य जीवात्मना शिल्पोत्कर्षममन्यतात्मनि विधिः कृत्वा त्रिलोकीमपि ॥[5] v. 2.— अस्यां वभूव[6] रिपुवृन्दम-

4 निन्धसौर्यः[7] कुर्व्वन्वनप्रणयि पत्ननिकेतनस्थं । श्रीशूद्रकः स्वयमपूजयदिन्द्रकल्पो गौडेश्वरो नृपतिलक्षणपूज-

5 या यं ॥[8] v. 3.—तस्मादद्भुतपौरुषाम्बुधिरभूत्[9] श्रीविश्वरूपो नृपः कीर्त्तिश्रीमतवः स्वयंवरतया भेजुर्यमेकं पतिं । अ-

6 द्यापि स्फुरदुग्रविक्रमकथामाकर्ण्णयद्यस्य च स्वासं[भू]तिमरातिचक्रमसमत्रासात्तदा श्लाघते[10] ॥[11] v. 4.— लक्ष्मीं रिपोः

7 स्वभुजवीर्यवसीकृतां[12] यो भोग्यां तथा विहितवान्[13] द्विजपुङ्गवानां । एषां यथा युवतयो - द्युतिमादधाना ना-

8 काङ्गना इव[14] विरे[15]जुरिलातलेपि ॥[16] v. 5.—यस्योञ्वलेन[17] यशसा भ्रमता समन्ताच्चक्रे चिरं धवलिते विदिशां दि-

9 शाञ्च । लोकेष्वभिप्रथयितुं मृगलाञ्छनः स्व[18]मेणाङ्कमुल्बणमहर्न्निशमादधाति ॥ v. 6.—येनाद्यापि चकाशति[19] प्रतिदि-

10 शं देवालयाः कारिता भूयाङ्गो[20] हिमदीधितिद्युतिमुषो मेदिन्यलङ्कारिणः[21] । मूर्त्यायामतया[22] हिमाद्रिशिखरस्प-

11 र्द्धोच्छ्रितैर्मूर्द्धभिः कुर्व्वन्तो वियति स्खलद्गतिरयं प्रस्थानदुस्थं[23] रविं[24] ॥[25] v. 7.— धर्म्मस्य हृद्य इव सूनुरजातशत्रुस्तस्याथ

12 धैर्यनिलयोऽजनि यक्षपालः । लुप्तक्रतौ कलियुगस्य विजृम्भिते यः कामान्भृशं क्रतुभुजः क्रतुभिः पु-

13 पोष ॥[26] v. 8.— [प्रुष्टो[27]]नङ्गतया परेष्वयमयं भिक्षाभुजा निर्ज्जितः सर्व्वेणाप्यवलाव[28]लोयमचिरस्थायी मनोभूर-

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[1] From the rubbing. [2] Metre, Âryâ.

[3] This *akshara* in the rubbing looks rather like व, but त is written similarly in संभूति in l. 6.

[4] Originally डा, but the vowel-sign of this *akshara* has been struck out, and the sign for the consonant altered.

[5] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [6] Read बभूव.

[7] Read °शौर्यः. [8] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[9] Read °म्बुधिरभूच्छ्रीवि°. [10] Originally श्लघते.

[11] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [12] Read °वशीकृतां.

[13] Originally °वान् । द्विज°. [14] Originally इाव.

[15] Originally विरिजु°.

[16] Metre of verses 5 and 6, Vasantatilakâ.

[17] Read यस्योज्ज्वलेन. [18] Perhaps originally स्वंमेणा°.

[19] Read चकासति. [20] Read भूयांसो.

[21] Originally °ङ्करिणः, but, as it seems, altered to °ङ्कारिणः.

[22] The superscript *r* above the second *akshara* is very indistinct; the third *akshara* is य, altered to या.

[23] Read °दुःस्थं. [24] Perhaps originally रविः.

[25] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [26] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[27] I am very doubtful about the two *aksharas* put in brackets; the writing on the stone appears to be quite plain, yet I can make out, with certainty, only that the upper portion of the second *akshara* is ष.

[28] Read °बलाव.°

14 यं । इत्यन्यो विधिना मनोज्ञतनुभृज्जेता रि[पूणां] यो भुजादण्डैकप्रवलः[29] स्थिरो शुधि सदा मीनध्वजो निर्म्मि-
15 तः ॥[30] v. 9.—भूभारो रोहणोभूदितरतरुतुलामाश्रितः कल्पशाखी किंधेनुः कामधेनुः क्षितितलपरिखा कीर्त्ति-
16 पात्रं पयोधिः । इत्याद्य[31]न्नादिदा[नू]न्प्रति जगति [गि]रो गीयमाना नरेन्द्रे यस्मिन्नभ्यर्थ्यमानैर्व्वसुभिरविरतं
तर्प्पयत्यर्थिसा-
17 र्थान् ॥[32] v. 10.— यद्भूत्पद्मकुटीरकप्रणयितामापादिते श्रीपतौ सुप्रीतेव्यभिचारणीत्व[33]रतया भक्त्या परिक्रीडितं ।
अर्थिभ्यो वि-
18 नियुक्तयाप्यनुदिनं पात्रे शुचौ जातया मत्स्वामिप्रियवास एष इति यः कामं श्रिया संश्रितः ॥[34] v. 11—
मौनादित्यसहस्र[35]लिङ्ग-
19 कमलार्द्धाङ्गीणनारायणद्वि[स्तो]मेश्वरफल्गुनाथविजयादित्याह्वयानां कृती । स प्रा[36]सादमचीकरद्दिविषदां
केदारदेवस्य
20 च ख्यातस्योत्तरमानसस्य खननं सत्रं त[था] चाक्षये ॥ v. 12.—सूर्य[37]चन्द्रमसौ यावद्यावत्क्षोणी ससागरा ।
तावत्[38] श्रीयक्षपालस्य रा-
21 जन्तां भुवि कीर्त्तयः ॥[39] v. 13.—न्यायविद्याविदां श्रेयानागीमामकुलोद्भवः । श्रीमुरारिर्द्विजश्रेष्ठः प्र[40]शस्तिमकरो-
दिमां ॥ v. 14.—लिखिता[सौ][41]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ! Adoration to Sûrya !

(Verse 1.)—May the Sun protect you !—he who illuminates the lotus which is the universe, filled with a mass of honey—the objects of sense, having for bees the multitude of living beings, (*and*) charming with its leaves—the eight regions !

(V. 2.)—Resplendent is (*this*) sacred place **Gayâ**, which, in the guise of furnishing flights of steps on the banks of the **Phalgu** and elsewhere, provides stairs for those who, cleansed of darkness, go to the abode of heaven. This beautiful (*place*) it was, the living soul of the whole wondrous terrestrial creation, that caused the Creator to think highly of his skill, even after he had made the three worlds.[42]

(V. 3.)—Here there was the illustrious **Sûdraka,** who, endowed with unblemishable bravery, made the swarm of (*his*) enemies long for the forest (*and*) caused it to reside (*there*) in dwellings of leaves. To him paid homage of his own accord the ruler of **Gauḍa,** almost equal to Indra, with homage fit for a lord of men.

(V. 4.)—From him was born the prince, the illustrious **Viśvarûpa,** an ocean of wonderful manliness, whom Fame, Fortune, and Intelligence of their own choice took to be their one lord. Even now the host of enemies, hearing the tale of the brilliant terrible prowess of that (*prince*), in its supreme terror congratulates itself on not having been born in his time.

(V. 5.)—He placed the wealth of the enemy, which he had appropriated by the strength of his arm, at the disposal of the most excellent twiceborn, in such a way that their young wives, enveloped in splendour, shone like celestial damsels even on the surface of the earth.

(V. 6.)—On the orb of the regions and intermediate regions, long rendered white by his bright fame, spreading all around, the moon, by day and by night, places in abundance the deer that forms her own dark spot, in order to make (*that spot*) known in the worlds.[43]

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[29] Read °प्रबलः.

[30] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [31] Read इत्यास°.

[32] Metre, Sragdharâ. [33] Read °व्यभिचारिणीत्व°.

[34] Metre of verses 11 and 12, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[35] Read °सहस्र°. [36] Originally प्रसाद°.

[37] Originally सूर्या°. [38] Read तावच्छ्री°.

[39] Metre of verses 13 and 14, Anushṭubh.

[40] Originally प्रीशस्ति°.

[41] Here ends line 21. The name of the writer is written in very small letters below the *aksharas* रोदिमां of line 21, but it is (with the exception perhaps of the two syllables श्रीम) illegible in the rubbing.

[42] For similar expressions, compare e. g. *Damayantîkathâ*, p. 104, l. 5; p. 259, l. 13; p. 270, l. 3. On the first portion of the verse it may suffice to quote from the *Gayâ-Mâhâtmya* the line :—

गयायां न हि तत्स्थानं यत्र तीर्थं न विद्यते.

[43] The spot in the moon being rendered invisible by the lustre of the prince's fame, the moon is represented as placing the deer, one of which forms that spot, on the earth, in order that her spot may not be altogether forgotten.— एणाङ्क I take to be a *Karmadhâraya*-compound. The moon is called एणाङ्क, e. g. *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita*, iv. 13.

(V. 7.)—The numerous temples which he caused to be built in every direction shine even now, eclipsing the splendour of the cold-rayed (moon), (*and*) decorating the earth; by their tops, which on account of the height of the idols (*in them*) are uplifted in rivalry of the peaks of the Himâlaya, they make it difficult for the sun to progress in the sky, his chariot being made (*by them*) to deviate from its course.[44]

(V. 8.)—To him then was born a beloved son, **Yakshapâla**, as Ajâtaśatru was to Dharma, an abode of firmness. When, under the sway of the Kali-age, sacrifices had ceased to be offered, he again and again satisfied the desires of the sacrificial fire with sacrifices.

(V. 9.)—Considering that the god of love, scorched (*and*) deprived of his body, (*had to dwell*) within others,—that he had been conquered by every beggar even—that his strength consisted in feeble women,—and that he never was long steady, the Creator created him to be a second god of love, endowed with a charming body, a conqueror of his enemies, strong before everything else by his mighty arm, (*and*) always steady in battle.[45]

(V. 10.)—(" *Compared with you, the mountain*) Rôhaṇa[46] was a (*mere*) burden to the earth; the tree of paradise, like unto other trees! (*Compared with you*), what kind of cow is the cow of plenty? (*Compared with you*), the ocean, the recipient of praise, is a (*mere*) ditch surrounding the earth!"—songs such as these, addressed to the donors of old, used to resound in the world, when this lord of men incessantly was gladdening the crowds of supplicants with the riches desired (*by them*).

(V. 11.)—Since the Lord of Fortune, well pleased by (*his*) unswerving devotion, had been rendered fond of (*dwelling within*) the small hut of the lotus of his heart, Fortune,—(*ever*) growing with the virtuous (*prince who was*) worthy of her, though she was day by day bestowed (*by him*) on supplicants,—playfully resorted with eagerness to him, knowing him to be the dear habitation of her own lord.[47]

(V. 12.)—This wise (*prince*) caused to be built a temple of the inhabitants of heaven called Maunâditya, Sahasraliṅga, Kamala, Ardhâṅgîṇa, Dvistômêśvara, Phalgunâtha, and Vijayâditya, and of the god Kêdâra; he likewise had the famous Uttaramânasa[48] (tank) dug, and (*established*) a hall of charity, to last for ever.

(V. 13.)—As long as the sun and the moon,—as long as the earth, together with the sea (*endures*),—so long may the fame of the illustrious **Yakshapâla** be resplendent on the earth!

(V. 14.)—The illustrious **Murâri**, the best of the twice-born, prominent among the students of the Nyâya-philosophy (*and*) born in the Âgîgrâma family, has composed this eulogy.

Written it was [by ....]

WHY THE FISH TALKED.

A KASMIRI STORY.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

As a certain fisherwoman passed by a palace crying her fish, the queen appeared at one of the windows, and beckoned her to come near and show what she had. At that moment a very big fish jumped about in the bottom of the basket.

" Is it a male; or a female?" enquired the queen; " I wish to purchase a female fish."

On hearing this, the fish laughed aloud.

"It's a male," replied the fisherwoman, and proceeded on her rounds.

The queen returned to her room in a great

[44] The word अलङ्कारिन् is, to say the least, unusual. In आयामता, the secondary suffix is superfluous, just as in स्वयंवरता in v. 4 above; in a similar manner the word भाव is in later Sanskrit added to abstract nouns; see my note on *Pañchatantra*, I. p. 28, 13.

[45] The words which I have rendered by "conquered by every beggar" may also be translated by "conquered by Sarva (or Śarva, *i. e.* Śiva), who subsists on alms;" for the epithet applied here to Śiva compare *e. g.* Bhartṛihari, *Nîtiśataka*, Bo. Ed., 95.

[46] This mountain, the Adam's peak in Ceylon, is often praised for the precious stones which it is supposed to contain. Compare the quotations in B. and R.'s Dictionary *s. v.* रोहण, and e. g. *Damayantîkathâ*, p. 4, l. 5 and p. 259, l. 14; *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita*, IV. 11.

[47] The lord or husband of Fortune is Vishṇu. For हृत्पद्म compare e. g. *Mâlatîmâdhava*, Bo. Ed., p. 157; and for कुटीरक *Damayantîkathâ*, p. 176, l. 18. अव्यभिचारिण्यीत्वरता भक्तिः is simply equivalent to भक्तिरव्यभिचारिणी— *Bhagavadgîtâ*, XIII. 10.

[48] See *ante*, Vol. X. p. 341, note.

rage; and, on coming to see her in the evening, the king noticed that something had disturbed her.

"Are you indisposed?" he said.

"No, but I am very much annoyed at the strange behaviour of a fish. A woman brought me one to-day; and on my enquiring whether it was a male or female, the fish laughed most rudely."

"A fish laugh? Impossible! You must be dreaming."

"I am not a fool. I speak of what I have seen with my own eyes and have heard with my own ears."

"Passing strange! Be it so. I will enquire concerning it."

On the morrow the king repeated to his *wazír* what his wife had told him, and bade him investigate the matter, and be ready with a satisfactory answer within six months, on pain of death. The *wazír* promised to do his best, though he felt almost certain of failure. For five months he laboured indefatigably to find a reason for the laughter of the fish. He sought everywhere and from everyone. The wise and learned, and they who were skilled in magic and in all manner of trickery, were consulted. Nobody, however, could explain the matter; and so he returned broken-hearted to his house, and began to arrange his affairs in prospect of certain death: for he had [illegible] sufficient experience of the king to know that His Majesty would not go back from his threat. Amongst other things he advised his son to travel for a time, until the king's anger should have somewhat cooled.

The young fellow, who was both clever and handsome, started off withersoever *qismat* (fate) might lead him. He had been gone some days, when he fell in with an old farmer, who also was on a journey to a certain village. Finding the old man very pleasant, he asked him if he might accompany him, professing to be on a visit to the same place. The old farmer agreed, and they walked along together. The day was hot and the way was long and weary.

"Don't you think it would be pleasanter if you and I sometimes gave one another a lift?" said the youth.

"What a fool the man is!" thought the old farmer.

Presently they passed through a field of corn, ready for the sickle, and looking like a sea of gold as it waved to and fro in the breeze.

"Is this eaten or not?" said the young man.

Not understanding his meaning the old man replied, "I don't know."

After a little while the two travellers arrived at a big village, where the young man gave his companion a clasp-knife and said—

"Take this, friend, and get two horses with it: but mind and bring it back, for it is very precious."

The old man, looking half-amused and half-angry, pushed back the knife, muttering something to the effect that his friend was either deluded, or else trying to play the fool with him. The young man pretended not to notice his reply; and remained almost silent till they reached the city, a short distance outside which was the old farmer's house. They walked about the *bázár*, and went to the mosque, but nobody saluted them, or invited them to come in and rest.

"What a large cemetery!" exclaimed the young man.

"What does the man mean?" thought the old farmer, "calling this largely populated city a cemetery!"

On leaving the city their way led through a [illegible] few people [illegible] sitting by a grave and distributing [illegible] and *kulchas* (cakes) to passers-by, in the name of their beloved dead. They beckoned to the two travellers and gave them as much as they could eat.

"What a splendid city this is!" said the young man.

"Now the man must surely be demented," thought the old farmer. "I wonder what he will do next! He will be calling the land water, and the water, land; and be speaking of light where there is darkness, and of darkness when it is light." However, he kept his thoughts to himself.

Presently they had to wade through a stream that ran along the edge of the cemetery. The water was rather deep, so the old farmer took off his shoes and *páijámas* and crossed over; but the young man waded through it with his shoes and *páijámas* on.

"Well! I never did see such a perfect fool,"

"Both in word and in deed!" said the old man to himself.

However, he liked the fellow; and, thinking that he would amuse his wife and daughter he invited him to come and stay at his house, as long as he had occasion to remain in the village.

"Thank you very much," the young man replied, "but let me first enquire, if you please, whether the beam of your house is strong."

The old farmer left him, in despair, and entered his house laughing.

"There is a man in yonder field," he said, after returning their greetings. "He has come the greater part of the way with me, and I wanted him to put up here as long as he had to stay in this village. But the fellow is such a fool, that I cannot make anything out of him. He wants to know if the beam of this house is all right.[1] The man must be mad." And saying this he burst into a fit of laughter.

"Father," said the farmer's daughter, who was a very sharp and wise girl, "this man, whosoever he is, is no fool, as you deem him. He only wishes to know if you can afford to entertain him."

"Oh, of course!" replied the farmer: "I see; Well, perhaps you can help me to solve some of his other mysteries. While we were walking together, he asked whether he should carry me, or I should carry him; as he thought that would be a pleasanter mode of proceeding."

"Most assuredly," said the girl. "He meant that one of you should tell a story to beguile the time."

"Oh, yes! well, we were passing through a corn-field; when he asked me whether it was eaten or not."

"And didn't you know the meaning of this, father? He simply wished to know if the man was in debt or not; because, if the owner of the field was in debt, then the produce of the field was as good as eaten to him; that is, it would have to go to his creditors."

"Yes, yes, yes; of course! Then, on entering a certain village, he bade me take his clasp-knife and get two horses with it, and bring back the knife again to him."

"Are not two stout sticks as good as two horses for helping one along on the road? He only asked you to cut a couple of sticks and be careful not to lose his knife."

"I see!" said the farmer. "While we were walking over the city, we did not see anybody that we knew, and not a soul gave us a scrap of anything to eat, till we were passing the cemetery; but there some people called to us and put into our hands some *chapâtîs* and *kulchas*. So my companion called the city a cemetery, and the cemetery, a city."

"This, also, is to be understood, father, if one thinks of the city as the place where everything is to be obtained, and of inhospitable people as worse than the dead. The city, though crowded with people, was as if dead, as far as you were concerned; while in the cemetery, which is crowded with the dead, you were saluted by kind friends and provided with bread."

"True, true," said the astonished farmer. "Then just now, when we were crossing the stream, he waded it without taking off his shoes and *pâijâmas*."

"I admire his wisdom," replied the girl. "I have often thought how stupid people were to venture into that swiftly-flowing stream and over those sharp stones with bare feet. The slightest stumble, and they would fall, and be wetted from head to foot. This friend of yours is a most wise man. I should like to see him and speak to him."

"Very well," said the farmer; "I will go and find him, and bring him in."

"Tell him, father, that our beams are strong enough, and then he will come in. I'll send on ahead a present to the man, to shew him that we can afford to have him for our guest."

Accordingly she called a servant and sent him to the young man with a present of a basin of *ghi*, twelve *chupâtîs*, and a jar of milk, and the following message:—'O friend! the moon is full; twelve months make a year; and the sea is overflowing with water.' Half-way, the bearer of this present and message met his little son, who, seeing what was in the basket, begged his father to give him some of the food. His father stupidly complied; and presently he saw the young man and gave him the rest of the present, and the message.

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[1] *Virôm kaḍi chheyih dar?*—"is (your) beam strong?"—is a Kâśmîrî saying, meaning, "can you entertain me well? can you make me comfortable?"—Running along the upper storey of a Kâśmîrî house is a long, strong beam called *narikoṭ*, upon which the whole roof depends.

"Give your mistress, my *salâm*," he replied, "and tell her that the moon is new: and that I can only find eleven months in the year, and the sea is by no means full."

Not understanding the meaning of these words, the servant repeated them word for word, as he had heard them, to his mistress; and thus his theft was discovered, and he was severely punished. After a little while, the young man appeared with the old farmer. Great attention was shown to him, and he was treated in every way as if he was the son of a great man, although his humble host knew nothing of his origin. At length he told them everything:—about the laughing of the fish, his father's threatened execution, and his own banishment,—and asked their advice as to what he should do.

"The laughing of the fish," said the girl, "which seems to have been the cause of all this trouble, indicates that there is a man in the palace, of whom the king is not aware."

"Joy, joy," exclaimed the *wazir's* son. "There is yet time for me to return and save my father from an ignominious and unjust death."

The following day he hastened [illegible] own country, taking with him the [illegible] daughter. Immediately on arrival, [illegible] the palace, and informed his father of [illegible] had heard. The poor *wazir*, now [illegible] from the expectation of death, was at once carried to the king, to whom he repeated the news that his son had [illegible].

"Never!" said the king.

"But it must be so, your Majesty," replied the *wazir*: "and in order to prove the truth of what I have heard, I pray you to call together all the female attendants in your palace, and order them to jump over a pit, which must be dug. The man will at once betray his sex in the trial."

The king had the pit dug, and commanded all the female servants belonging to the palace to try to jump it. All of them tried, but only one succeeded. That one was found to be a man!!

Thus was the queen satisfied, and the faithful old *wazir* saved!

Afterwards, as soon as arrangements could be made, the *wazir's* son married the old farmer's daughter;[2] and a most happy marriage it was!

AN ENGLISH-GIPSY INDEX.

COMPILED BY MRS. GRIERSON; WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

(Concluded from p. 35.)

TIN,—**Arkîchi, archîchi, artîchi, kalâi, kastiri, (Tch.); gh'ala, gh'eili, (As. Tch.); archichi, (M. 7)**

TINDER,—**Potan, (Eng.)**

TINKER,—**Petul-mengro, (Eng.)**

TINY,—**Tawno, tawnie, tikno, beti, (Eng.); chinoro, (Span. Gip.); cĕnunorô, (M.)**

TIRED,—**Kinyo, (Eng.); khinô, kinô, (Tch.); quiñao, (Span. Gip.); trudimî, (M.); khino, (M. 7)**

TIRED, to be,—**Khiniovâva, chîniovâva, (Tch.); chiniovâva, (Psp. M.)**

TO,—**Te, kato, (Eng.); kado, (Hun. Gip.); la, (M.); ki, (M. 7); ti, uz, (M. 8)**

TOAD,—**Marokka, (M. 8)**

TOBACCO,—**Tuv, (Eng.); tûtos, tutûni, tuv, (Tch.); drab, dryab, thualôñ, (M.)**

TOBACCO-PIPE,—**Chupnî, (Tch., M. 7); chuknì, (Psp. M.)**

TOBACCO-PIPE-TUBE,—**Ran, (M.)**

TOBACCO-PIPES, he who makes or sells,—**Chupniâkoro, (Tch.)**

TOBACCO-POUCH,—**Tuvêskeri kisî, (Tch.); t'isĕ, kisĕ, (M.)**

TO-DAY,—**Avdivês, (Tch.); ejê, ajê, (As. Tch.); adês, (M.); avdivês, apdivês (Psp. M.)**

TOGETHER,—**Kettany, (Eng.); eketanê, ketanê, ikatenî, kitani, (Tch.); yek shân, (As. Tch.); eketanê, (Psp. M.)**

TOLLGATE,—**Pandlo-mengro, (Eng.)**

TOMB,—**Mermôri, mremôri, (Psp. M.)**

TO-MORROW,—**Tasarla, tasorlo, kalliko, kolliko, (Eng.); takhiâra, takhâra, yavinê, (Tch.); tehe, tehâra, (M.); takhyâra, (M. 8, Psp. M.)**

TONGS,—**Klâshta, ksilâvi, silâvi, silâi, silĉi, mashâ, paravdi, (Tch.); ksilavi, (M. 7); ksillâbi, ksillâvi, (Psp. M.)**

TONGUE,—**Jib, (Eng.); chip, chib, jib, (Tch.); jib, (As. Tch.); shib, (M.); chib, (M. 7); [illegible], (Psp. M.)**

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[2] *cf.* the Introduction to the *Sidatsaugrara*, p. ccxi.; also the *Kathâsaritsâgara* in all the details given concerning Vararuchi; also the chapter on "Comparative Folklore," p. 41 of Vol. II. of *The Orient Mist.*

TOO,—A[illegible]

TOOTH,—[illegible] (Eng.): dant, (Tch.): [illegible], (As. Tch.); dand, (M., M. 7); dant, Psp. M.)

TOP,—[illegible] (M.)

TO[illegible],—[illegible] (Tch.)

TORMENT, to,—Mun[illegible]áva, suchuâva, suchisarâva, (M.)

TORN, to be,—Parâvghiovâva, pârіovâva, (Tch.)

TOUCH, to,—Mishtesard'ovâva, pipiâva, pipisarâva, (M.)

TOW,—Krokidi, (Tch.); buci, (M.)

TOWARDS,—Ke, te, (Tch.); karing, karîn, (M.)

TOWEL,—Mesâli, (Tch.)

TOWER,—Mŏnĕstire, (M.)

TOWN,—Gav, (Eng.); poravdi, (Tch.); vier, (As. Tch.): fòro, fòru, (pl.) forushêy, (M.); foros, (M. 7); polin, (M. 8)

TRACE,—Urmĕ, urma, (M.)

TRAVEL, to,—Slomâva, slumâva, (Eng.)

TRACK, to,—Slomâva, slumâva, (Eng.)

TRAMP,—Tororo, (Eng.)

TRAMPER,—Pirdo, (fem.) pirdie, (pl.) pire, pirengueros, (Eng.)

TRAVEL, to,—Tradâvâ, (M.)

TREE,—Rúk, rukh, (Eng.); rukh, (Hun. Gip.); karajil, (Tch.); lêvre, lêpre, (As. Tch.); kopâch, kopâchu, kopachi, (M.); lit'hu, ruk (M. 8); ruk, (Psp. M.)

TREE, FRUIT,—Porikîn, ruk, (dim.) rukorô, (Tch.)

TREE, FRUIT, of or belonging to,—Rukêngoro, (Tch.)

TREMBLE, to,—Lisdrâva, (Tch.); izdrâva, (M.); lisdrâva, (M. 8)

TREMBLING, to be,—Lisdrâniovâva, kêlghiovâva, keldovâva, (Tch.)

TREMBLING,—Lisdraibê, (Tch.)

TRESS, of hair,—Churn, chunr, (Tch. M. 7)

TRIBUTE,—Bîro, (M.)

TRIVET,—Piralô, (Tch.)

TROT,—Buyêstru, (M.)

TROUBLE,—Kurepen, (Eng.)

TROUGH,—Belâni, kopâna, (Tch.); balayî, (M.); belani, (M. 7); kopâna, (Psp. M.)

TROUGHS, he who makes or sells,—Kopanêngoro, (Tch.)

TROUSERS,—Rokunyes, (Eng.); roklia, (Hun. Gip.)

TRUE,—Tacho, (Eng.); chachunô, chachipanô, (Tch.); (adv.) chechês, (M.); chacho, (M. 7)

TRUMPET,—Buchûm, (pl.) trîmbice, (M.)

TRUNK, of the vine,—Manuklû, (Tch.); manuklô, maniklô, (Psp. M.)

TRUNK,—Lâda, (M.)

TRUNK (of the body),—Trupo, (M. 8)

TRUTH,—Chachipê, (Tch., Psp. M.)

TRUST,—Parriken, (Eng.)

TRUSTED,—Pizarris, pizaurus, (Eng.)

TRUTH,—Tachipen, (Eng.)

TRY, to,—Probĕlusarâva, (M.)

TUBE,—Dussô, (Tch.)

TUBE, (of a pair of bellows),—Pûrgheris, (Tch.)

TUESDAY,—Duito divvus, (Eng.); marc, (M.)

TULIP,—Tûfa, (M.)

TURBAN,—Chalmâva, (M.)

TURK,—Khorakhâi, (fem.) khoraknî, (Tch., Psp. M.); tùrku, (M.); khorakhay, (M. 7)

TURKISH,—Khorakhanô, khorakhâskoro, (Tch.); turchiceko, (M.)

TURKEY,—Kûrkos, musîrka, (Tch.)

TURN, to,—(act.) Band'arâva, (neut.) vĕrtisard'ovâva, (act.) ŭnvertiâva, (M.)

TURN BACK, to,—T'idâva, (M.)

TURN ROUND, to,—Boldâva, (M.); bolavâva, (M. 7)

TURNIP,—Pahamengro, kanâfi, kanapli, (Eng.)

TURNPIKE,—Stiggur (Eng.)

TURNPIKE-ROAD,—Stiggur-mengrò, (Eng.)

TWELVE,—Desh ta dui, (Eng.); desh-u-dûi, (Tch.); desh-i-dûi, (Psp. M.)

TWENTY,—Bis, (Eng.); bish, besh, (Tch.); bish, (M., M. 7)

TWICE,—Dûvar, (M.)

TWIST, to,—Boldava, pakiarâva, (Tch.)

TWISTED,—Pakiardô, (Tch.)

TWO,—Dui, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M.); doŭ, ŭuy, (M.); duy, (M. 7)

U.

UDDER,—Pernò, (Tch.)

UGLY,—Nasukâr, (Tch. Psp. M.); bi-sukâr, (Tch.)

UMBRELLA,—Mash, (Eng.); kiolghelik, (As. Tch.)

UNCLE,—Koko, kokodus, (Eng.); kako, kaki'al, tatàs, (Tch.); khalo, (As. Tch.); kak, (M., M. 7)

UNCLEAN TO EAT,—Mokkado, (Eng.)

UNDER,—Tulè, tuley, (Eng.); tâla, talâ, tal, (M.)

UNDER, from,—Telâl, telô, telî, tilî, (M.); tele, (M. 8)

UNDERSTAND, to,—Aghâliovâva, akhâliovâva, (Tch.); akhalâva, (M. 7)

UNDERSTAND, to cause to,—Aghâlia kerâva, (Tch.)

UNDERSTANDING,—Godî, (M., M. 7)

UNDONE,—Bikunyie, (Eng.)

UNFORTUNATE,—Bahtalô, (Psp. M.)

UNLOOSE, to,—Puterâva, (M.)

UNPITYING,—Bi-bukêngoro, (Tch.)

UNSCREW, to,—Deshrubuisarâva, (M.)

UNTIL,—Ji, jin, chi, chin, (Tch.); zhi, (M.)

UNTO,—Ke, (Eng.)

UNTWIST, to,—Buruvâva, buvâva, (Tch. M. 7)

UP,—Aprê, (Eng.); vucho, uchô, (Tch.); oprĕ, uprĕ, (M.); oprê, (Tch., Psp. M.)

UPPER,—Praio, (Eng.)

UPON,—Opral, oprê, oprey, (Eng.); oprê, (Tch.)

UPRIGHT,—Dikinò, dikikô, (Tch.)

URINAL,—Vûliaro, (Tch.)
URINE,—Mutra, (Eng.); mutêr, (Tch., Psp. M., M. 8); amtêr, (As. Tch.)
URINE, to void,—Mutrâva, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M.)
URINE, voiding (act of),—Muteribê, (Tch.)
USE, to,—Folosĕsarâva, (M.)

V.

VAGABOND.—Ushek, (Tch.)
VAIN, in,—Yive yit.. (M.)
VALUE, to,—S[illegible], (M.)
VALLEY,—Nêi, (As. Tch.); khar, (M.)
VAPOUR,—Pûkhu, (M.)
VAT,—Bät'a, duruli, (M., M. 7)
VAULT (of baked earth),—Imbrâni, imbrâli, (Tch.)
VEGETABLE,—Shakh, (M.); drab, (M. 7)
VEHICLE,—Amâksi, (Tch.); kangri, (As. Tch.)
VEIN,—Zila, (Tch.)
VERY,—Bute, (Eng.); pre, zorës, zorôs, (M.)
VERY BEAUTIFUL,—Prekrâsna, (M.)
VERY LITTLE,—Khan[illegible], (Tch.)
VERY WELL,—Misto dusta, (Eng.)
VEXATION,—Chudë, (M.)
VICTUALS,—Habben, (Eng.)
VILLAGE,—Gav, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M., M. 7); di, (As. Tch.); gaũ, (M.)
VILLAGERS,—Gavudnô, (Tch.)
VINE, VINEYARD,—Res, (dim.) rezorô, (Tch., Psp. M.)
VINEBRANCH,—Klimatïcha, (Tch.)
VINEDRESSER,—Resengoro, (Tch.)
VINEGAR,—Chôt, chute, (Eng.); shut, shutkô, (Tch.); shut, (Psp. M., M. 8)
VIOLIN,—Châtara, (M.)
VIPER,—Sappnî, (Tch.)
VIRAGO,—Grasni, grasnakkur, (Eng.)
VIRGIN,—Gueri, (Eng.)
VIRGINITY,—Pachi, (Span. Gip.)
VISCERA,—Bukô, (dim.) bukorô, (Tch.)
VISCERA, of or belonging to,—Bukêskoro, (Tch.)
VISIBLE, to become,—Dikyovâva, (M.)
VIS-A-VIS,—Mamûi, (Tch.)
VOICE,—Glas, glâsu, (M.)
VOMIT, to,—Chattâva, (Tch.); shadâva, (M.); chatâva, (M. 7); chartâva, chattâva, (Psp. M.)
VOMITING,—Chattipê, (Tch.); chartimpê, chattimpê, (Psp. M.)
VOW,—Jam, (Tch.)
VULTURE,—Hûlturu, (M.)

W

WAGER,—Bâsi, (Tch.); rĕmĕshâgu, (M.)
WAGGON,—Vordôn, bordôn, ordôn, (Tch.); bûdka, kĕrûca, (a kind of) brîchka, vurdôn, urdôn, vordôn, (dim.) vurdonuorô, (M.); vordon, (M. 8)
WAISTCOAT,—Bengrê, (Eng.); blani, (Span. Gip.)
WAIT, to,—Ardkavâva, ujakerîva, (Tch.); ashâva, azhakerâva, beshâva, (M.); ujâva, (M. 5)
WALK, to,—Jalîva, pirâva, (Eng.); pirâva, (Tch.); ushtarâva, (M.)
WALK, a,—Piribê, (Tch.); preumblâre, spaciru, spaciri, spacîr, śpremblâre, (M.)
WALK, to cause to,—Piravâva, (Tch.)
WALNUT tree,—Akhorîn, akorîn, (Tch.)
WALL,—Prîspa, pĕrête, parĕte, paret'e, zĕdu, (M.)
WAR,—Chingaripen, (Eng.); bataliyĕ, bataliye, bataliya, bĕtĕliya, (M.)
WARES,—Mârfa, (M.)
WARM,—Tatto, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M.); tatô, (M., M. 5)
WARM, to,—Tat'arâva, (M.)
WARM, to be,—Tat'ovâva, (M.)
WARRANT, a,—Godli, (Eng.)
WANDER, to,—Vandruiâva, vandruisarâva, (M.)
WANDERER,—Vandrivniko, (M.)
WARRIOR,—Chinga-guero, (Eng.); voyniko, voyniku, (M.)
WART,—Nĕgu, (M.)
WASH, to,—Tovâva, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M.); thovâva, khavâva, (M., M. 8)
WASH, to cause to,—Tovavâva, (Tch.)
WASHED, to be,—Tovghiovâva, (Tch.); khalad'ovâva, (M.)
WASHING,—Toibê, (Tch.)
WASHING DAY,—Toving divvus, (Eng.)
WASH-HAND basin,—Lekên, liânos, lokâni, (Tch.)
WATCH,—Ora, (Eng.); (guard,) vârta, (M.)
WATCH, to,—Chokâva, (Eng.); pĕshtiâva, pĕshtisarâva, pĕziâva, pĕzĕsarâva, (M.)
WATCHMAN,—Chok-engro, (Eng.)
WATER,—Pâni, pawnî, (Eng.); panî, (dim.) panori, pâi, (Tch.); bani, (As. Tch.); paî, (M.); pani, (M. 8, Psp. M.)
WATER, to,—Pani dâva, (Tch., Psp. M.)
WATER-CLOSET,—Khendî, (Tch.)
WATER-CRESS—Panishey shok, (Eng.)
WATERMAN,—Pâni-mengro, (Eng.)
WATER-MELON,—Karpûzi, kherbuzô, (Tch.); kharbize, kharbuzi, (As. Tch.)
WATERY,—Pawnugo, (Eng.); panialô, paniêskoro, (Tch.)
WATER, to make,—Panî kerâva, chorav̂âva, (Tch.)
WAVES,—Vâlure, (M.)
WAX,—Mom, (Tch., M. 8); mum, (M.)
WAX-TAPER,—Momelî, mumelî, (Tch.); mumelî, (M.)
WAY,—Drum, kâle, (M.); drom, (M. 7)
WE,—Men, (Eng.); amên, (Tch.); emi, (As. Tch.); amê, (M.); amen, (M. 7)
WE ARE,—Sîmen, (Eng.)
WE, and,—Amêya, (Tch.)
WEAK,—Slâbo, nasfalô, (M.)
WEAVING, coarse,—Côlu, (M.)

WEAR CLOTHES, to,—Uryâva, oryâva, urydâva, (Tch.); uriâva, (M. 8)
WEDDING,—Biav, (Tch.); abêü, kununîya, kanunîye, nûnta, (M.)
WEDNESDAY,—Tetrâd', tetrâd'i, (M.)
WEDDING-GUEST,—Nuntâsh, (M.)
WEDGES,—Pêne, (M.)
WEED,—Bur, (M.)
WELD, to,—Hunavâva, prĕshiâva, prĕshisarâva, (M.)
WEEK,—Krikni, krûkey, krûkauros, krûkos, kurkey, kurko, (Eng.)
WEEP, to,—Rovâva, (Eng.); rovâva, ruvâva. (Tch); rovem, (I weep) (Tch. Tok.); cĕpiâva, rovâva, (M.); rovâva, (M. 8, Psp. M.)
WEIGH, to—Kĕntĕriâva, (M.)
WEIGHT,—Paribê, (Tch.); vâria, (Psp. M.)
WELL, (ad.)—Misto, mistos, (Eng); lachês, (Tch. Psp. M.)
WELL, to make,—Kaîrâva misto, (Eng)
WELL, a,—Khaning, khanînk, khaînk, (Tch., Psp M.)
WELL, of or belonging to,—Khaningâkoro, (Tch.)
WESTWARD,—Penchya, pechôi, pethoi, (As. Tch.)
WET,—Kindo, (Eng); shuslô, (Tch.); tunde, (As. Tch.); sapano, shuslo, tindo, (M. 8)
WET, to,—Shusliârava, shuslerâva, (Tch.); thind'arâva, (M.)
WET, to be,—Shûsliovâva, (Tch.)
WHAT,—So, (Eng., Psp. M.); kavâ, savô, so, (Tch.); savô, so, soü, (M.); so
WHAT FOR?—Soskey, (Eng.)
WHAT KIND OF?—Che, (M.)
WHAT IS IT?—So, si, (Eng.)
WHEAT,—Giv, (Eng); ghiv, iv, (Tch.); d'iü, (M.)
WHEEL,—Per, asân, (Tch.); rôâta, rôta, (M.); asûn, (Psp. M.)
WHELP,—Rukonô, (Tch., Psp. M.)
WHEN,—Kânna, (Tch., Psp. M.); kâna, kanâ, (M.); kana, (M. 7)
WHENCE,—Kâtar, (Tch., Psp. M.); katâr, kathâr, (M.)
WHERE,—Kah, kai, (Eng.); kârin, (Tch., Psp. M.); kay, karing, karîn, (M.); ka, karing, katar, kia, (M.7)
WHEREFORE,—Soskey, (Eng.)
WHET, to,—Astarâva, (Tch.)
WHETTED, to be,—Astârghiovâva, (Tch.)
WHICH,—Savo, so, (Eng.)
WHINE, to,—Cĕpiâva, (M.)
WHIP,—Chokni, chukni, (Eng.); chokano, (a staff) (Hun. Gip.); harâmnikô, harâmniku, (M.)
WHIP-HAND,—Chukni-wast, (Eng.)
WHISTLE,—Shon, (Tch., M. 8); shol, (M.)
WHISTLE, to,—Shuyerisarâva, (M.)
WHITE,—Parno, pauno, (Eng.); parnô, (Tch.); bunâri, penâri, parnô, (As. Tch.); parnô, (M., M. 8, Psp. M.)
WHITE, speckled with,—Bryâzu, (M.)
WHITER,—Parnedêr, (Tch.)
WHITE, to become,—Pârniovâva, (Tch.)
WHITEN, to,—Parniarâva, (Tch.)
WHITENESS,—Parnipê, (Tch.)
WHITISH,—Parnorô, (Tch.)
WHITHER,—Kay, (M.)
WHO,—Savo, koin, (Eng); kon, savô, (Tch., M); kon, (M. 7., Psp. M.)
WHO IS IT?—Se se, (Eng.)
WHOLE,—Chollo, (Eng.); bur, (Tch); saorô, saürô, saüro, sorô, se, ĕntrêgu, (M); bur, (M. 7)
WHY,—So, sôstar, (Tch); sôske, (Psp. M.)
WICKED,—Wafodu, wafudo, (Eng); gorkô, chungalô, jungalô, zungalô, (Tch.); kharibî, (As. Tch.); nasûl, (M.)
WICKEDNESS,—Wafodu-pen, (Eng.); gorkipê, (Tch.); nasulimas, nasulipî, (M)
WIDOW,—Pivli, pivley-gueri, (Eng); pivlî, (Tch. Psp. M.); phiulî, (M.)
WIDOW LADY,—Pivley-raunie, (Eng)
WIDOW, to become a, or widower,—Pîvliovâva, (Tch.)
WIDOWER,—Pivlo, pivley-guero, (Eng.); pivlô, (Tch); phivlo, (M 8)
WILL,—Vôya, vôye, (M.)
WIFE,—Juva, juvali, manushi, (Eng); romni, (Tch., Psp M.); romnî, gazhî, (M.)
WIFE, brother of a,—Salô, (Tch, M. 8., Psp. M.)
WIFE, sister of a,—Salî, (Psp. M., Tch.)
WILD,—Sĕlbâtiko, (M)
WILDERNESS,—Zâpusta, (M)
WIND,—Bavol, beval, (Eng); dûkhos, dukhô, palvâl, balvâl, (Tch); vâi, (As. Tch.); balvâl, (M, M. 7); palvâl, (Psp. M)
WINDOW,—Dicking hev, (Eng.) vudâr, dar, dal; (Tch) feryâsta, (dim) ferestûyka, (M.)
WINDOW-GLASS,—Stêgla, (Tch.)
WINDY,—Bavano, (Eng.); palvalênghere, (Tch)
WINE,—Mol, mul, (Eng.); mol. (dim) molorî, (Tch); mul, (M); mol, (M. 8., Psp. M)
WINE, who makes or sells,—Moliâkoro, moliêngoro, (Tch.)
WING,—Pak, (Tch., Psp. M.); phak, (M., M. 8)
WINNOW, to,—Purâva, (Tch)
WINNOWED, to be.—Pûrghiovâva, (Tch.)
WINTER,—Wen, ; (Eng.); vent, vend, (Tch.); ivend, (M., M. 7); vent, (Psp. M.)
WINTRY,—Ventêskoro, (Tch)
WIPE, to,—Kosâva, (M.); khosâva, (M. 7); cf. CLEAN, to.
WISDOM,—Jinnepen, (Eng.)
WISE MAN, a,—Jinney-mengro, (Eng)
WISE, sayings of the,—Jinney-mengreskey-rokrapênes, (Eng.)
WISH, to,—Kamâva, (Eng, Psp. M., M. 7); kamâva, mangâva, (Tch., M.)

Witch,—Chovâhani, chowiân, chuvvenhan, chohawni, (Eng.); maîsa, (Tch.); chokhaî, (M.)

With,—Sar, (Eng.); ku, pe, (M.)

With child,—Shuvali, (Eng.)

Withdrawn, to be,—Dûriovâva, durâniovâva, (Tch.)

Withdrawn,—Dürghe, dur, (Tch.)

Within,—Inna, inner, (Eng.); enrê, (Span. Gip.); andrê, anê, ândê, (Tch.); andrê, (Psp. M. 7)

Within, from,—Andrâl, (Tch.); andrâl, (M.)

Within, of or belonging to,—Andralunô, (Tch.)

Without,—Avrî, (Tch.); bahâra, (As. Tch.); avrî, avryâl, (M.); (*sine*) bi, (Eng., Tch., Psp. M., M. 7.)

Without, of or belonging to,—Avrutnô, (Tch.)

Witness, to bear,—Adeveriâva, adeverisarâva, (M.)

Wizard,—Chovahano, chohawno, (Eng.)

Woe!—Vay, (M.)

Woe is me!—Tugnis amande, (Eng.)

Wolf,—Ruv, ruf, (Tch.); ru, ruŭ, (M.); ruv, (M. 8, Psp. M.)

Woman,—Manushi, mort, juwa, juvali, (Eng.); manushnî, romni (dim.) romnorî, (Tch.); romni, gazhî, zhuvlî, zhulî, (M.); juvel, (M. 7)

Woman of low condition,—Zhupunâsa, (M.)

Woman, outrageous,—Grasni, grasnukkur, (Eng.)

Womb,—Odhî, od'i, (M.)

Wonder, to,—Miriâva, (M.)

Woo, to,—Logodiâva, logodisarâva, mangâva, (M.)

Wood,—Kasht, kash, (Tch., Psp. M.,); gashd, (As. Tch.); kasht, (M., M. 7)

Wood, a,—Wesh, (Eng.); vesh, (Tch.); dumbrâva, vôsh, vósbu, vĕsh, vŏrsh, (M.); vesh, (M. 8)

Wooden,—Koshtno, (Eng.); kashtunanô, (Tch.); kashtunô, (M.)

Woodman,—Weshengro, (Eng.); kashtêskoro, (Tch.)

Woodpecker,—Grâure, grâuri, (M.)

Wood, to become hard like,—Kâshtiovâva, (Tch.)

Wool,—Posûm, poshòm, (Tch.); peshôm, (As. Tch.); poshôm, (M., M. 8); posôm, (Psp. M.)

Wool, cloth of sheep—Thalik, (M. 8)

Woollen,—Talleno, (Eng.); posomâkoro, (Tch.)

Woolly,—Poshomalo, (Tch.)

Word,—Lav, (pl.) lavior, (Eng.); lav, vrakeribê, (Tch.); alâu, hôrba, (M.); lav, (M. 8, Psp. M.)

Work,—Kairipen, buchê, butsi, buty, bûty, (Eng.); but', but'i, bhutî, shĕzĕtoare, (M.); buti, (M. 7)

Work, to,—Bûtyava, zakeva, (Eng.); chat ker, (As. Tch.); but'arava, (M.)

Workhouse,—Choveno ker, (Eng.)

Working,—Butying, (Eng.)

Workman,—Kerri-mengro, (Eng.); butiâkoro, (Tch.)

World,—Tem, (Tch.); lûme, (M.); sveto, (M. 8)

Worm,—Kermô, ghermô, (dim.) kermorô, (Tch.); t'ermô, t'irmô, (M.); kermô, (M. 7, Psp. M.)

Worms, full of,—Kermalô, (Tch.)

Worms, to be eaten by,—Kermâliovâva, (Tch.)

Worse,—Wafodûder, (Eng.)

Worth,—Mol, (M. 8)

Wrap up, to,—Ĕnvĕlosarâva, (M.); pakiarâva, (Tch., M. 8)

Wrestle, to,—Usharâva, (Tch.)

Wrestler,—Wusto mengro, (Eng.)

Wrestling,—Usharibê, (Tch.)

Write, to—Skriiava, skriisarâva, (M.); skrinavâva, (M. 8); grafâva, (Psp. M.)

Writing, a,—Lil, (M.)

Written,—Hramumî, skriimî, (M.)

Wrong,—Bango, (Eng.)

Y

Yard,—Oogrâda, (M.)

Yard, long,—Kuyâkĕ, (M.)

Yawn, to,—Khamnîzâva, (Tch.)

Year,—Bersh, besh, bershor, (Eng.); bersh, bresh, (Tch.); bers, vers, (As. Tch.); bĕrsh, bĕrshurô, (M.); bersh, (M. 8, Psp. M.)

Yellow,—Zerdi, zarde, (As. Tch.)

Yes,—Owli, ava, avali, (Eng.); va, (Tch.); beli, (As. Tch.); vâ, (Psp. M.)

Yesterday,—Wafo divvus, kalliko, kolliko, (Eng.); yich, ich, hija, (As. Tch.); yich, (M., Psp. M.); ich, (M. 7)

Yesterday, day before,—Yichavêr, (Tch.)

Yet,—May, (M.); achâi, (Psp. M.)

Yoke,—Khamûti, (Tch.)

Yoke of oxen,—Zhutô, (M.); juto, (M. 7)

Yonder,—Dov-odoy, dovoy-oduvva, (Eng.); kothâr, (M.)

You,—Tumên, (Tch., M. 8); tumê, tumî, (M.)

Young,—Ternô, yernô, (dim.) ternorô. khurdô, tiknê, (Tch.); tarni (As. Tch.); tĕrnorô, ternorô, (M.); terno, (M. 8); ternô, yernô, tikno, (Psp. M.)

Young man,—Tĕrnahâr, (M.)

Your,—Tumarô, (Tch., M., M. 8)

Youth,—Ternipê, khurdipê, (Tch.); tarnêi, (As. Tch.); tĕrnimâta, ternimâta (M.)

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 3.

In the **Waṇi** grant of the **Râshṭrakûṭa** king **Gôvinda III.**, from the Diṇḍôrî Tâlukâ of the Nâsik District, the details of the date (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 159, and Plate, l. 46 f.) are — Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-samvatsara-śatêshu saptasu triṁśad-adhikêshu Vyaya-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-sita-paurnamâsî - sômagrahana - mahâparvani, — "in seven centuries of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, increased by thirty; in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*; on the great occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon *tithi* of the bright fortnight of (the month) Vaiśâkha."

This gives us, for calculation, Śaka-Saṁvat 730 (A.D. 808-9), the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, both current; the full-moon *tithi* of the month Vaiśâkha (April-May); and an **eclipse of the moon**, which of course took place on the fifteenth *tithi*, but the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth solar day, as the case may be, of the bright fortnight. And, as the contents of the inscription connect it absolutely with the neighbourhood in which it was found, a locality within the limits of Southern India, all the details of the date have, *primâ facie*, to be treated in accordance with the Southern system.

By the Tables, however, Śaka-Saṁvat 730 (A.D. 808-9) in Southern India was the Sarvadhârin *saṁvatsara*; the Vyaya *saṁvatsara* was Śaka-Saṁvat 728; and the intervening year, Śaka-Saṁvat 729, was the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*.

Making the calculation first for Śaka-Saṁvat 728, the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, the approximate result, by Gen. Cunningham's and Mr. C. Patell's Tables, is Wednesday, the 8th April, A.D. 806. On this day, however, there was no eclipse of the moon. There was such an eclipse on the 8th March of that year.[1] But this English date represents, by both the southern and the northern system, the full moon *tithi* of the preceding Hindu month, Chaitra.

Next, for Śaka-Saṁvat 730, the Sarvadhârin *saṁvatsara*, the result, in the same way, is Saturday, the 15th April, A.D. 808. But, for this year, no lunar eclipse is recorded at all, in Gen. Cunningham's Tables.

And finally, for Śaka-Saṁvat 729, the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, the result, in the same way, is Tuesday, the 27th April, A.D. 807. On this day, however, there was no eclipse of the moon. And the nearest lunar eclipse was that of the 26th February, which date represents, by both the southern and the northern system, the full-moon *tithi* of the month Phâlguna of the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 728.

No. 4.

Another inscription, that requires to be noticed in connection with the preceding, is the **Râdhanpur** grant of the same king, from Gujarât. In this, the details of the date (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 68, and Plate, l. 53f.) are — Śaka-nṛipa-kâl âtîta-samvatsara-śatêshu saptasu triṁśad-uttarêshu Sarvajinnâmni saṁvatsarê Śrâvana-bahula amâvâsyâṁ sûryagrahana[2]-parvaṇi,—"in seven centuries of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, increased by thirty; in the *saṁvatsara* named Sarvajit; on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrâvaṇa."

This gives us, for calculation, Śaka-Saṁvat 730 (A.D. 808-9), the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, both current; the new-moon *tithi* of the month Śrâvaṇa (July-August); and an **eclipse of the sun**, which, of course, took place on the fifteenth *tithi*, but the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth solar day, as the case may be, of the dark fortnight. The inscription comes from a place which is within the limits of Northern India. But the charter recorded in it was issued from **Mayûrakhaṇḍi**, which Dr. Bühler[3] identified with the modern **Môrkhaṇḍâ**, a hill-fort in the **Nâsik** District. And, among the places mentioned in defining the boundaries of the village that was granted, we have **Râsiyana**, as the chief town of the *bhukti*, and the river **Sinhâ**. These, undoubtedly, are respectively the modern **Râsîn**, in the **Ahmadnagar** District, and the modern **Sînâ**, which rises about fourteen miles west of **Ahmadnagar**, and flows into the **Bhîmâ** about twenty miles south of **Sôlâpur**. These details, therefore, connect the inscription itself absolutely with Southern India; and also prove a clear instance of the travelling of a copper-plate charter which I have noticed, as being always possible, at page 43 above, note 1.

We have seen above that the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara* was Śaka-Saṁvat 729, and Śaka-Saṁvat 730 was the Sarvadhârin *saṁvatsara*.

Making the calculation first for Śaka-Saṁvat 729, the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, the approximate result, by the southern system, by Gen. Cunningham's and Mr. C. Patell's Tables, is Sunday, the 8th August, A.D. 807. On this day, however, there was no eclipse of the sun. And the nearest solar eclipses are those of the 11th February, A.D.

[1] Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 212.
[2] Read *bahul-âmâvâsyâ-sûryagrahaṇa*.
[3] *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 64.

807, and the 31st January, A.D. 808; neither of which, by any means whatever, will answer to the recorded details.

But, for Śaka-Saṁvat 730, the Sarvadhârin *saṁvatsara*, the result, in the same way, is Thursday, the 27th July, A.D. 808; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, as required.[4]

And, to complete the facts for the three years under discussion, the result, in the same way, for Śaka-Saṁvat 728, the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, is Tuesday, the 18th August, A.D. 806. But, on this day, there was no eclipse of the sun. And the only solar eclipse recorded for that year, occurred on the 16th September; *i.e.* on the new-moon day of the next month, Bhâdrapada, according to the southern system; or, according to the northern system, of the following month, Âśvina.

The fact that in these two inscriptions Śaka-Saṁvat 730 is coupled with both the Vyaya and the Sarvajit *saṁvatsaras*,—taken with the fact that, according to the southern reckoning, it apparently should really have the name of Sarvadhârin,—led to the belief that there was some mistake in these two dates.[5]

The solar eclipse, however, of the Râdhanpur grant, seems to make it certain that the year intended really is Śaka-Saṁvat 730.

There remains a difficulty about the lunar eclipse of the Waṇî grant; since the Tables give no eclipse that will suit the recorded details.

But here I shall leave the matter; having written the above notes as introductory to a paper by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, who, I understand, will prove that the record of Śaka-Saṁvat 730 in both grants, coupled with the names of two separate *saṁvatsaras*, is quite correct.

J. F. Fleet.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP

No. 2.

(1) *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, for 15th May 1886.—The first article (unsigned) deals with the **Revenue Resources of China.** It is dated from Shanghai, and is evidently written by one well versed in the subject. Previous writers, says the author, including Dr. Williams, author of the *Middle Kingdom*, have been unable to estimate, even approximately, the amount of the revenue, nor is this to be wondered at, when even the Chinese officials at Peking themselves are unable to answer the question. This is due to the system of farming out the collections. The principal source of income is the Land Tax, which is nowadays much lower than it formerly was, from various causes, amongst the chief of which may be mentioned the Taeping Rebellion. In every district a register is kept, containing the name of every possessor of land, and no transfer of landed property is legal which is not noted therein. In many districts, however, the District register has fallen into the greatest confusion, which materially interferes with the collection of revenue. This is interesting to European officials, who remember the state of the General Registers in Bengal some five or six years ago. The present land revenue of China is estimated at about 20 million *taels*, against 32 millions in former favourable years. The next item of revenue is the tax on natural products. It is difficult to calculate the value of this, as it is principally paid in kind, but the author estimates it as being worth to the Chinese Government about 7½ million of *taels*, which, however, is but a small portion of that actually collected. A third item of revenue is the Salt Monopoly, which forms an important factor in Chinese Finance. The management and system of this department is so complex that some details of its administration are necessary, which the author gives. The income from this source is about 10 million *taels*.

The second paper is a translation of portions a of an essay by Mr. S. B. Todd, on the **Diamond Fields of South Africa.** So also is the fourth, taken from the *Journal of Indian Art*, and dealing with **Bidarî Ware.**

The third paper (signed v. N.) is a most interesting abstract of General Prshewalski's **Journeys of Discovery in Central Asia.** The first journey (1871-1873) extended to the sources of Blue River. The third journey (1877) resulted in the discovery of the source of the Yellow River. The fourth (1883), which was attended with some fighting, was through Northern and Southern Saidam, and thence to the Blue River, where he was stopped by the Tanguts, and had to fight his way back to Saidam.

Amongst the Miscellaneous Notes, is an interesting one on the clothing of the followers of the Mahdî. The clothing consists in a pair of drawers, a kind of shirt with wide sleeves called

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[4] Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 212.

[5] I myself took it (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 157; and *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 34) that Śaka-Saṁvat 730 was an error, in the Waṇî grant, for 728, and in the Râdhanpur grant, for 729. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, pp. 106, 107) considered that, in the Râdhanpur grant, we have, somewhat unusually, a Śaka year and a *saṁvatsara* both current, and, in the Waṇî grant, contrary to the (in his opinion) customary method, a current Śaka year, with a past *saṁvatsara*. Dr. Bühler (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 71, note) remarked that the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara* corresponds to Śaka-Saṁvat 731. But this is according to the northern reckoning of the cycle.

jubba or *ṭaqṭa* according to its shape, and a pair of pointed shoes of red leather. Stockings are prohibited. There are some curious particulars as to the kinds of *jubba* which are prohibited.

The Review contained in this number is — (*a*) *Armenian Literature,* by Dr. Joh. Hanusz, an article founded on the *Armeno ed Indo-Europeo Ricerche di Carlo Moratti,* fascicolo 1°, A-B. Bergamo, 1885; and on the *Materialy dlya armyanskago slovarya* (Materials for an Armenian Dictionary); by K. P. Potkanov, Vols. I. and II., St. Petersburg, 1882-84. The first of these notes deals with the Indo-European element in Armenian, which is severely handled. The author is said to be ignorant of Comparative Grammar, and the book is called worthless and excessively priced. The second is the work of a well-known Russian author on Armenian. He is the great authority of the present day on the modern Armenian dialect, and his new contribution deals not only with that form of the language, but with the whole question of Armenian Philology and History.

(2) *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient,* for 15th June, 1886.—In this number the paper on the **Revenue Resources of China** is concluded. The author now deals with the Imperial customs and excise and with the *Likin* or Provincial customs. He finally estimates the total revenue of China as follows:—

Land Tax in cash...	24	million *taels.*
Do. in kind...	7	„ „
Salt Monopoly, and *Likin* on Salt	9·5	„ „
Customs...................	13	„ „
Excise & Opium Tax.	5	„ „
Likin	9·5	„ „
Total...	68	million *taels.*

The principal hindrances to a reform in the Chinese revenue are the following: (1) the Autonomy of the Provinces; (2) the private interests of the Mandarins, whose name is legion; (3) the consequences of the Taeping Rebellion, under which many provinces still suffer; (4) treaties with Foreign Powers, by which the rates of Customs are fixed; (5) distrust in foreigners. The whole series of articles is specially noteworthy, even only so far as showing the interest taken in China by Germans.

The next article, though most interesting, has little reference to India, and deals with the **Ancient Relations between Greece and Egypt.** It is signed Rudolf von Scala. Then follows a continuation of Mr. Todd's paper on the **Diamond Fields of South Africa.**

Under Miscellanous Notes we may refer to a description of the square bamboo of Japan taken from the *Chinese Recorder,* also to a note on the use of snuff in China, showing that the custom obtained there so far back as 1687.

In this number the Reviews are (*a*) *The catalogue of MSS. in the Berlin Library,* Vol. V., Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. by A. Weber, Part II. (Brahmanic Literature), Berlin 1886. The Review is by Dr. Bühler, and is interesting and important. The most noteworthy MSS. are those of the rare *Jainêndravyâkaraṇa,* and of the *Śabdânuśâsana* of Hêmâchârya.—(*b*) *Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die baby-lonisch-assyrische Literatur* (a Compact Survey of the Babylonian-Assyrian Literature), with a chronological excursus, two Registers and index to 1,700 clay tablets in the British Museum, by Carl Bezold, Leipzig, 1886, Otto Schulze. The Review is by D. H. Müller. A handbook, at once compact and at the same time aiming at the greatest possible completeness, of the many scattered essays, &c., on the subject, has long been a *desideratum* to the student. Herr Bezold has filled the gap most satisfactorily. (*c*) Dr. Bühler notices the foundation of the Madras Sanskṛit and Vernacular Text Society. Prof. Oppert is its Honorary Secretary, and will shortly publish, through it, the Grammar of Śâkatâyana.

(3). *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient,* for 15th July.—The leading article in this number deals with the **Economic Prospects of Upper Burma,** and is from the pen of Herr Emil Schlagintweit. It is to be regretted that this interesting paper cannot be printed at length. It is valuable at the present moment as coming from one who is evidently thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and who gives an impartial account of the results of the British occupation of that province. The paper commences with an account of the inhabitants whom the writer divides into Burmans, or inhabitants of the low-lands, and the Khyengs, Karens, and Shans, or inhabitants of the hills. The first comprise four-fifths of the population, and immigrated in pre-historic times from the eastern portion of the Himâlayas, but have intermingled with the Shans and other races, so as to change both in appearance and in customs. In dealing with Burmese habits the writer notices that "a far more lovely, and under Eastern Governments rarer, trait, is a strong love of truth." How the overworked official in an Indian Kachahri would sigh for an admixture of Burmese traits amongst the witnesses whom he examines, if he only knew this! The principal cultivation is of rice, cotton, and garden stuffs, while the most noteworthy handicrafts are gold

and silver, a silversmith being a necessary artizan in every village Another important manufacture is lacquer-work. In the larger towns, also handsome clothes and curtains are woven. The principal exports are rice, cotton, buffalo hide and horn, dried fish and fruit, spices, and timber. The hides and katechu go mainly to Singapore. The principal imports are silken stuffs and German salt. Germany exported 8,000 tons to Upper Burma, receiving wheat in exchange.

An amusing paper on the Glories of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, and another on German Affairs in the South Sea follow. Then comes the conclusion of Mr. Todd's papers on the Diamond Fields of South Africa.

Amongst the Miscellaneous Notes may be mentioned an important article on the town and the climate of Korea.

The Reviews are—(*a*) *Alphabetic Index of the Assyrian and Akkadian words in the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. II., by J. N. Strassmaier, S.J., Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1886. It is reviewed by Herr C. Bezold, who says of it: "The beauty, accuracy, and care with which the whole work is carried out, bear witness to the most eminent industry." He also calls it "A monumental work." (*b*) *Travels on the Perso-Russian Frontier*, by Dr. Gustave Radde, Leipzig, Brockhaus, reviewed by Herr Friedrich Müller. The most valuable portion of the work is the contributions to geography, geology, botany and zoology (especially ornithology). (*c*) *Internationale Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* (International Journal for General Philology), Leipzig, Barth, Vol. II., 2nd half, reviewed by Friedrich Müller. This is a new philological magazine and is most favourably reviewed:—"We rejoice that our hopes of the continued existence of this Magazine have been fulfilled, and that the first volume has been so quickly followed by a second."

The number concludes with a notice of Shankar P. Pandit's new edition of the *Atharva-Vêda*, and a note on some new Asôka Inscriptions found in the North-West Provinces, both from the pen of Dr. Bühler.

(4) *Notes from the Proceedings of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.*—At the meeting of the 21st May 1886 M. Bergaigne read a paper on the Order of Classification of the hymns in the Ṛig-Vêda, and found himself able to formulate the following rules:—(*i*) The *Ṛig-Vêda* was originally composed of seven books, which followed each other according to the number of hymns in each, arranged according to increase. (*ii*) In each book each series of hymns addressed to the same god or written in the same metre succeeded the one preceding it according to the number of hymns in each, arranged according to decrease. (*iii*) In each series the hymns followed each other in decreasing order, according to the number of verses which each contained. (*iv*) If two hymns, which followed each other, had the same number of verses, that with the longer verses preceded that with the shorter ones. The apparent exceptions explain themselves on the principle of alterations or interpolations.

M. Derenbourg pointed out that an analogous principle of classification was followed in certain parts of the *Pentateuch*, in the *Qurân*, and especially in the *Mishna*, where it is observed with great rigour. In each of the sections of the *Mishna*, the tractates follow each other in decreasing order according to the number of chapters which compose them.

At the meeting of the 28th May M. Derenbourg gave further information on the same subject. He cited, as an example, the liturgical division of the *Pentateuch* into *péricopes* or Sabbatic lectures, distributed through the different feasts of the year, like the epistles and gospels for Sundays and Holidays in the Catholic Church. The first book of the *Pentateuch*, *Genesis*, contains twelve *péricopes*; the second, *Exodus*, eleven; the third *Leviticus*, ten; the fourth, *Numbers*, nine; and the fifth, *Deuteronomy*, eight. It is true that *Numbers* is at the present day divided into ten *péricopes*, but according to ancient tradition the eighth and the ninth originally formed only one. *Deuteronomy* appears to have eleven, but the ninth, tenth and eleventh are reserved for the feasts of the month *Tishri*, which is not a portion of the ordinary liturgical year.

At the meeting of the 10th June, the *prix Stanislas Julien* was awarded to P. Séraphin Couvreur, for his *Dictionnaire français-chinois, contenant les expressions les plus usitées de la langue Mandarine.*

The meeting of the 9th July was rendered more than usually interesting by M. Dieulafoy's report of the recent archæological investigations at Susiana.

(5) *Revue Critique.*—The number for June 7th is rendered specially interesting to Orientalists by a review of a *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph, accompagnée d'extraits du texte grec et des versions arabe et éthiopienne*, by H. Zotenberg, Paris, Maisonneuve, 1886, (reprinted from the notices of and extracts from the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale). The history of Barlaam and Joasaph has been thoroughly gone into in the present work. According to the reviewer (who signs himself G. P.), the Greek text as we have it now has come to us from Indian sources, through the Pahlavi and then the

Syriac. He thus differs from M. Zotenberg who believes the Greek text (founded, of course, on an Indian base) to be the original one, and points out numerous citations in it from the Bible and the Greek Fathers in support of his assertion. G. P. is inclined to believe that these Christian additions were inserted into the Greek translations in a later recension. M. Zotenberg shows that the basis of the Greek version is some edition of the *Lalitavistara*, and that the Chinese paraphrase of the *Abhinishkramaṇa-Sûtra* is the one amongst those editions which approaches nearest to our version. From a study of the theological portion of the work M. Zotenberg is able to fix its date as between A.D. 620 and 634, and considers it probable that its author was John, Abbot of St. Saba Antiochus. In an appendix to the work he has given:—(1) The Greek text of the non-evangelical apologues inserted in the Romance;—(2) Extracts from the Arabic version hitherto unpublished;—(3) Extracts from the Ethiopic version.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

TATAH KIM VERSES.

What are called ततः किम् verses are very popular in Mithilâ. They are called so because the last line ends with the words ततः किम,' what is the good of it,' repeated four times. Here are two examples. The first is said to be by Kâlidâsa. The other is anonymous.

धनं पर्वताग्रं वचः सिद्धिरूपं
वपुः कर्मदक्षं कुशाग्रीयबुद्धिः ।
न दानं न शक्तिर्न कीर्तिर्न पाठ-
स्ततः किं ततः किं ततः किं ततः किम् ॥

'Wealth, piled high as a mountain, but no liberality;—Eloquence, reaching to perfection, but no power;—A frame, skilled in action, but no fame; An intellect, sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass, but no education:—What is the good of it? What is the good of it? What is the good of it?'

शरीरं सुरूपं तथा वै कलत्रं
गृहं चारुचित्रं धनं मेरुतुल्यम् ।
यशोदाकिशोरे मनो नापि लग्नं
ततः किं ततः किं ततः किं ततः किम् ॥

'A handsome person, and a handsome wife; a gorgeous palace; and wealth piled high as Mount Mêru:—If the heart is not fixed on the child of Yaśôdâ:—What is the good of them? What is the good of them?'

G. A. GRIERSON.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE UVASAGADASAO, or the Religious Profession of an Uvâsaga, expounded in ten lectures, being the seventh Aṅga of the Jains. Edited in the Original Prâkṛit, with the Sanskrit commentary of Abhayadêva, and an English translation with notes, by A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE. Published for the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1885. Fasciculus I.

By publishing this work Dr. Hoernle has again added to the heavy debt which all Prâkṛit scholars owe to him. This first fasciculus consists of (1) a preliminary introduction (pp. i-xi) describing the MSS. which were available for the preparation of the work, and the critical principles followed by the author; (2) the text of the first *ajjhayaṇa* of the **Uvâsagadasâô** (pp. 1-44); (3) the Commentary thereof (pp. 1-30); and (4) the translation and notes (pp. 1-63). In itself it therefore forms a most complete manual for the study of Jain Prâkṛit, and is, so far as I am aware, the only one in the English language. The fact that works like the *Bhagavatî* of Prof. Weber, and the *Ôvavâiya-Sutta* of Prof. Leumann are in German, has barred them from a large circle of readers, and the present work will, therefore, supply a long-felt want.

Before dealing with the contents of the work, I would draw attention to the creditable style in which it has been issued from the press. The type is clear, and, by a happy idea, the rubrical directions in the Prâkṛit text, as well as the catchwords in the commentary, have been printed in red type. In referring from the text to the commentary or translation, this will be found a most convenient arrangement, and deserves imitation in similar editions. Until some device corresponding to our Italic type is invented for Dêvanâgarî, red type will remain almost a necessity for some classes of oriental work. Some years ago, I suggested the adoption of the Kaithî type of the Bengal Government, which runs in "sorts" parallel with Dêvanâgarî, for this purpose, but the recommendation did not gain support. Kaithî very closely corresponds to our Italic. It is the running hand of Dêvanâgarî, from which it differs in little except the "body" of the type, and in having the top line knocked off. Gujarâtî has already solved the problem by using, when occasion requires, a thick-bodied type corresponding to our "Egyptian."

As its name denotes the *Uvâsagadasâô* (which is the 7th Jain Aṅga) deals with the religious profession of a Jain *Uvâsaga*, or lay-devotee.[1] The first lecture narrates how a merchant Âṇanda, and his wife Sivanandâ of Vâṇiyagâma or Vai-

[1] This though a convenient translation is not strictly accurate; see p. 1 of translation.

śâlî, which Cunningham places about 27 miles north of Paṭnâ, were converted by Mahâvîra, when on a visit to his native place, Kollâga, a suburb of that town.[2] Âṇanda was a Kshatriya and belonged to the same clan (*Nâya-kula*, Skr. *jñâtṛi-kula*), and his name occurs in more than one of the Jain sacred books. Thus in the Hêmachandra *Yôgaśâstra* (III. 151) he is adduced as a typical example of a faithful *Śrâvaka*. After his conversion Âṇanda takes the twelve vows of a householder.[3] Then he renounces certain gross sins, as follows:—

1. Gross ill-usage of living beings.
2. Grossly lying speech.
3. Gross taking of things not given, *i.e.* theft or robbery.

He next limits himself to contentment with his own wife, and to a certain amount or use of various possessions or articles (such as gold, animals, ploughs, toilet-articles, washing-water, food, drink, and perfumes) and finally renounces the four kinds of unprofitable employment, viz.—

1. Malevolent conduct.
2. Inconsiderate conduct.
3. Giving of dangerous objects.
4. Directing of sinful deeds.

With the above may well be compared the moral (as distinct from the disciplinary) commandments of Buddhism taken from chapter 107 of the *Sutta-Nipâta*. Buddha forbids—

1. Verse 19, Destruction of life.
2. „ 20, Stealing anything.
3. „ 21, Adultery.
4. „ 23, Lying.
5. „ 24, The use of intoxicating drinks.

These are the five obligatory commandments (*pañchaśîla*) binding on every Buddhist. It will be observed that the first, second and fourth, agree with the first, third, and second gross sins mentioned above. The third, adultery, agrees with the first limitation. The fifth is not specifically mentioned in the *Uvâsagadasâô* so far as published.

Mahâvîra then addresses Âṇanda, and warns him to know and avoid five typical offences against each of various laws. The latter then recites a profession of faith, and returning home sends his wife Sivanandâ to Mahâvîra to receive instruction.

Âṇanda lived fourteen years a blameless life as a house-holder, and then making over his household to his eldest son set up a *pôsaha* house, in the Kollâga suburb of the town, where he practised, in order, the eleven standards of self-mortification. At the conclusion of the last he became, as might be expected, emaciated and reduced to a skeleton, and then resolved to undertake the twelfth, and last, act of mortal emaceration by starving himself to death. While performing this he so developed his psychic forces and was vouchsafed the gift of such supernatural sight, that the monk Gôyama refused to believe it, till he was certified of the fact by Mahâvîra himself. Finally, "having made confession of sins and promise of amendment, and being sunk in deep spiritual abstraction, he attained his death, and was reborn a *dêva* in the *Aruṇa* abode." The lecture concludes with a prophecy of Mahâvîra, that in after ages he would, in his next birth, obtain perfection in the great Vidêha country.

Such is the plot, if I may use the term, of the first book of this layman's bible. It gives much information regarding the doctrines of Jainism, many of which can be usefully compared by the English-knowing reader with the corresponding tenets of Buddhism. One comparison has already been made above. Attention may also be drawn to another, that between the *pôsaha* or Sunday ordinances (with the four-fold abstinence from food, bodily attentions, sexual intercourse, and daily work) of the Jains, and the *upôsatha* ordinances of the Buddhists.

Many of Dr. Hoernle's notes are valuable historical or linguistic essays. A specimen of the former is the long account of Vaiśâlî on pp. 3 ff. On page 16 there is a reference to an euphonic insertion of *m* in the compound *agaru-kuṅkuma-chandaṇa-m-âdiêhiṁ*. There is a custom amongst the illiterate Brâhmaṇs of Tirhut, which may have some connection with this. If one of these wishes to pose as a learned man before his fellow-villagers, he uses long Sanskrit words in talking Maithilî, adding the syllable *aṁ* (Sanskrit neut. nom.) to as many of them as possible, quite regardless of grammar or sense. It is *de rigueur* to lay as strong an accent as possible on this final syllable, in order to draw special attention to the speaker's learning. Thus you will hear one of these fellows saying *ŭ baṛ paṇḍitáṁ*, "he is a great Paṇḍit," instead of *ŭ baṛ paṇḍit*. Of course the learning of these men is beneath contempt. They are the laughing-stock of real Paṇḍits, and numbers of not very delicate stories are levelled at this peculiarity of theirs.

On p. 34, there is an interesting note on the Jain meaning of the phrase 'longing after this world.' Here 'this world' does not mean 'the present world,' it means 'the world of men' as opposed to 'the world of Dêvas,' &c, and the reference is to a future rebirth into 'this world

[2] The reader is referred to the very interesting note on Vaiśâlî and its suburbs, on pp. 30 ff. of Dr. Hoernle's translation.

[3] See Hêmachandra's *Yôgaśâstra*, II. 18-114.

of men.' The ascetic is not to long after being reborn.

On p. 38, there is a new explanation of the puzzling word *duruhaï*. Dr. Hoernle suggests that it is *ud-rôhati* with metathesis of *ud* to *du*. In the following note on the phrase *nô tiṇ' aṭṭhê samaṭṭhâ*, Dr. Hoernle says—"A form *iṇa*, as an instrumental singular, is possible, after the analogy of *tiṇa*; but its existence hitherto, so far as I am aware, is unproved." It may be useful to draw attention to the fact that, although there is no classical Sanskrit demonstrative pronoun which would make its instrumental *ênâ*, still this very instrumental exists in the Vêdic language, *e.g.* in R. V.I 1. 73, 9, where *êna* is translated by the commentators as *anêna*. Many Prâkṛit forms find their explanation in the older Vedic language.

Space will not allow me to discuss the other interesting essays contained in these notes. I must content myself by specially referring my readers to those on the standards of an *Uvâsaga* (p. 45), and on the five kinds of knowledge (p. 48). All scholars must hope for another instalment at an early date of a work begun so well.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Bray, Co. Wicklow, 1st September 1886.

The SIDDHANTA-KAUMUDI of BHATTOJIDIKSHITA, edited by KASINATH PANDURANG PARABA. Bombay, Nirṇayasâgar Press, Śâkê 1807. 8vo., pp. 2, 467, 111, and 61.

The longer I am teaching Sanskṛit in a German University, the more often have I occasion to observe, that the difficulty of procuring the necessary books and the enormous prices charged for them are not the least among the obstacles in the way of a more general and more extended study of Sanskṛit in this country. It so happens, that I intend to lecture on the *Laghu-kaumudî*. Unless I myself take care to provide a sufficient number of copies beforehand, I shall probably be told by my students that only a single copy of the work is for sale at Leipsic, and that the price of that one copy is 20 shillings. My pupils at Poona would have procured a hundred copies at a day's notice, and would have paid 8 annas. I am grateful, then, for every effort made in India, be it by the Government or by private publishers, which may tend to lessen the difficulties we have to contend with, and I gladly bring to the notice of the public this neat edition of the Siddhânta-Kaumudî, for which we are indebted to the proprietor of the Nirṇayasâgar Press, and which European students, if they set about it in the right way, should be able to purchase for 4 shillings, while hitherto they have had to pay eight times as much for the Calcutta edition.

And its low price is not the only thing to recommend this new Bombay edition. Having been got up after the fashion of European books, and being in one volume, the edition is much more handy than previous editions. And as the editor has numbered the Sûtras consecutively, besides giving their places in the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, and has also added an alphabetical index of the Sûtras, showing where the rules occur both in the *Siddhânta-Kaumudî* and in the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, the student is saved the trouble of preparing an index of the kind, which indeed is indispensable, for himself. The use of the book has been further facilitated by appending, for the sake of ready reference, their proper numbers to any rules which have been quoted by Bhaṭṭôjidîkshita in his commentary. Some errors or misprints of former editions have no doubt been repeated in the present one. As in the Calcutta edition, the rule 1091 is wrongly made an *optional* rule. Similarly, under 2579 we are referred to P. II. 4, 51, and under 2601 to P. VI. 1, 31, while really the *first* rule is in the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* VI. 1. 31, and the *second* II. 4, 51. Under 2763 we have *achûmi* for *âchâmi*, as in the Benares and Calcutta editions. But many mistakes of the other editions certainly have been corrected, and I therefore feel no hesitation in saying, that the work under notice is the best edition of the *Siddhânta-Kaumudî* hitherto published.

Besides the text of the *Siddhânta-Kaumudî* and the index already mentioned, the editor has given us in the shape of *Pariśishṭas* the original text of Pâṇini's *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, the *Gaṇapâṭha* arranged in the order of the Sûtras and Vârttikas in which the Gaṇas are referred to, the *Dhâtupâṭha*, *Liṅgânuśâsana*, and the so-called Ṛigvêda redaction of the *Pâṇinîya-Śikshâ*. Of these, the two last might well have been omitted; the more so because the text here printed undoubtedly contains numerous mistakes. The text of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* also, which generally follows the printed editions, might by a comparison of good MSS. have been improved on more often still than has actually been the case. On the two other *Pariśishṭas*, which no doubt are indispensable, I suspend my judgment, because I have not at hand the MSS. which alone would enable me to test the value of the texts here printed.

In conclusion, I may well say that this new Bombay edition in every way is a decided improvement on previous editions, and that it will be gratefully received by the small number of European scholars who take an interest in the national grammar of India.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen,

A LUNAR FORTNIGHT OF THIRTEEN SOLAR DAYS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

I RECENTLY had occasion to examine in detail some *Pañchâṅgs*, or Hindu Almanacs, for the Śaka years 1799 to 1808 inclusive; and, amongst other points of interest that came to my notice, is the fact that this series of years includes a lunar fortnight consisting of only thirteen solar days.

Theoretically, and very often in practice also, the fifteen *tithis* of a lunar fortnight correspond to fifteen solar days. And, in practice, they very often, through expunction of a *tithi*, decrease to fourteen solar days; or, through repetition of a *tithi*, extend to sixteen solar days. But their reduction so far as to cover only thirteen solar days, can only happen through the expunction of two *tithis* in the fortnight, which is in itself rare enough; and, in every other instance that I have come across, the expunction of two *tithis* in one and the same fortnight has been accompanied by the repetition of another *tithi* in the same fortnight, which makes up the ordinarily minimum number of fourteen solar days.

The lunar fortnight in question, consisting of only thirteen solar days, is the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha (May-June) of Śaka-Saṁvat 1800 (A.D. 1878-79), the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara*.

I took my information, in the first instance, from the late Professor Kêrô Lakshmaṇ Chhatrê's almanac, published by conjointly him and Pâṇḍuraṅg Âbâ Jôshî Môghê, in Bombay. According to this almanac, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month fell on Sunday, the 2nd June;[1] the second and fifteenth *tithis* were expunged; there was no repetition of a *tithi;* and thus the full-moon was represented by the fourteenth, instead of the fifteenth *tithi*, and this *tithi* fell on Friday, the 14th June. I would add, for completeness as regards the surroundings, that, in the following dark fortnight of the month, the fifth *tithi* was repeated, and there was no expunction of a *tithi*; and the new-moon, represented as usual by the fifteenth *tithi* of the fortnight or the thirtieth of the month, fell on Sunday, the 30th June. This brought the number of solar days in the dark fortnight up to sixteen, and the number in the whole month up to twenty-nine, which is the minimum number of solar days in a lunar month of the Hindu luni-solar year.

The late Professor Kêrô Lakshmaṇ Chhatrê was a well-known mathematician and astronomer,[2] in Government Service; and his almanacs are more likely to be essentially correct than any other Native almanacs that I know of. But they differ from others considerably, even in leading points; notably in respect of the intercalation of months. And I am told that they are regarded rather as theoretical ones, intended to improve and rectify the calendar; and that they are not much used by Hindus for practical purposes.

I therefore thought it desirable to compare, on so interesting a point, any other almanacs that I could obtain. And I have compared Gaṇpat Kṛishṇajî's almanac, published in Bombay, which seems to be the best and most correct after Prof. K. L. Chhatrê's, and is the one most in use in the Bombay Presidency; another almanac published at Poona by Pâṇḍuraṅg Viṭhṭhal Rânaḍê; another published at Poona by Râwjî Śrîdhar Gôndhaḷêkar; and a fourth, of which the title-page, &c., are missing.

These four almanacs expunge the third *tithi*, instead of the second, of the bright fortnight of Jyêshṭha; and repeat the fourth *tithi*, instead of the fifth, of the dark fortnight.

But in all other respects they agree with Prof. K. L. Chhatrê's Almanac; except, of course, in the *ghaṭikâ* and *pala* which give the end of each *tithi*, and the differences in which lead to the differences in the expunction and repetition.

And the fact is thus established, that the bright lunar fortnight of Jyêshṭha of Śaka-Saṁvat 1800 did consist of only thirteen solar days.

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[1] In the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 1799, there was an intercalary month,—according to K. L. Chhatrê's almanac, Śrâvaṇa, and according to Gaṇpat Krishṇajî's almanac, Jyêshṭha; consequently, Śaka-Saṁvat 1800 commenced rather late,—on the 3rd April; and, as a result, Jyêshṭha, contrary to the usual rule, did not include any part of May.

[2] Witness, in particular, his *Graha-siddhantâchîs Kôshṭakên*, or Tables for calculating the Places of the Planets.

The circumstances of this fortnight furnish a pointed confirmation of my statement, at page 42 above, that the results obtainable from Gen. Cunningham's and Mr. Cowasjee Patell's Tables,—or from any other Tables, the calculations from which have to be based on the supposition that each lunar fortnight of the Hindu year covers a certain unvarying number of solar days,—can only be accepted as closely approximate results.

Suppose we have, in a Hindu book or inscription, the record of Śaka-Saṁvat 1800, the month Jyêshṭha (in Southern India; or, in Northern India, the following month, Âshâḍha), the dark fortnight, the first *tithi*, Śanivâra or Saturday. It is required to find, by means of their Tables, the corresponding English date.

By both the Tables, Śaka-Saṁvat 1800 should commence,—as in the Native almanacs,—on Wednesday, the 3rd April,[3] A.D. 1876. The *tithi* in question should fall on the seventy-fifth solar day of the year. And the result would be Sunday, the 16th June. But, owing to preceding expunctions and repetitions, the *tithi* in question really fell on the seventy-fourth solar day of the year; *viz.* Saturday, the 15th June. And there would have been a difference of two days, instead of one; but that the preceding month, Vaiśâkha, really consisted of thirty solar days,—instead of only twenty-nine, as should be the case in accordance with the theoretical arrangement of the months given in the Tables in question.

A later date in the same year,—the month Âshâḍha, the bright fortnight (southern and northern), the first *tithi*, Chandravâra or Monday,—works out correctly by the same Tables; with the result of Monday, the 1st July. But this is only because it happens to occupy its theoretically normal place on the ninetieth solar day of the year. This, however, is in consequence of an arrangement of the preceding months different from the theoretical one given by Gen. Cunningham and Mr. C. Patell. According to them, Chaitra should include thirty solar days; Vaiśâkha, twenty-nine; and Jyêshṭha, thirty. Whereas,—following the southern arrangement,—the actual numbers are. Chaitra, thirty; Vaiśâkha, thirty; and Jyêshṭha, twenty-nine.

Of course it will be found that innumerable dates will work out correctly from the Tables in question. But the difference of one day, pointed out above, in respect of Jyêshṭha (in Southern India; or, in Northern India, Âshâḍha) kṛishṇa 1, is quite sufficient in itself,—apart from the fact that numberless other similar instances might be quoted,—to establish my position that the results obtainable from such Tables are only to be taken as approximately correct; though they are of considerable use, as giving by easy and quick means, clues as to the dates for which correct results may be established by more accurate processes.

As might be expected, references to so exceptional an occurrence as a **lunar fortnight of thirteen solar days**, are to be found in Sanskṛit literature.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has drawn my attention to the following verses in the Mahâbhârata, *Bhîshmaparva*, adhâya iii. vv. 28, 32, 33, in the speech of Vyâsa to Dhṛitarâshṭra, shortly before the commencement of the war between the Pâṇḍavas and the Kauravas, in which he describes a number of phenomena and evil omens, indicative of the great slaughter that there would be in the war:—

Chandr-âdityâv=ubhau grastâv=
 êk-âhnâ hi trayôdaśîm ।
a-parvaṇi grahaṁ yâtau
 prajâ-saṁkshayam=ichchhataḥ ॥ 28
Chaturdaśîṁ pañchadaśîṁ
 bhûta-pûrvâṁ cha shôḍaśîm ।
imâṁ tu n=âbhijânê=ham=
 amâvâsyâṁ trayôdaśîm ।
chandra-sûryâv=ubhau grastâv=
 êka-mâsîṁ trayôdaśîm ॥ 32
A-parvaṇi grahêṇ=aitau
 prajâḥ saṁkshapayishyataḥ ।
mâṁsa-varshaṁ punas=tîvram=
 âsît=krishṇa-trayôdaśîm ।
śôṇitair=vaktra-saṁpûrṇâ
 a-tṛiptâs=tatra râkshasâḥ ॥ 33

(V. 28.) "The moon and the sun were both eclipsed on the same day,[4] during the thirteenth

[3] I should remark, however, that Gen. Cunningham's book, as published, gives Thursday, the 4th April. But, in the copy given by him to me, he has corrected this entry into Wednesday, the 3rd April.

[4] This, of course, is a purely imaginative occurrence. But it seems to be based on the fact that on the *amâvâsyâ*, when alone a solar eclipse can take place, the sun and the moon are together, and on the supposition that Râhu, who in Hindu mythology causes eclipses, swallowed, on this occasion, both the sun and the

(*night*);[5] (*and, being thus*) both eclipsed on a day which is not the proper occasion, they indicate a desire for the destruction of mankind.—(V. 32). I know of previous occasions on which the new-moon *tithi* has become the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth (*night*); but I do not know of any previous occasion on which it has become the thirteenth,—a thirteenth (*night*), in one and the same month, during which the moon and sun were both eclipsed.—(V. 33). Through (*their*) eclipse on a day which is not the established occasion, they both will wish to destroy mankind; and again, during the thirteenth (*night*) of the dark fortnight, there was a heavy rain of flesh, in which the demons were not satisfied, (*though*) their mouths were quite full of blood."

And Raṅgaśâstrî Mâdhavaśâstrî Mâybhaṭṭe, of Narsiṁhpur in the Poona District, has given me the following two passages, from astrological books, which, like the above from the Mahâbhârata, maintain the supposed ill-omened nature of such a fortnight:—

In the *Muhûrta-Gaṇapati*, Miśraprakaraṇa, verse 133, we have:—

Trayôdaśa-dinaḥ pakshô
  yasmin=varshê bhavêt=tadâ I
prajâ-nâśô=tha durbhiksham
  tathâ bhûmibhujâṁ kshayaḥ II 133

"When in any year there may be a lunar fortnight consisting of thirteen days, then (*there will be*) loss of population, and famine, and destruction of kings."

And, in the *Muhûrta-Chintâmaṇi*, Śubhâśubhaprakaraṇa, verse 48, we have:—

Astê varjyaṁ Siṁha-Nakra-stha-Jîvê
  varjyaṁ kêchid=vakragê ch=âtichârê I
Gurv-Âdityê viśva-ghasrê=pi pakshê
  prôchus=tad-vad=danta-ratn-âdi-
    bhûshâm II 48

"Any (*auspicious*) act which is to be avoided at the time of the setting (*of Jupiter*) is to be avoided when Jupiter is in Leo or in Capricornus; (*and*) some (*say also when he is*) in retrogression, and when (*his*) motion is accelerated. (*And some say that any such act should be avoided*) when Jupiter and the Sun are together in one sign; and also in a lunar fortnight which is injurious to all people; (*and*) they say that, by the same rule, the wearing of ornaments of ivory, jewels, &c., (*is to be avoided on the same occasions*)."—Here, in connection with the words *viśva-ghasrê=pi pakshê*, "and also in a lunar fortnight which is injurious to all people," the Commentary says,—Yasmin=pakshê tithi-dvaya-nâśaḥ sa trayôdaśa-dinaḥ pakshaḥ sô=ti-nindyaḥ II Uktaṁ cha I Pakshasya madhyê dvi-tithâv(*sic*)=apêtâṁ tadâ bhavêd=Raurava-kâlayôgaḥ I pakshê vinashṭê sakalaṁ vinashṭam=ity=âhur=âchârya-varâḥ samastâḥ II Tathâ I Trayôdaśa-dinê pakshê tadâ saṁharatê jagat I api varsha-sahasrêṇa kâlayôgaḥ prakîrttita iti II Tasmin=pakshê śubha-karma varjyam=ity=âhuḥ II Chaṇḍêśvaraḥ I Trayôdaśa-dinê pakshê vivâh-âdi na kârayêt I Garg-âdi-munayaḥ prâhuḥ kṛitê mṛityus=tadâ bhavêt II Upanayanaṁ pariṇayanaṁ vêśmârambh-âdi-puṇya-karmâṇi yâtrâ dvikshaya-pakshê kuryân=na jijîvishuḥ purushaḥ;—"When in any lunar fortnight there is a loss of two *tithis*, that (*fortnight*) consists of thirteen days, and is to be looked upon with extreme disfavour. And it has been said:—'Let two *tithis* disappear in the middle of a lunar fortnight, then there will be the Raurava[6] conjunction of time; when a lunar fortnight is destroyed, then everything is destroyed,—so say all the best teachers.' And so it is said,—'When there is a lunar fortnight consisting of thirteen days, then the universe is annihilated; (*this*) conjunction is declared (*as occurring*) only after a thousand years.[7] They say that, in such a lunar fortnight, any auspicious act is to be avoided. (*Thus*), Chaṇḍêśvara (*says*), — 'In a fortnight consisting of

moon. The passage appears to point to an eclipse of the sun on an *amâvâsyâ* which was the thirteenth solar day of the dark fortnight; and this might possibly be utilised to shew the date at which the passage was written.

[5] That, in opposition with *trayôdaśîm*, we have here to supply *râtrim*, not *tithim*, is indicated by the Commentary (Bombay edition), which explains *trayôdaśîm*, in verse 32, by *trayôdaśânâm=ahnâṁ pûraṇîm*, "the completion of fifteen days;" and on the words *êka-mâsîṁ trayôdaśîm*, in the same verse, gives *êkasminn=êva mâsê bhavâṁ pûrvaṁ trayôdaśyâṁ râtrau*. In explaining, under verse 28, that the *parva-darśa* or 'appearance of the day of conjunction or opposition of the sun and moon,' falls properly on the fifteenth day (*pañchadaśê ahni*), but on the sixteenth, if there is an increase of one *tithi*, and on the fourteenth, if there is an expunction of one *tithi*, it adds the remark — *tithi-dvaya-kshayas=tu lôkê na śâstrê dṛishṭam*,—"but the expunction of two *tithis*, (though occurring) in practice, (is a thing which) is not declared in the scientific treatises."

[6] Raurava is the name of the fifth *Kalpa*; also of one of the Hindu hells.

[7] This, of course, is an extensive exaggeration. A lunar fortnight of thirteen solar days appears to occur at least once in twenty-five years.

thirteen days, one should not celebrate marriages, &c.; if any such ceremony is performed, then the result is death,—so say Garga and other saints. Investiture with the sacred thread; marriage; laying the foundations of a house, and other meritorious acts; (*and*) going on a journey,—(*these are things which*), if a man desires to live, he should not do in a lunar fortnight in which there are two expunctions (*of a tithi*).' "

While revising the proofs of the preceding part of this note, I have received from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit another interesting instance of a **lunar fortnight of only thirteen solar days.**

I had asked him to compute for me the details of the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva;[8] and, in order to settle all the surroundings of this date once for all, to make the calculations for Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 and 1187,—as well as for Śaka-Saṁvat 1186, which is the true equivalent of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945,—and to make them by the southern, as well as by the northern, reckoning.

In making the calculations for Śaka-Saṁvat 1185, according to the southern reckoning, he has found that the full-moon *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Âshâḍha fell on Saturday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1263; and the new-moon *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the same month, on Friday, the 6th July. And this gives thirteen solar days for the fifteen *tithis* of the dark fortnight of this month, Âshâḍha, in Southern India, or of Śrâvaṇa in Northern India; "except," he says, "perhaps in some parts far off in the east of India."

Of course, two of the *tithis* of this fortnight were expunged. The authorities differ as to which these two *tithis* were. But, one of them was early in the fortnight; and the details of this have not been worked out, because they do not bear upon the actual date under computation. The other was either the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth *tithi*. And according to the determination of this,—to be settled hereafter,—the date under computation, *viz.* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13, was either Wednesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July; unless it was itself expunged.

THE VASUDEVA AND GOPICHANDANA UPANISHADS.

BY COLONEL G. A. JACOB, BOMBAY STAFF CORPS.

These two Upanishads appear now in print for the first time. When Professor Weber wrote his *History of Indian Literature*, he had, apparently, not heard of the former; and the latter was only known to him by name. We have therefore not had the benefit of an analysis of them from his able pen. Their opening and closing sentences have appeared in Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts;* but no attempt has been made to publish them *in extenso.*

Like most of the minor Upanishads of the fourth Vêda, they have no real claim to the title; but, as the subject-matter is not altogether devoid of interest, no apology is needed for making them public. Indeed, it is desirable that everything claiming the dignity of an Upanishad should be brought to the light, so that, if undeserving, it may be shorn of the adventitious merit derived from that claim, which will cling to it as long as it is enveloped in the darkness of ignorance.

In preparing the text, I have used the following MSS. :—

For the Vâsudêva.

1. One of the set of 59 Upanishads classified as No. 133 of 1880-81, in the Deccan College Library.
2. MS. No. 355 of 1883-84, in the same Library. It contains the text and Nârâyaṇa's *Dîpikâ.*
3. MS. No. 1645 from the Government Collection at Calcutta. It also contains the text and commentary.

For the Gôpîchandana.

1. MS. No. 127 of 1880-81, in the Deccan College Library.
2. A copy made for me at Benares, under Dr. Thibaut's orders.
3. A copy of MS. No. 222 in the Library of the Mahârâjâ of Bikanîr.
4. MS. No. 337 of 1883-84, in the Deccan College. Text and *Dîpikâ.*

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[8] *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 241 ff.

5. MS. Nò. 1645 from Calcutta. Text and Commentary.

My first acquaintance with the *Gôpîchandana-Upanishad* was through the manuscript which heads the list; and I was not a little puzzled at finding that its opening portion was identical with the first two sections, and a part of the third section, of the *Vásudêva-Upanishad.* The subject-matter, too, of both was very similar; yet it was impossible to determine the relation in which the one stood to the other. I had not then seen Nârâyaṇa's annotations on them; but the perusal of his *Dîpikâ* on the *Kâlâgnirudra-Upanishad* seemed to establish the accuracy of the manuscript above referred to; for, in the course of an argument as to the meaning of a certain passage in the *Kâlâgnirudra,* he uses the following words,—"Vâsudêvôpanishadi Gôpîchandanôpanishadi cha, Vaishṇavân uddiśya, Nâradêna Vâsudêvaṁ prati,—'Bhagavan ûrdhvapuṇḍrasya vidhiṁ dravyamantrasthânâdisahitaṁ mê brûhîti' prishṭê sati, 'Taṁ hôvacha' ityâdinôrdhvapuṇḍravidhânâch cha,"—"and because it is with reference to the Vaishṇavas that in the *Vâsudêva* and *Gôpîchandana Upanishads,* when Krishṇa is asked by Nârada saying—'Sire! tell me the rule regarding the *ûrdhvapuṇḍra,* what substance is used for it, what *mantras* are required, and to what parts it is to be applied,' its application is enjoined in the passage beginning with 'And he said to him'."

Now, taking this in conjunction with the reading of MS. 127, it was not unreasonable to infer that the quotations contained in it were to be found in *both* the Upanishads named; but a subsequent reference to the *Dîpikâ* on the *Gôpîchandana,* as well as to other MSS. of the text, showed that this was not the case, and that what Nârâyaṇa meant was, that the injunction as to the *ûrdhvapuṇḍra* which commences in the *Vâsudêva* with the dialogue here referred to, is continued in the *Gôpîchandana.*

That the latter is supplementary to the former is affirmed by Nârâyaṇa in the following words,—"Tatra [*i.e.* Vâsudêvôpanishadi] na jñâyatê gôpîchandanayôḥ kiṁ pravṛittinimittaṁ, kaś chârthaḥ, kaścha Vâsudêvas, tasya cha gôpîbhiḥ kaḥ sambandhaḥ, kutaścha tasyôtpattiḥ, kinnimittaṁ cha gôpîbhis tasya prakshâlanaṁ kṛitaṁ, kiṁ cha tasya vaibhavaṁ, kiṁ cha taddhâraṇadânâdiphalam iti tadarthaṁ Vâsudêvôpanishachchhêshabhûtâ Gôpîchandanôpanishad ârabhyatê I"

There can be no doubt that the Gôpîchandana Upanishad begins with the words *Gôpikâ nâma saṁrakshaṇ.* This, too, is the way in which my copy of the Bikanîr MS. commences; although in the printed catalogue its opening words are said to be *Atha gôpîchandanaṁ namaskṛitya* (*vide* section 2 of the *Vâsudêva.*) On receiving my copy through the Political Agent, I observed the discrepancy, but was assured, on enquiry, that nothing had been omitted.

It is unnecessary to allude to the subject-matter of the two Upanishads, as translations accompany them. I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the words *ûrdhvadaṇḍin* and *ûrdhvayôga*; but perhaps some one will be able to throw light on them. The dictionaries give no help.

The **Chakratîrtha** referred to in the *Vâsudêva-Upanishad* is some sacred spot or bathing-place in **Dvârakâ**; probably near the mouth of the **Gômatî.** Its praises are most enthusiastically sung in the *Dvârakâ-Mâhâtmya,* of which I have examined three different recensions. The following detached extracts from that ascribed to the *Skanda-Purâṇa* may be of interest:—

Lôbhênâpy uparôdhêna dambhêna kapaṭêna vâ I
Chakratîrthaṁ tu yô gachchhên na punar vasati bhuvi II
Vârimâtrêṇa **Gômatyâṁ** piṇḍadânaṁ vinâ Kalau I
pitṛîṇâṁ jâyatê tṛiptiś **Chakratîrtha**-prabhâvataḥ II
Chakratîrthê naraḥ snâtvâ **Gômatyâṁ** Rukmiṇîhradê I
drishṭvâ Krishṇamukhaṁ ramyaṁ kulânâṁ târayêch chhatam II
Dvârakâ-Chakratîrthê yê nivasanti narôttamâḥ I
têshâṁ nivâritâḥ sarvê Yamêna Yamakiṅkarâḥ II

It is strange that this famous *tîrtha* is not noticed by any of our lexicographers. In the large St. Petersburg Lexicon, there are references under this word to the *Prabôdhachandrôdaya* and to the *Vârâha-Purâṇa.* I have been able to look up the former only; but the **Chakratîrtha** of that Drama is situated on the bank

of the **Bhâgîrathî**. In the abridged dictionary, the only reference is to a tank on the north side of a village in Southern India! The Calcutta dictionary, *Vâchaspatyam*, gives a description of a **Chakratîrtha** in **Prabhâsa**,[1] a celebrated *kshêtra* (not in the vicinity of Dvârakâ, as Monier Williams says, but) in the south-west corner of the Kâṭhiâwâḍ peninsula, near the town of **Patan-Sômnâth** (Wilson's *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Vol V. p. 47); but it ignores that at Dvârakâ.

The only word remaining to be noticed is **Piṇḍatâraka**. It occurs in Nârâyaṇa's *Dîpikâ*, where, in explaining the expression *Kṛishṇâdipañchanâmabhiḥ* in Section 2 of the *Vâsudêva*, he gives five names which are said to be found in the *Dvârakâ-Mâhâtmya*, and one of them is **Piṇḍatârakêśa**. I have not been able to discover the epithet there; but a whole chapter is devoted to the *tîrtha*. It appears in the dictionaries as **Piṇḍâraka**; but they give no definite idea of its position. In Wilson's *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Vol. V. p. 141, we read—"The village of **Piṇḍâraka**, still held in veneration, is situated in Gujerat, about 20 miles from the north-west extremity of the Peninsula." The *Mahâbhârata* calls it simply a *tîrtha*, and locates it in **Dvârakâ**, as will be seen from the following extract:—"Tatô **Dvâravatîṁ** gachchhên niyatô niyatâśanaḥâ **Piṇḍârakê** naraḥ snâtvâ labhêd bahusuvarṇakam || Tasmiṁs tîrthê mahâbhâga padmalakshaṇalakshitâḥ | Adyápi mudrâ dṛiśyantê tad adbhutaṃ arindama ||" *Vanaparva*, lxxxii. 65-67. In the text of three MSS. of the *Mâhâtmya*, it is called **Piṇḍâraka**, but **Piṇḍatâraka** in the colophon of the chapter in which it is described; whilst in the recension ascribed to the *Vishṇudharmôttara*, that is to the *Gâruḍa-Purâṇa* (Burnell's *Index to Tanjore Manuscripts*, p. 188), I found **Piṇḍatâraka** in both text and colophon, and that too in defiance of metre! It is evident, then, that the longer form is not a clerical error, as I at first supposed; but, hitherto, no one appears to have noticed it.

I.

Vâsudêva-Upanishad.

TEXT.

Ôm | Namaskṛitya bhagavantaṁ Nâradaḥ surêśvaraṁ Vâsudêvaṁ paprachchha Śrîbhagavan ûrdhvapuṇḍravidhiṁ dravyamantrasthânâdisahitaṁ mê brûhîti | Taṁ hôvâcha bhagavân Vâsudêvaḥ,—Vaikunṭhasthânôdbhavaṁ, mama prîtikaraṁ, madbhaktair Brahmâdibhir dhâritaṁ, Vishṇuchandanaṁ, Vaikunṭhasthânâd âhṛitya **Dvârakâyâṁ** mayâ pratishṭhitam | Chandanaṁ kuṁkumâdisahitaṁ Vishṇuchandanaṁ, mamâṅgê pratidinam âliptaṁ gôpîbhiḥ prakshâlanâd, gôpîchandanam âkhyâtam | Madaṅgalêpanaṁ puṇyaṁ **Chakratîrthântaḥsthitaṁ** chakrasamâyuktaṁ pîtavarṇaṁ muktisâdhanaṁ bhavati || 1 ||

Atha gôpîchandanaṁ namaskṛitya uddhṛitya—"Gôpîchandana pâpaghna Vishṇudêhasamudbhava | chakrâṅkita namas tubhyaṁ dhâraṇân muktidô bhava" || iti prârthayann,—"Imaṁ mê Gaṅgê," iti jalam âdâya,—"Vishṇôr nu kam," iti mardayêt | "Atô dêvâ avantu naḥ," ity êtâbhir ṛigbhir, Vishṇugâyatryâ cha, trivâram abhimantrya,—

"Śaṅkhachakragadâpâṇê, Dvârakânilayâchyuta | Gôvinda, puṇḍarîkâksha, raksha mâṁ śaraṇâgatam" || iti mâṁ dhyâtvâ,—Gṛihasthô, lalâṭâdidvâdaśasthalêshv anâmikâṅgulyâ, Vishṇugâyatryâ, Kêśavâdidvâdaśanâmabhir vâ, dhârayêt | Brahmachârî, Vânaprasthô vâ, lalâṭakaṇṭhahṛidayabâhumûlêshu, Vishṇugâyatryâ, Kṛishṇâdipañchanâmabhir vâ, dhârayêt | Yatis, tarjanyâ śirôlalâṭahṛidayêshu, praṇavêna dhârayêt | Brahmâdayas trayô mûrttayas, tisrô vyâhṛitayas, trîṇi chhandâṁsi, trayô vêdâs, trayaḥ svarâs, trayô 'gnayô jyôtishmantas, trayaḥ kâlâs, tisrô 'vasthâs, traya âtmânaḥ, puṇḍrâs traya ûrdhvâḥ | Akârôkâramakârâ êtê sarvê praṇavamayôrdhvapuṇḍratrayâtmakâḥ | Tad êtad ôm, ity êkadhâ samabhavat |

[1] According to the *Skanda-Purâṇa* its boundaries are as follows:—Pûrvê Yamêśvaraṁ yâvat Śrîsômêśas tu paschimé | uttarê tu viśâlâkshî dakshiṇê saritâṁ patiḥ ||

Paramahaṁsô lalâṭê praṇavênaikam ûrdhvapuṇḍraṁ vâ dhârayêt । Tatra dîpaprakâśaṁ svam âtmânaṁ paśyan, Brahmaivâham asmîti bhâvayan, yôgî matsâyujyam âpnôti ॥ 2 ॥

"Athânyô hṛidayasthôrdhvapuṇḍramadhyê vâ, hṛidayakamalamadhyê vâ, svam âtmânaṁ bhâvayêt,—"Tasya madhyê vahniśikhâ aṇîyôrdhvâ vyavasthitâ । nîlatôyadamadhyasthâ vidyullêkhêva bhâsvarâ ॥ Nîvâraśûkavat tanvî pîtâ bhâsvaty aṇûpamâ । tasyâḥ śikhâyâ madhyê[2] paramâtmâ vyavasthitaḥ" ॥ Pûrvam abhyasya puṇḍrastham, hṛitpadmastham tatô 'bhyasêt । kramâd êvaṁ svam âtmânaṁ bhâvayên mâṁ paraṁ Harim ॥ Ekâgramanasâ yô mâṁ dhyâyatê Harim avyayam । hṛitpaṅkajê svam âtmânaṁ sa muktô nâtra saṁśayaḥ ॥ Madrûpam avyayaṁ Brahma madhyâdyantavivarjitam । svaprabhaṁ sachchidânandam bhaktyâ jânâti vâtha yaḥ ॥ Ekô Vishṇur anêkêshu jaṅgamasthâvarêshu cha । anusyûtô vasâmy âtmâ bhûtêshv aham avasthitaḥ ॥ Tailaṁ tilêshu kâshṭhêshu vahniḥ kshîrê ghṛitaṁ yathâ । gandhaḥ pushpêshu bhûtêshu tathâtmâvasthitô 'smy aham ॥ 'Yach cha kiñchij jagat sarvaṁ driśyatê śrûyatê 'pi vâ । antar bahiścha tat sarvaṁ vyâpya Nârâyaṇaḥ sthitaḥ ॥ Dêhâdirahitaṁ sûkshmaṁ chitprakâśaṁ nirañjanam । sarvânusyûtam advaitaṁ paraṁ Brahma bhavâmy aham ॥ Brahmarandhrê bhruvôr madhyê hṛidayê chintayêd Harim । gôpîchandanam âlipya tatra dhyâtvâpnuyât param ॥ Ûrdhvadaṇḍyûrdhvarêtâ ya ûrdhvapuṇḍrôrdhvayôgavit । ûrdhvaṁ padam avâpnôti yatir ûrdhvachatushkavân ॥ Ity êtan niśchitaṁ jñânaṁ madbhaktyâ sidhyati svayam । nityam êkâgrabhaktis tu gôpîchandanadhâraṇât ॥ Brâhmaṇânâṁ tu sarvêshâṁ vaidikânâm anuttamam । gôpîchandanavâribhyâm ûrdhvapuṇḍraṁ vidhîyatê ॥ Yô gôpîchandanâbhâvê tulasîmûlamṛittikâm । mumukshur dhârayên nityam aparôkshâtmasiddhayê ॥ Gôpîchandanaliptâṅgô dêhasthâni cha tasya yaḥ । asthîni chakrarûpâṇi bhavanty êva dinê dinê ॥ 3 ॥

Atha râtrâv agnihôtrabhasmanâ, "Agnêr bhasmâsi," "Idaṁ Vishṇuḥ," "Trîṇi padâ," iti mantrair, Vishṇugâyatryâ, praṇavênôddhûlanaṁ[3] kuryât । Êvaṁ vidhinâ Gôpîchandanaṁ yô dhârayêd, yas tv êtad adhîtê vâ, sa sarvamahâpâtakêbhyaḥ pûtô bhavati, pâpabuddhis tasya na jâyatê, sarvêshu tîrthêshu snâtô bhavati, sarvair yajñair yâjî bhavati, sarvair dêvaiḥ pûjyô bhavati, Nârâyaṇê mayy achalâ bhaktiś châsya vardhatê, samyag jñânaṁ labdhvâ Vishṇusâyujyam âpnôti, na cha punar âvarttatê । "Tad Vishṇôḥ paramaṁ padam sadâ paśyanti sûrayaḥ । divîva chakshurâtatam ॥ tad viprâsô vipanyavô jâgṛivâṁsaḥ samindhatê । Vishṇôr yat paramaṁ padam". ॥ 4 ॥

॥ Ity Atharvavêdê Vâsudêvôpanishat samâptâ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Having saluted the revered Vâsudêva, lord of all, Nârada made request, saying—'Sire! tell me the rule regarding the *ûrdhvapuṇḍra*, what substance is used for it, what *mantras* are required, and to what parts it is applied.' The revered Vâsudêva thus addressed him:—*Vishṇuchandana*, a product of Vaikuṇṭha, of which I am very fond, used by Brahman and others who are devoted to me, was brought by me from Vaikuṇṭha and placed in **Dvâraka**. *Chandana* mixed with saffron and other things is *vishṇuchandana*; but, being applied daily to my body after it has been washed by *Gôpis*, it is called *gôpichandana*. That holy unguent for my body, yellow in colour, found in **Chakratîrtha**, and marked with the *chakra*,[4] is a means of obtaining emancipation (1).

Having taken up some *gôpîchandana*, saluted it, and thus addressed it—'Hail to thee, *gôpîchandana*, sin-destroyer, produced from the body of Vishṇu, marked with the *chakra*; do thou, by this application, become a giver of emancipation,'—let him take water, with the

[2] One MS. inserts here, *aham*; but it is not in the *Âraṇyaka* from which the quotation is made.

[3] One MS. has *udvarttanam* instead of *uddhûlanam*.

[4] Chakrasamâyuktaṁ chakrêṇa Dvârakâśilayâ sahitam ity arthaḥ । yadvâ chakrâṅkitam ity arthaḥ (*Dîpikâ*). A great deal is made, in the *Dvârakâ-Mâhâtmya*, of the stones here referred to. I quote one verse from the first and one from the second chapter of the *Skanda-Purâṇa* recension:—"Yatra chakrâṅkitâḥ śilâḥ Gomatyudadhisaṅgamê । yachchhanti pûjyatâṁ lôkê tâṁ purîṁ kô na sêvayet" ॥ "Yê kêchit tatra pâshâṇâḥ Krishṇachakrêṇa mudritâḥ । têshâṁ sparśanamâtrêṇa muchyatê sarvakilvishaiḥ ॥

words '*Imaṁ mê Gaṅgê*' [ṚV. 10, 75, 5], and pulverize into it the *gôpîchandana*, whilst repeating the verse '*Vishṇôr nu kam*' [ṚV. I. 154, 1].

After addressing it three times with the verses beginning with '*Atô dêvâ avantu naḥ*' [ṚV. I. 22, 16], and with the *Vishṇugâyatrî* [Nârâyaṇâya vidmahê, Vâsudêvâya dhîmahi, tan nô Vishṇuḥ prachôdayât], and after meditating thus on me,—'O Achyuta, holder of the conch the discus and the mace, who hast made thy home in Dvârakâ; O Gôvinda, the lotus-eyed, preserve me, a seeker of refuge,'—a *Gṛihastha* should apply it, with the third finger, to the forehead and the other eleven parts, whilst repeating the *Vishṇugâyatrî* or the twelve names beginning with *Kêśava*.[5]

A *Brahmachârin*, or *Vânaprastha*, should apply it to the forehead, throat, heart, and shoulders, whilst repeating the *Vishṇugâyatrî* or the five names beginning with Kṛishṇa.[6]

A *Yati* should apply it, with the forefinger, to the head, forehead and heart, repeating the *praṇava*.

The three perpendicular lines (*puṇḍrâḥ*) represent the triad, Brahman and the others,—the three sacred syllables [*bhûs, bhuvas, svar*],—the three kinds of metre,[7]—the three Vêdas,—the three accents,—the three brilliant fires[8],—the three times,—the three states[9]—and the three forms of *âtman*.[10] The three letters *a, u, m* are of the same nature as the three perpendicular lines which are identical with the *praṇava*. Thus that three-fold mark is unified in the syllable *ôm*.

A *Paramahaṁsa* may optionally make only one line on the forehead, repeating the *praṇava*. A *Yôgin*, seeing there his own Self, brilliant as a lamp, and reflecting thus—'I am Brahman and none other'—attains to identity with me (2).

Any other [*e.g.* a Tridaṇḍin or Kuṭîchara] should meditate thus on his Self within the lotus of the heart, or within the *ûrdhvapuṇḍra* existing in the heart—'In[11] the midst of it dwells a flame of fire, very small and perpendicular, flashing like lightning in the centre of a black cloud, fine as the awn of a head of rice, yellow, brilliant, a very model of minuteness. In the centre of that flame,[12] stands the Supreme Self.'

He should first direct his attention to the Self as residing in the *puṇḍra*, and afterwards think of him as in the lotus of the heart. In this order he should meditate on me, Hari, the Supreme, as his own Self. He who, with his thoughts concentrated, meditates on me, the immutable Hari, as his own Self, is without doubt emancipated; or, he who, by means of devotion, recognizes in me the unchangeable Brahman, without beginning, centre, or end, self-luminous, existent, intelligence and joy. As the one Vishṇu, I penetrate the many, moveable and immoveable, and abide in them; I dwell as the Self in all creatures. Like oil in sesamum, fire in wood, ghee in milk, and scent in flowers, I inhere in creatures as the Self. Whatever there is that moves, all that is visible or audible,—Nârâyaṇa permeates the whole, both within and without. I am the Supreme Brahman, without a body, subtile, bright with intelligence, passionless, all-penetrating, without a second. Let a man contemplate Hari as in the heart, between the eye-

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[5] The twelve names, and twelve parts of the body, are given in the following verses quoted by Nârâyaṇa in his *Dîpikâ*:—

Lalâṭê *Kêśavaṁ* vidyân *Nârâyaṇam* athôdarê |
Mâdhavaṁ hṛidayê nyasya *Gôvindaṁ* kaṇṭhakûpakê |
Vishṇuṁ cha dakshiṇê kukshau tadbhujê *Madhusûdanam* |
Trivikramaṁ karṇadêśê vâmê kukshau tu *Vâmanam* |
Śrîdharam tu sadâ nyasya vâmabâhau naraḥ sadâ |
Padmanâbhaṁ pṛishṭhadêśê kakud *Dâmôdaraṁ* smarêt |
Vâsudêvaṁ smarên mûrdhni tilakaṁ kârayêt kramât ||

[6] In one of the MSS. these five names are inserted as a portion of the text, and stand thus—'Kṛishṇâya namaḥ, Saṅkarshaṇâya, Vâsudêvâya, Pradyumnâya, Aniruddhâya.' The *Dîpikâ* gives two sets, but the first contains six names, not five. They are the following—'Kṛishṇaḥ Satyaḥ Sâtvataḥ syâch Chhauriḥ Sûrô Janârdanaḥ".—"Kṛishṇâya Vâsudêvâya Dêvakînandanâya cha | Nandagôpakumârâya Gôvindâya namô namaḥ ||. The *Dîpikâ* also gives a list of names of Kṛishṇa which are said to occur in the *Dvârakâ-Mâhâtmya*, one of which is *Piṇḍatârakêśa*; as to which see *supra*. Another seems to be *Mûlamâdhava* (?) According to the Lexicons, this is the name of a place.

[7] Gaṇachhandas, Mâtrâchhandas, and Aksharachhandas. See Colebrooke's *Essays* (new edition) Vol. II. pp. 66, 71, 87. The *Dîpikâ* quotes the following verse—"Âdau tâvad Gaṇachhandô Mâtrâchhandas tataḥ param | tṛitîyam Aksharachhanda iti chhandas tridhâ matam"||

[8] Dakshiṇâgni, gârhapatya, and âhavanîya.

[9] Jâgrat, svapna, sushupti.

[10] Kshara, akshara, and paramâtman.

[11] Tait. Ar. X. 11. The word *aṇûpamâ* which occurs here and in the Aranyaka, is *tanûpamâ* in most of my MSS. of the *Mahânârâyana-Upanishad*, and that was evidently what Sâyaṇa read. He explains thus—*laukikânâm tanûnâṁ sûkshmavastûnâm upamâ bhavituṁ yôgyâ*.

[12] One MS. reads "I stand."

brows, and in the aperture of the head; he who after applying *gôpîchandana*, fixes his thoughts there, must reach the Supreme.

The *Yati* who is an *ûrdhvadaṇḍin* and chaste (*ûrdhvarêtâḥ*), who understands the *ûrdhvapuṇḍra* and *ûrdhvayôga*, and is therefore in possession of the four '*ûrdhva*,' attains to the high (*ûrdhvam*) place.

This certain knowledge comes of itself, through devotedness to me; so the application of *gôpîchandana* should invariably be followed by undivided devotion.

The most excellent *ûrdhvapuṇḍra*, made with *gôpîchandana* and water, is prescribed for all Brâhmaṇs versed in the Vêda. In the absence of *gôpîchandana*, the aspirant to emancipation should always use a paste made from the root of the *tulasî* plant, in order to reach the not-invisible Self. The bones in the body of one whose limbs are anointed with *gôpîchandana*, become like the *chakra* from day to day. (3).

At night one should rub the body with ashes from the *agnihôtra*, whilst reciting the mantras '*Agnêr bhasmâsi*' [VS. 12, 46], '*Idaṁ Vishṇuḥ*' [ṚV. I. 22, 17], and '*Trîṇi padâ*' [I. 22, 18],—the *Vishṇugâyatrî*, and the *praṇava*.

He who thus, according to rule, applies the *gôpîchandana*, or he who reads this, is cleansed from all the great sins,—is freed from an evil-disposition,—has bathed in all the *tîrthas*,—has sacrified with all the sacrifices,—is worthy of honour from all the gods,—and his unswerving attachment to me, Nârâyaṇa, is strengthened. After attaining to a thorough knowledge (of me) he is absorbed into Vishṇu and does not return. 'That exalted place of Vishṇu's, the learned ever behold, like the sun[13] [*lit.* the eye] stretched out in the sky. Exultant watchful Ṛishis glorify that exalted place of Vishṇu's.' [ṚV. I. 22, 20]. (4).

II.

Gôpîchandana-Upanishad.

TEXT.

Gôpîkâ nâma saṁrakshaṇî I Kutaḥ saṁrakshaṇî I Lôkasya narakân mṛityôr bhayâch cha saṁrakshaṇî I Chandanaṁ tushṭikâraṇaṁ cha I Kiṁ tushṭikâraṇam I Brahmânandakâraṇam I Ya êvaṁvidvân êtad âkhyâpayêd ya êtach cha dhârayêd, gôpîchandanamṛittikâyâ niruktyâ, nirdhâraṇamâtrêṇa cha, Brahmalôkê mahîyatê, Brahmalôkê mahîyata iti II 1 II

Gôpyô nâma Vishṇupatnyaḥ syuḥ I Tâsâṁ chandanam âhlâdanam I Kaśchâhlâdaḥ I Êsha Brahmânandarûpaḥ I Kâścha Vishṇupatnyô gôpyô nâma I Yâ âtmanâ Brahmânandaikarûpaṁ Kṛishṇâkhyaṁ paraṁ dhâma ajayaṁs tâ, jagatsṛishṭisthityantakâriṇyaḥ Prakṛitimahadahamâdyâ, mahâmâyâḥ I Kaścha Vishṇuḥ I Paraṁ Brahmaiva-Vishṇuḥ I Kaśchâhlâdaḥ I Gôpîchandanasaṁsaktamânushâṇâṁ pâpasaṁharaṇâch chhuddhântaḥkaraṇânâṁ Brahmajñânaprâptiścha I Ya êvaṁ vêdêty upanishat II 2 II

Gôpîty agra uchyatâṁ chandanaṁ tu tataḥ paśchât I Gôpîty aksharadvayaṁ, chandanaṁ tu triyaksharaṁ, tasmâd aksharapañchakam I Ya êvaṁ vidvân gôpîchandanaṁ dhârayêd akshayaṁ padaṁ âpnôti, pañchatvaṁ na sa paśyati; tatô 'mṛitatvaṁ aśnutê, tatô 'mṛitatvam aśnuta iti II 3 II

Atha mâyâśabalitaṁ Brahmâsît I Tataś cha mahadâdyâ Brahmaṇô mahâmâyâsammilitât I Pañchabhûtêshu gandhavatîyaṁ pṛithivy âsît, pṛithivyâś cha vaibhavâd varṇabhêdâḥ I Pîtavarṇâ mṛidô jâyantê lôkânugrahârtham I Mâyâsahitabrahmasambhôgavaśâd asya chandanasya vaibhavam I Ya êvaṁ vidvân yatihastê dadyâd anugrahârthaṁ mâyânupaplavaḥ sarvam âyur êti, tataḥ prâjâpatyaṁ râyaspôshaṁ gôshpatyaṁ cha I Ya êtad rahasyaṁ sâyaṁ prâtar dhyâyêd, ahôrâtrakṛitaṁ pâpaṁ nâśayati, mṛitô môksham aśnuta iti II 4 II

Gôpîchandanapaṅkêna lalâṭaṁ yas tu lêpayêt I êkadaṇḍî tridaṇḍî vâ sa vai môkshaṁ samaśnutê II Gôpîchandanaliptâṅgô yaṁ yaṁ paśyati chakshushâ I taṁ taṁ pûtaṁ vijânîyâd râjabhiḥ satkṛitô bhavêt II 5 II

[13] So the *Dîpikâ*.

Brahmahantâ kṛitaghnaś cha gôghnaś cha gurutalpagaḥ । têshâṁ pâpâni naśyanti-gôpîchandanadhâraṇât ॥ Gôpîchandanaliptâṅgô mriyatê yatra kutrachit । abhivyâpyâyatô bhûtvâ dêvêndrapadam aśnutê ॥ Gôpîchandanaliptâṅgaṁ purushaṁ ya upâsatê । êvaṁ Brahmâdayô dêvâḥ sanmukhâs tân upâsatê ॥ 6 ॥

Gôpîchandaliptâṅgaḥ purushô yêna pûjyatê । Vishṇupûjitabhûtitvâd Vishṇulôkê mahîyatê ॥ Sadâchârah śubhâkalpô, mitâhârô jitêndriyaḥ । gôpîchandanaliptâṅgaḥ sâkshâdvishṇumayô bhavêt ॥ Gôpîchandanaliptâṅgô vrataṁ yas tu samâcharêt । tataḥ kôṭiguṇaṁ puṇyam ity êvaṁ munir abravît ॥ Gôpîchandanaliptâṅgair japadânâdi yat kṛitam । nyûnaṁ sampûrṇatâṁ yâti vidhânêna viśêshataḥ ॥ Gôpîchandanam âyushyaṁ balârôgyavivardhanam । kâmadaṁ môkshadaṁ chaiva ity êvaṁ munayô 'bruvan ॥ 7 ॥

Agnishṭômasahasrâṇi vâjapêyaśatâni cha । têshâṁ puṇyam avâpnôti gôpîchandanadhâraṇât ॥ Gôpîchandanadânasya nâśvamêdhakṛitaḥ phalam । na Gaṅgayâ samaṁ tîrthaṁ na śuddhir gôpîchandanât ॥ Bahunâtra kim uktêna, gôpîchandanamaṇḍanam । na tattulyam bhavêl lôkê nâtra kâryâ vichâraṇâ ॥ Chandanaṁ châpi gôpînâm kêlikuṁkumasambhavam । maṇḍanât pâvanaṁ nṛiṇâm bhuktimuktiphalapradam ॥ Kṛishṇagôpîratôdbhûtaṁ pâpaghnaṁ gôpîchandanam । tatprasâdât sarvadaiva chaturvargaphalapradam ॥ Tilamâtrapradânêna kâñchanâdrisamaṁ phalam । kuṁkumaṁ Krishṇagôpînâṁ jalakrîḍâsu sambhṛitam ॥ Kṛishṇagôpîjalakrîḍâkuṁkumaṁ chandanair yutam । gôpîchandanam ity uktaṁ Dvâravatyâṁ surêśvaraiḥ ।[14] tilamâtraṁ pradâyêdaṁ punâty âdaśamaṁ kulam ॥ Gôpîchandanakhaṇḍaṁ tu chakrâkâraṁ sulakshaṇam । Vishṇurûpam idaṁ puṇyaṁ pâvanaṁ pîtavarṇakam ॥ 8 ॥

Âpô vâ agra âsan । Tatra Prajâpatir vâyur bhûtvâśrâmyatêdaṁ sṛijêyam iti । Sa tapô 'tapyata tata ôṁkâram apaśyat tatô gâyatrîm । Gâyatryâ vêdâs tair idam asṛijata । Dhûmamârgavistṛitaṁ hi vêdârtham abhisaṁdhâya chaturdaśalôkân asṛijata, tata upanishadaḥ śrutaya âvirbabhûvuḥ । Archirmârgavistṛitaṁ vêdârtham abhisaṁdhâya sarvân vêdân sarahasyôpanishadaṅgân Brahmalôkê sthâpayâmâsa । Tâś[15] cha upâdiśad "Vaivasvatê 'ntarê saguṇaṁ Brahma chidghanânandaikarûpaṁ, Purushôttamarûpêṇa, Mathurâyâṁ, Vasudêvasadmany âvirbhavishyati । Tatra bhavatyaḥ sarvalôkôtkṛishṭasaundaryakrîḍâbhôgâ gôpikâsvarûpaiḥ parabrahmânandaikarûpaṁ Kṛishṇaṁ bhajishyatha । Tatra ślôkau । Iti Brahmavaraṁ labdhvâ śrutayô Brahmalôkagâḥ । Kṛishṇam ârâdhayâmâsur Gôkulê dharmasaṁkulê ॥ Śrîkṛishṇâkhyaṁ paraṁ Brahma gôpikâḥ śrutayô 'bhavan । êtatsambhôgasambhûtaṁ chandanaṁ gôpîchandanam iti ॥ 9 ॥

॥ Ity Atharvavêdê Gôpîchandanôpanishat samâptâ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Gôpikâ means a protectress. A protectress from what? A protectress of the people, from hell and from the fear of death. *Chandana*[16] means a producer of pleasure. What is a producer of pleasure? A producer of the joy which is Brahma.[17] He who, knowing this, communicates it to others, and he who apprehends it, is (the one) by reason of his explication of the earth *gôpîchandana*, and (the other) by his mere apprehension of it, exalted in Brahmalôka. (1).

The *Gôpîs* may be regarded as wives of Vishṇu, and *chandana* is their delight. What is that delight? It is identical with the joy which is Brahma. And who are the *Gôpîs*, the wives of Vishṇu? They are those who by themselves gained the exalted abode called Kṛishṇa, which is nothing else than that joy which is Brahma,—the causers of the world's

[14] I have transposed this and the preceding line as evidently required by the sense. It is not *saffron* that is called gôpîchandana,—but saffron combined with sandal.

[15] *sc.* śrutiś cha.

[16] Root *chadi*,—*âhlâdane*.

[17] Ya êvaṁvidvân êtad âkhyâpayêd iti । êvaṁ nirvachanaṁ vidan, sa tan nirvachanam âkhyâpayêch, chhishyamukhêna uchchârayêt, śishyaṁ grâhayêd iti yâvat । ya êtach cha dhârayên, nirvachanaṁ gṛihṇîyâch chhishyaḥ saḥ । ubhayôr api gôpîchandanamṛittikayôr niruktyâ, nirvachanêna, upadishṭêna gṛihîtêna, Brahmalôkê mahîyatê mahimânam anubhavati ॥ (*Dîpikâ*). It is clear from this that Nârâyaṇa regarded *gôpîchandanamṛittikâ* as *two* things, whereas I have taken the *gôpîchandana* as itself the *mṛittikâ*.

production,[18] preservation and cessation,—*Prakṛiti*, intellect, egotism and the rest,—the great illusionists. And who is Vishṇu? Vishṇu is the supreme Brahma and no other. And what is delight? It is the acquisition of the knowledge of Brahma, by men who have applied the *gôpîchandana*,[19] and whose internal organ has been purified by the removal of sin.[20] He who knows this (obtains these benefits); such is the Upanishad. (2).

Let the word *gôpî* be uttered first, and after it the word *chandana*. *Gôpî* consists of two syllables, and *chandana* of three; thus there are five syllables. He who, knowing this, applies the *gôpîchandana*, reaches the unchanging goal; he does not (again) experience dissolution; after that (one death) he obtains immortality.[21] (3)

Now Brahma was brought into contact with *mâyâ*; then, from Brahma united with that great *mâyâ* came Intellect (the great principle) and the rest. Amongst the five elements was this earth whose characteristic is smell,[22] and owing to the power[23] of earth came varieties of colour. Soils of a yellow colour are produced for the benefit of mankind. The power of this *chandana* is owing to its employment by (or, to the loves of) Brahma in association with *mâyâ*.[24] He who, knowing this, gives some of it into the hand of a devotee for kindness' sake, lives for the full period, undisturbed by *mâyâ*, and becomes besides the possessor of progeny, wealth and cattle. He who, morning and evening, reflects on this mystery, destroys the sins committed by day or by night, and at death obtains emancipation. (4)

The *Êkadaṇḍin* or *Tridaṇḍin* who smears his forehead with the paste of *gôpîchandana*, verily obtains emancipation. Everybody who is looked at by a man smeared with *gôpîchandana* should be regarded as pure, and should be treated with respect by kings. (5)

By applying *gôpîchandana*, the sins of the Brâhmaṇ-slayer, of the ungrateful, of the cow-slayer, and of the defiler of his *Guru's* bed, disappear. Wheresoever he dies whose body is smeared with *gôpîchandana*,[25] stretching forth he gains the abode of the chief of the gods. Brahman and the other gods turn towards and reverence those who do reverence to a man whose body is smeared with *gôpîchandana*. (6)

He who honours a man whose body is smeared with *gôpîchandana* is highly esteemed in the world of Vishṇu, because he has thereby done honour to the majesty of Vishṇu. The man of good deportment, well-dressed, a moderate eater, having his members in subjection and his body smeared with *gôpîchandana*, is Vishṇu *in propriâ personâ*. He who engages in austerities with his body smeared with *gôpîchandana*, obtains thereby ten million times more merit,—so said the sage. When *japa* or almsgiving is practised by those whose limbs are smeared with *gôpîchandana*, if defective, it is rendered complete; whilst the exact performance according to rule is exceptionally efficacious.[26] *Gôpîchandana* is life, the promoter of health and strength, the granter of desires, and the bestower of emancipation,—so said the sages. (7)

By the application of *gôpîchandana*, one secures the merit of thousands of *agnishṭôma*-sacrifices, and of hundreds of *vâjapêya*-sacrifices. The fruit resulting from the gift of *gôpîchandana* does not accrue even to the offerer of an *aśvamêdha*; there is no *tîrtha* equal to the Ganges, and no purity like that derived from *gôpîchandana*. But why enlarge on it? That there is no ornament in the world equal

[18] I advisedly abstain from using the word *creation*, as containing an idea foreign to Hinduism which demands a *material*, as well as an efficient, cause for everything. *Ex nihilo nihil fit* is an important axiom with Hindus of all schools.

[19] This is to remove the idea that Brahma can only be known by the learned.

[20] Consequent on that application.

[21] akshayaṁ padam âpnôtîti | kiṁ têmaiva dêhêna | nahi | tarhi dêhatyâgaduḥkham anivṛittam êva ity âśankyâha pañchatvaṁ na sa paśyatîti | maranaduḥkhaṁ nânubhavatîty arthaḥ | kiñcha maranam api sakṛid êvêty âha tatô 'mṛitatvam aśnuta iti || (*Dîpikâ*.)

[22] For the distinguishing characteristics of the five elements, see *Tarkasaṁgraha*, 10-17.

[23] vaibhavât sâmarthyât | (*Dîpikâ*.)

[24] mâyâsahitabrahmasambhôgavaśâd asya chandanasya vaibhavam iti | gôpîkṛishṇasaṁbhôgasaṁsaktakâśmirakshâlanôdakasaṁbhûtatvât parabrahmaikarûpâ gôpîchandanamṛida iti sârvajanînâ prasiddhir iti tasya vaibhavam || (*Dîpikâ*.) This same compound, beginning with *gôpîkṛishṇa*, occurs elsewhere in the *Dîpikâ*, but there the word *chandana* is included after *kâśmîra*. It should undoubtedly be added here.

[25] This rendering is very doubtful. Nârâyaṇa's explanation is as follows:—âyatô dîrghô bhûtvâ abhivyâpya sarvatîrthâni avagâhya. I don't think it helps us much.

[26] Nyûnam avidhikṛitaṁ chêt, sampûrṇaṁ syâd, vidhânêna kṛitaṁ chêd bhavati, tarhi viśêshataḥ phaladaṁ syât (*Dîpikâ*.)

to *gôpîchandana*, is beyond dispute. *Chandana*, combined with the saffron used in the sports of the *Gôpîs*, is purer than an ornament, and yields to men the fruit of present enjoyment and future emancipation. Sin-destroying *gôpîchandana*, the outcome of the loves of Krishṇa and the *Gôpîs*, by their favour, unceasingly bestows the four objects of human pursuit. By giving away a piece of the size of a sesamum-seed, one obtains a reward equal to the gift of a mountain of gold. The saffron was collected during the water-sports of Krishṇa and the *Gôpîs*. This saffron from the water-sports of Krishṇa and the *Gôpîs*, combined with *chandana*, is, in Dvâravatî, called *gôpîchandana* by the chief gods.[27] By giving away a piece of the size of a sesamum-seed, one purifies one's family up to the tenth generation. A piece of *gôpîchandana*, discus-shaped and yellow, and so of good appearance,[28] is a form of Vishṇu, pure and purifying. (8)

In the beginning there was water. Then Prajâpati, taking the form of wind, exerted himself (to dry it up) in order to produce this world. He practised austerities; then he saw the *ôṁkâra*, then the three sacred syllables, then the Gâyatrî. From the Gâyatrî came the Vêdas, and by means of them he produced this universe. For, having regard to the purport of the Vêda as manifested in the *karmamârga*[29] [*lit.* path of smoke], he produced the fourteen worlds. Then the Upanishads, which are Śruti, appeared. Having regard to the purport of the Vêda as exhibited by the *jñânamârga*[30] [*lit.* path of light], he placed the whole of the Vêdas, including the ritual,[31] the Upanishads and the Vêdâṅgas, in the world of Brahman, and instructed them thus:—"During the period presided over by Manu-Vaivasvata, Brahman with qualities, consisting only of joy and solid intelligence, will appear in Mathurâ, in the house of Vasudêva, in the form of Purushôttama. There, you, with bodies fitted for enjoyment and possessed of beauty surpassing that of all the worlds, will appear in the form of *Gôpikâs*, and will serve Krishṇa who will consist solely of the joy which is the supreme Brahman." Regarding this there are two couplets:—The Vêdas, receiving Brahma's boon, went to the world of Brahman. They worshipped Krishṇa in Gôkula, a place full of righteousness. The supreme Brahman took the name of Śrî-Krishṇa, and the Vêdas became the *Gôpikâs*. The *chandana* produced by their sportings is called *gôpîchandana*. (9)

[27] Chandanair yutaṁ miśritaṁ Krishṇasya gôpînâṁ cha jalakrîḍâsu kshâlitaṁ kuṁkumaṁ gôpîchandanam itilakshaṇam uktam (*Dîpikâ.*)

[28] Chakrâkâram pîtavarṇakaṁ chêt tarhi sulakshaṇam ity anvayaḥ (*Dîpikâ.*)

[29] *Cf.* commentary on *Bhâgavata*, 4, 4, 10, and *Praśna*, 1, 9. See also *Bṛihadâranyaka*, 1, 5, 16, Karmaṇâ pitṛilôkô vidyayâ dêvalôkaḥ.

[30] See *Bhâshya* on *Îśâ-Upanishad*, and on *Praśna*, 1, 10.

[31] rahasyaṁ upâsanâ (*Dîpikâ.*)

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from Vol.* XV. *p.* 138.)

XXXIII.

We have traced the career of **Chinghiz Khân** from his birth to his death, and will now devote a few words to his **burial**, and to a general survey of the **results of his career.**

Rashîdu'd-dîn tells us that the body of Chinghiz was transported secretly to Mongolia, and to prevent the news of his death being noised abroad the troops which escorted the remains killed every person they met with *en route*, and it was only when the *cortège* reached the grand *ordu* of the chief, near the sources of the Kerulon, that his death was published. The body was successively taken to the *ordus* of his four principal wives, whither, at the invitation of Tului, the princes and princesses and the military chiefs, went from all directions to do the last honours to the remains, and to pour out their lamentations. Those who came from the further limits of the empire, took three months for their journey.

After the funeral ceremony the body was interred on the **Burkhan Galdun mountain.** Hunting one day in that district Chinghiz Khân rested under the shade of a great isolated tree. There he passed some minutes in a reverie and on rising said he wished to be buried there in that spot. The princes, his having sons, learnt this, caused him to be buried there: but the district round was presently covered by a

thick forest which prevented the particular tree, near which the remains had been buried, from being recognised. Several of his descendants were buried in the same forest, which for a long time, was guarded by a thousand men of the tribe Uriangkut, who were exempted from military service.

Perfumes were burnt without ceasing before images of the princes placed in this spot. It was only accessible to the four great *ordus* of Chinghiz Khân: a privilege they still preserved a century after his death.[1] In regard to these images of the princes it would seem that a figure of Chinghiz Khân, perhaps made of felt, was placed in a cart in front of the royal tent of Batu Khân, to which were offered gifts, and *inter alia* horses, which no one afterwards mounted. They also offered other animals to it which were killed and their flesh eaten. Their bones were not broken but burnt. Carpini tells us he saw this figure and that the Russian prince Michael was killed because he refused to make obeisance to it, saying he did not mind bowing to Batu and his people, but that it was not permitted to a Christian to bow to the image of a dead man.[2]

Rashîdu'd-dîn tells us in his account of Ogotai, Chinghiz Khân's successor, that after his inauguration he caused funeral meals to be offered for three days to his father's manes. He then selected from the families of the Noyans and generals forty of the most beautiful girls, who were splendidly decked out in rich garments and jewels, and then, to use Rashîdu'd-dîn's own words, were sent to serve Chinghiz Khân in the other world. Some splendid horses were similarly sacrificed.[3]

To return to the funeral of the great chief. Marco Polo says, "You should be told also that all the Grand Khâns and all the descendants of Chinghiz, their first Lord, are carried to a mountain that is called Altay to be interred. Wheresoever the sovereign may die, he is carried to his burial in that mountain with his predecessors, no matter if the place of his death were 100 days' journey distant. Let me tell you a strange thing too. When they are carrying the body of any Emperor to be buried with the others, the convoy that goes with the body doth put to the sword all whom they fall in with on the road, saying, 'Go and wait upon your lord in the other world.' For they do in sooth believe that all such as they slay in this manner do go to serve their lord in the other world. They do the same also, too, with horses; for when the Emperor dies they kill all his best horses, in order that he may have the use of them in the other world, as they believe. And I tell you as a certain truth that when Mangu Khân died more than 20,000 persons, who chanced to meet the body on its way, were slain in the manner I have told."[4]

According to Vincent of Beauvais, a Tâtar sometimes selected the slave whom he wished to be buried with him when he died.[5] Ssanang Setzen, in speaking of the changes introduced by Buddhism among the Mongols, says that up to the time of their conversion the custom prevailed among them of slaughtering a number of camels and horses, according to the means of the dead man. These animals were buried with the deceased, the offering being called *khoilgha*.[6] In another place he tells us that when Tibet Taishi, the son of Altan Khakan died, the mother of the boy, who was not given to the new cult, demanded that a hundred children and a hundred camels should be killed to act as a convoy to her child and be buried with him. Forty children had already been killed and a popular onslaught was about to take place, when, as they were going to kill Tolai the son of Shinekei Orlik, Kia Taiji objected, and bade them send him instead. As this was not possible they ceased to kill the children.[7] Thomas of Spalato says that, when a Mongol was killed in war they buried him in a secret place, levelled the ground, and then trod it under horses' feet so as to conceal the place.[8]

Mandeville has a few quaint sentences about the funerals of the great Khâns which are worth quoting. He says that when the chief's body was taken by a few people to the place of burial, a tent was then prepared, in which he was placed on a wooden throne, and before him was put a table with delicate dishes on it. Into this tent was

[1] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 381-383.
[2] Carpini and D'Avezac, pp. 620-621.
[3] D'Ohsson, Vol. II. p. 13.

[4] Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 241-242.
[5] *Op. cit.* XXIX. ch. 84; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 401 note.
[6] *Op. cit.* p. 235. [7] *id.* p. 249-251. [8] Wolff, *op. cit.* p. 334.

driven a white horse richly caparisoned, with its colt. The tent and its contents were then buried in a hole and the ground straightened again. The Mongols believe, says our author, that they enjoy themselves after death; and—hence they give their emperors a tent to lodge in, meats to eat, milk to drink, money to spend, a horse to ride and a mare to breed young ones. After the death of the emperor no one mentions his name before his family, for fear of troubling his repose.[9]

A more fantastic story is told in the Shajrat-ul-Atrak as to the burial of Chinghiz Khân than any of the above. "On the arrival of Chinghiz Khân's family in Mughalistan they buried his body at the foot of a favourite tree, under the shade of which he was accustomed to sit when out hunting, and which he had directed should be his place of burial. He also directed that a mausoleum of magnet or loadstone should be made, and that his body should be placed in a coffin of steel. It is related, that when his children had constructed the mausoleum and placed the coffin therein, as he directed, the latter became suddenly attracted on all sides and remained suspended in the air. His family then caused the vicinity to be forbidden[10] or laid waste, and now the mausoleum is in the midst of a thick forest, through which there is only one narrow path. It is said that some Kafirs[11] have taken up their abode in this place, and that a devil at times enters the coffin, and gives responses to such questions as are proposed to him. These the hearers look upon as oracles, and the Kafirs who are the attendants or priests there, and who worship this coffin, conform to these pretended oracles, and increase infidelity by their promulgation. The infidels consider this tomb as the house of God. There is no other road than that described to this mausoleum, from the thickness of the forest surrounding it. Some modern historians say that Chinghiz Khân was born when the sun was in the sign Libra, and as that sign is esteemed influential on the atmosphere, for that reason the learned in the religion of Mani[12] directed that the body of Chinghiz Khân should be suspended in the air on a cross. The sons of Chinghiz Khân, however, refused to offer such an indignity to the body of their father, and, therefore, to avoid such an exposure, the Manicheans formed the mausoleum of loadstone as above described. The sons of Chinghiz Khân and the Noyans were much pleased at the ingenuity of the undertaking, it being such as was never before attempted."[13]

With these notices of the obsequies of Chinghiz Khân we may compare the *Sagas* preserved in the Kalmuk chronicles, the *Altan Topchi* and the *Chronicle* of Ssanang Setzen, evidently composed after the Mongols had been converted to Lamaism. I will extract the former version as being the older one. We there read that when near his death he said to those about him: "You my four brothers are like musk deer, and you my four sons are like *kuluks*.[14] You the five banners and four foreign peoples, listen. I never once experienced such agonies, even when I was assembling my great people. I made myself uneasy and fretted even when my leathern stirrups stretched and the little ears were torn out of my iron stirrups. I felt not such sufferings when mounting my sterile white mare, and fastening behind me the skin (?) of a young goat, I assembled my great people. Is not this a reward for the works I did in former lives?"[15] Thereupon Kiluken Baghatur of the Sunid tribe broke out and said: "Thy will, strong as jade, will weaken. Thy beloved Burtehjujin[16] Setzen will die, Khayar and Belgutei two of thy brothers will struggle for the throne, the numerous people thou hast brought together with so much pain will disperse, thy lofty government will be abased, thy wife Burtehjujin, united by strong ties to thee in thy youth, will die, thy two sons Ogotai and Tului will become orphans; the numerous peoples thou hast collected will be separated and ruled by others, thy government, exalted like a mountain, will subside, Burtehjujin the wife whom thou didst find, with whom thou wast united will die; two of thy brothers, Khatsugu and Utsuagu, will become rivals. The numerous peoples thou hast collected will disperse over mountains and forests and will migrate in the direction

[9] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 384-5, note.
[10] "tabooed."
[11] Infidels.
[12] The Manicheans.
[13] *op. cit.* pp. 199-200.
[14] *i.e.* choice chargers.
[15] *i.e.* referring to the doctrine of metempsychosis.
[16] *i.e.* his favourite wife Burteh.

of Khangai Khân. Thy wife and children will come to us there with sobs and tears. Wilt not thou therefore give us thy commands?[17] It is difficult to subdue a newly regenerate body, but if we subdue it we shall doubtless arrive at the state of *nirvâṇa*, in which there are no sufferings. It is difficult to subdue a strong body; but if we do crush it, we shall doubtless meet in the country of the blessed. As thou art going to leave thy wife Burtehjujin Setzen a widow, and thy sons Ogotai and Tului orphans, will thou not point out to them water in the desert and a road over the ridge?" Thereupon Chinghiz Khân replied: "Do not thou die, but point thou out a road along the ridge and water in the desert to my widow Burtehjujin Setzen and my orphans Ogotai and Tului. The precious jade-stone has no crust, nor has the polished steel any rust on it. Our body is not immortal. Act resolutely and tide things firmly over. The essence of a thing is in its completion, although it have a hundred beginnings. Firm is the soul of man who keeps his plighted word. Behave thyself modestly and surrender thy voice to that of the many. To die after a lifetime is the fate of us all. Secure a good government and abide the commands of the boy Khubilai."[18] After these words he died in the Ting-swine year, and the 67th year of his age.[19] Therefore, says the *Altan Topchi*, they harnessed horses to a waggon, upon which they placed the golden remains of the Ruler.[20] And as they marched, the Sunid Kiluken Baghatur thus belauded him: "Thou my ruler hast departed, as though on the wings of a migrating falcon. Thou hast become a load for a creaking cart. Thou hast departed as if on the wings of a hovering hawk; as if on the wings of a fluttering lark. Thou hast become a load for a creaking cart."[21] When the procession reached the boggy district of Mona, the cart sank to the footboard. Unable to move it they harnessed horses belonging to the five banners to it; but still it would not move. The Sunid Kiluken Baghatur, as the whole people harnessed themselves, bowed himself and said: "My holy Ruler, so like a *huluk*, who wast born of the azure and eternal heaven, wilt thou desert thy whole people in this plight while working out thy high destiny? Thy solidly grounded government; thy children and thy wife who bore them; thy native land and waters; all are yonder. Thy government founded on justice; thy gathered clans, thy dear children and wife; thy golden palace; all are there. The snow;[22] the waters in which thou wast wont to bathe; thy numerous Mongol subjects, and thy birth-place Deligun Boldak; thy standard made of the crest of a bay colt;[23] thy pipes and kettledrums; thy whole people and the place Arlau in the plains of the Kerulon where thou didst mount the throne; all are there.[24] Thy wife Burtehjujin Setzen whom thou didst marry before thou becamest famous; thy well-watered land Borkhata Khân; thy beloved friends Mukhuli and Boghorji; and thy administrator; all are there. Thy lutes and pipes and other instruments; the whole of thy great people; thy holy fatherland; all are yonder.[25] Hast thou, my lord, been so charmed by the warmth of Kharguna Khanu; by the number of the Tangut people; and by the beauty of Kürbeljin; that thou hast forsaken thy old Mongols? Although thy dear soul is fled, we will carry thy remains, precious as the jade-stone, to thy birthplace, and shew them to thy widow Burtehjujin and to all thy people." These words, which it may be remarked have a charming *naïveté* and peculiar local colour about them,

[17] Ssanang Setzen has it: "Wilt thou not, therefore, O my Lord, rouse thyself and hie thee onward?"

[18] *i.e.* of his grandson, who afterwards became Khakan of the Mongols and Emperor of China. I have given the names in Ssanang Setzen's orthography.

[19] Ssanang Setzen says the 66th.

[20] Ssanang Setzen says it was a two-wheeled waggon, and that his whole people accompanied him wailing as they went.

[21] Ssanang Setzen here has a better version and I appropriate the graphic translation of my friend Colonel Yule:

"Whilom thou didst stoop like a falcon, a rumbling waggon now trundles thee off,
O my king!
Hast thou in truth then forsaken thy wife and thy children and the feet of thy people,
O my king?
Circling in pride like an eagle, whilom thou didst lead us,
O my king!
But now thou hast stumbled and fallen like an unbroken colt,
O my king!
For six and thirty years thou hast brought thy people peace and joy, and now dost thou leave them,
O my king!"

[22] *i. e.* thy birthplace.

[23] Ssanang Setzen says the tail of a black horse.

[24] Ssanang Setzen says the pastures of the Kerulon where thou didst mount the throne as Khakan of the Arulad.

[25] Ssanang Setzen adds "thy heavenly-born partner Khulan Khatun and thy two charming wives Jissu and Jissuken."

were, we are told, heard by the ruler, and the cart began to move again with a creak. All were delighted, and escorted it to the country of his birth. The Mongols have a superstitious dread of openly admiring any place they are pleased with, as they treat it as an omen that they will die there, and we are accordingly told that Chinghiz Khân had once admired the district of Mona Khân when he was traversing it, whence it was the cart sank there up to the step. They now, says the *Altan Topchi*, spread false rumours among the people that he was buried there, whereas they only deposited his shirt, his tent, and leggings; while his corpse according to some was buried in **Burkhan Galdhun**, while others said it was at buried **Yeke Utek**, between the shadow-side[26] of the Altai Khân and sunny side[27] of the Kentei Khân.

Such is the story of Chinghiz Khân's burial as reported in the native *Sagas*.

Let us now notice very shortly the geography of these notices. The **Mona mountains** were probably the chain of mountains in the modern Ordus country north of the Yellow river, called Munu-ula by Père David.[28] Thence the cortège moved across the Mongolian desert, to the mountain where the body was interred. Rashid-u'd-dîn says Chinghiz was buried in the mountain **Burkhan Galdun**. He adds that the place was also called **Yeke Kuruk** *i.e.* the great sacred place or great tabooed place, which probably answers to the **Yeke Utek** of Ssanang Setzen's notice above quoted. He also says he was buried at **Budah Ondur** near the Selinga. This name connotes the same thing as Burkhan Galdun. The mountain, according to one of Ssanang Setzen's notices was on the sunny side[29] of the Kentei range. This points to the famous mountain of **Khân-ula** where Urga is situated. Now it is curious that Gaubil says several Mongol princes of the family of Chinghiz Khân reported that he was buried in the mountain Han.[30] In some MSS. notes quoted by Quatremère, a very considerable Mongol Mandarin assured Father Parennin that Chinghiz was buried on the mountain Han, near the sources of the Onon, Tula and Kerulon, and the same fact was confirmed to the same Father in the presence of Gaubil by a Mongol prince of the stock of Chinghiz Khân.[31] We may take it therefore that the **Khan-ula** is the traditional place of sepulture of the great chief. Timnkofski speaks of this mountain as remarkable since it is the first one in Mongolia coming from the south, and the last coming from the north, which is covered with woods. He tells us it is the highest peak of the Khingan range, adding that the forests which cover it are held sacred by the Mongols, and at the time of his arrival there some Khalkhas brought a number of good horses they intended offering to the tutelary genii inhabiting the summit of the mountain.[32] A guard of Uriangkuts was appointed to look after the grave of Chinghiz Khân, and from being thus connected with the royal *ordus* received the name of **Ordus**, which a tribe of Mongols probably descended from them still bears. Like other tribes they migrated across the desert on the weakening of the Ming dynasty, and are now found in the so-called Ordus country, west of Kuku Khotan.

A very curious fact must now be told. Père David, who travelled in the Ordus country in 1866, tells us that the Mongols there still preserve most carefully the mortal remains of the famous Chinghiz Khân *bogoto*.[33] They are enclosed in a large silver chest which they do not readily show to strangers. The precious box is preserved not in a lamasery but in a private tent by one of the princes of the country. Pilgrimages are made to it, and Mongols go thither to make their *khoto* or prostrations, such as they make before living emperors. This place is about 30 or 40 leagues south of Sarchi and is called Tia-y-sen. It is stated that this casket of massive silver, after having been carried about in various parts of Mongolia, for fear it might be plundered, has been for a long time definitely housed in the country of the Ordus, which is safe from hostile invasions on account of its poverty. The box is always folded in precious stuffs, which are kissed respectfully by the devotees.[34] What this box contains it would be interesting to know more definitely. It is, at all events, remarkable that the **Ordus** still claim to have the sacred remains of the old Mongol Chief among them.

Chinghiz Khân, according to Juveni, had about

[26] *i.e.* the north. [27] *i.e.* the south.
[28] See *Nouv. Ann. etc.* New Series, IV. Bulletin, 6.
[29] *i. e.* The south. [30] Gaubil, p. 54 note.
[31] Quatremère, p. 119 note.
[32] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. pp. 425-6.
[33] *i.e.* the sainted.
[34] *Nouv. Ann. du Mus.* New Series, Vol. 4 Bulletin 73-74.

500 **wives and concubines.** The latter were either captives or Mongol damsels; for according to the custom then in vogue the fairest damsels were specially sifted out for the Khân's service. All those belonging to a company were inspected by its captain, who selected the most beautiful and presented them to his millenarian, he did the same and presented his choice to the commander of a *tuman*, and they in turn presented their choice to the Khakan. Those maidens not required by the Khân entered the service of his wives or were made over to his relatives.[35] This is confirmed by Carpini, who says that if the Khân demanded anyone's daughter or sister she was at once surrendered to him, and that he brought together every year, or every two or three years, the damsels in his country to select those who pleased him, making the rest over to those of his court.

Among Chinghiz Khân's **wives** five held superior rank, namely, **Burteh,** who bore the Chinese title of Fujin, and was the daughter of the chief of the Kongguruts, Dai Setzen; **Khulan,** a daughter of Dair Ussun, Chief of the Merkits; **Jissu** and **Jissuken,** or as Rashidu'd-dîn calls them, Yisukate and Yisulun, who were both Tâtars[36]; and **Kökju** or **Kunju,** daughter of the Kin emperor of China. This last had no children, and survived till the time when Arikbuka, Chinghiz Khân's grandson flourished. Among his other partners were also **Abika,**[37] daughter of Jakembo, brother of Wang, Khân of the Kirais; **Gurbyessu,** the mother of Tayang Khan of the Naimans, called his widow in some accounts; according to Von Hammer's table, **Hogutai,** daughter of Eremuk; **Murkai,** of the Bekrin tribe; and lastly the daughter of the ruler of Tangut, who is called **Kurbeljin Goa** by Ssanang Setzen. The rest were daughters of officers or of tribal chiefs.[38]

I have mentioned in chapter XV. the **divorce of Abika,** called Abakh also in the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*.[39] Rashidu'd-dîn, referring to this, tells us that one night when he was reposing with his Kirai wife, Abika, his sleep was disturbed by a terrible dream On awaking he told her that he had always been pleased with her, but that in a dream God had commanded him to make her over to another. He begged that she would not oppose him and at the same time he asked in a loud voice who was outside the tent. The Noyan Kehti, was on guard that night. He made himself known. Chinghiz having ordered him to enter told him he gave him that lady in marriage, and as Kehti remained dumb with surprise he urged that he spoke quite seriously; then turning to the princess he gave her the *ordu* she lived in, with the servants, furniture, horses and cattle depending on it, keeping only for himself an officer of the table (Munjenk), and a gold cup which he kept as souvenirs of her. Abika thus became the wife of Kehti Noyan of the Mongol tribe Urut, who commanded four thousand men of the left wing.[40] This incident is very curious from the fact that Abika's two sisters became so famous as the wives of Chinghiz Khân's two sons Juchi and Tului. One was named Bigtutemish and the other Siyurkukteni.

By his wives Chinghiz Khân had several **children.** Of these the most important were those of his chief wife Burteh, *viz.*, four sons and five daughters. These sons were (i), **Juchi,** whose birth under ambiguous circumstances, as we have seen, apparently threw doubts on his legitimacy and deprived him of his birthright; (ii), **Chagatai** or **Jagatai**; (iii), **Ogotai** and (iv), **Tului.** His daughters were (i), **Kujin** or **Khojin Bigi,** who was first engaged to Kush Buka, the son of Sengun, eldest son of Wang Khân of the Kirais, which engagement fell through. The *Yuan-shei-lei-pien* says she married Butu or Podu Gurkan, chief of the Inkirasses, who, according to the same author and also the *Kang-mu*[41] had previously married a sister of Chinghiz Khân named Temulun. Rashidu'd-dîn has two accounts of her, inconsistent with each other. In one he makes her marry Butu Gurkhan of the Inkirasses.[42] In the other he makes her marry Bertu Gurkan, son of Tekus Gurkhan of the Kurulas.[43] (ii) **Jijeghân,** who married Turalji Gurkan, son of Kutuka Bigi chief of the Uirads. (iii), **Alakai**

[35] D'Ohsson, I. p. 416-417.
[36] Ssanang Setzen says they were daughters of Yeke Tsoro.
[37] Called Amka by Raverty.
[38] Rashidu'd-dîn, quoted by D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 418-419. [39] Called Amka by Raverty.

[40] Rashidu'd-dîn, article on the Uruts; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 418-419; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 221.
[41] See Gaubil, pp. 3 and 53; De Mailla, Vol. IX. p. 14.
[42] Borejine, 1352, Erdmann, *Temudschin*, 201.
[43] Borejine, pp. 1-155.

Bigi who was married to Jingui, son of the chief of the Onguts. (iv), **Tumalun** who married Shenkku or Jiku Gurkan, son of Alchi Noyan a chief of the Kunkuruts. (v), **Altalun** who married Taiju or Baiju Kurkan, chief of the Olkhonuts.[44]

By his Merkit wife Khulan, Chinghiz had a son, Kulkan, who left descendants.[45] By Yisukat, one of his Tâtar wives, he left a son **Ujaur** called **Chawur** by Von Hammer, who died when young.[46] By a Naiman concubine he had, according to Rashidu'd-dîn, a son, **Jurjetai** or **Jurjeai** or Jurjin as Raverty reads the name, who died before his other son. And by a Tâtar concubine, another son named **Urhjaghan**; he died young.[47]

Besides these Chinghiz had two **adopted sons** who were treated almost on an equality with his actual children. One of these was the Tâtar **Shiki Khutuku.** He used to style Chinghiz Ijeh, *i.e.* Father, and Burteh Fujin, Berikan Ekeh, and also Sain Ekeh. Chinghiz called him Aka. He ranked with Chinghiz Khân's other sons, and sat above Mangu his grandson.[48] A second adopted son of Chinghiz was the Tangut **Chakan,** also called **Ujijhan,** who was captured when a boy, adopted by Burteh Fujin and eventually commanded Chinghiz Khân's life-guards.

Among no race probably is there such a keen distinction made between those who belong to the royal caste and the Karajus or subjects, as among the Mongols. That one of the latter should thrust himself into a position of sovereignty would be virtually unprecedented. On the other hand, as among most nomad peoples, the chief's right depended upon popular election, the theory being doubtless that an unfit man, even if entitled by birth, could thus be excluded. The **rule of succession** again, as is generally the case with nomadic peoples among whom it is inconvenient to be ruled by infants, prescribed that a man should be succeeded by his brothers if fit, in turn, and when these are exhausted then the son of the eldest brother becomes the patriarch of the family or the tribe, or the nation. This rule did not apparently apply, however, to the heritage carved out by a man's own sword. In such a case his brothers were excluded, and the inheritance passed to his sons in succession. This was apparently the law. In the case of strong rulers, and especially of rulers with such an exceptional position as Chinghiz Khân, it was frequently the custom for them to select their heir, which choice was generally ratified by the Kuriltai or Grand Assembly of the nation. Thus Chinghiz passed over his two elder sons and selected the third one Ogotai to succeed him as Khakan or Imperator over the Mongol world; a heritage which Ogotai considerably enlarged before he died. His brothers were his dependents. If the Mongol Empire had been smaller and more compact this might have continued, but the very size of the empire speedily made it easy for those, who thought their ancestors had been deprived of their rightful heritage to strike blows which eventually shattered it. This is, however, no part of our present subject. I have treated of it at great length elsewhere.

(To be continued.)

SIRPUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE MAHARAJÂ RUDRADASA.

BY PANDIT BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, PH.D.

The subject of this paper is a fragmentary copper-plate, which Mr. J. M. Campbell, Bo. C.S., C.I.E., kindly sent to me in 1884. I understand that he got it from Mr. J. A. Baines, Bo.C.S., who again, obtained it from Môtîrâm Pâṭîl of Sirpur in the Khândêsh District.

The remnant of the plate measures about 7″ by 4½″. It is intact at the top and bottom, and at the right side; but at the left side it is broken away, pretty evenly, all the way down, and, judging by the context of lines 1 and 2, two or three letters have been lost here at the beginning of each successive line. There is no ring-hole in the plate; but there may have been one in the portion that is broken away; and there must have been one, if, as seems likely, this is only the remnant of an original set of two or more plates. The inscription is on only one side of the plate. But on the other

[44] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 201.
[45] See Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 446 and note 352.
[46] *id.* 446.
[47] *id.* note 356. Von Hammer, Ilkhans, table 5.
[48] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, pp. 183.

Sirpur Plate of the Maharaja Rudradasa.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FULL-SIZE.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

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side there are, faintly cut, seven of the so-called '**shell-characters**' that have been found on several of the ancient stone-monuments of India.[1]—The **characters**, which are well preserved, are ancient, of the early Valabhî style, and also with a certain amount of resemblance to the character used in the Vâkâṭaka inscriptions. I should refer them, as far as this can be done on palæographical grounds, to about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The **language** is Sanskṛit prose, in many places inaccurate, and not altogether well engraved.

The **inscription** is one of a *Mahârâja* named **Rudradâsa**, whose genealogy, if given, was on a missing portion of the grant. The extant portion gives us no information about his family. But from the termination *dâsa*, and from the locality whence the plate was obtainèd,[2] it may perhaps be inferred that **Rudradâsa** belonged to the family of the rulers of **Aśmaka** (the modern **Khândêś**), whom I consider to be a branch of, and subordinate to, the **Vâkâṭakas**, and of whom we have an inscription[3] in Ajaṇṭâ Cave No. XVII. It gives us three names ending in *dâsa*; Bhikshudâsa, Nîladâsa, and Kṛishṇadâsa. And it is possible that **Rudradâsa** may be the elder son, whose name is now illegible in that record, of Kṛishṇadâsa. In addition to the title of *Mahârâja*, **Rudradâsa** has, in the present inscription, the epithet of *paramabhaṭṭâraka-pâd-ânudhyâta*, "meditating on the feet of the paramount sovereign;" and the two attributes together shew that he was no petty chief, but a fairly important ruler.

The inscription records the grant of a field named Ghôṭakatala, to the west of the village of **Vikaṭṭâṇaka** in the **Kaśapura** sub-division (?). The boundary of the field is mentioned as extending as far as Kôhalaṭṭaka, which may be a field or a village. The donee is a Brâhmaṇ named Drôṇilaka, of the Bharadvâja *gôtra*.

The most important point in the plate is its **date**, which unfortunately has been very carelessly cut by the engraver. The record of the date begins with the word *varsha*, followed by a vertical stroke; and after the stroke there come the numerical symbols for one hundred[4] and for ten. These symbols are followed by the five letters *rêvaitrayayâ*; and then comes the numeral for two. It is hard to make anything of *rêvaitrayayâ*; which curious jumble of letters is, I think, due to a mistake of the engraver. The *rê* is much like the Kshatrapa numerical symbol for 8; and, if we take it as a symbol along with the two preceding it, the date would be 118. The remaining four letters, *vaitrayayâ*, may perhaps be meant for *Chaitra-dvitîyâyâṁ*; especially as *va* and *cha* are letters closely alike, and the numeral for 2 follows *yâ*. Taking 118 as the date of the grant, the next question is, to what era should it be taken to belong? The word *varsha*, for 'year,' is most commonly found in the Kshatrapa dates; but the Kshatrapa or Śaka era is here out of the question, as the letters of the grant are not so old. There remain the Chêdi or Traikûṭaka era, commencing A.D. 250, and the Gupta era of A.D. 319; but dates in both of these usually begin with the abbreviation *saṁ* or the word *saṁvatsara*, while the term here used is *varsha*. I leave this point open for the present; hoping that further light may be shed on it by some new find from Khândêś and the neighbourhood

TEXT.

1 [- - -]:[5] परमभट्टरकपदनुध्यातो[6] महरज[7]रुद्रदासः समा-

2 [ज्ञापय]ति सर्व्वानेवास्मदीयानयुतक[8]न्विज्ञातमस्तु वः समनु-

[1] [See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 364.—The shell-characters on this plate are cut in outline, and so faintly that any ink-impression of them is impossible; but perhaps they might photograph. Part of the seventh character, and of the flourish round them all, is lost with the part of the plate that is broken away.—J. F. F.]

[2] [This, however, proves nothing, in the case of a copper-plate grant, unless the places mentioned in it can be identified.—J. F. F.]

[3] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 129.

[4] [Between the word *varsha* and the symbol for 100, there is a strongly marked full-sized upright straight stroke. It stands so close to the symbol, that it undoubtedly belongs to it; and it appears to me to be intended to modify the symbol into some multiple of 100. At the same time, there is no analogy to it in the symbols given in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 44f.; especially as the signs which there make the multiples of 100, are placed after, not before, the symbol itself. It is useless to speculate further, at present, on the date of this inscription. I will only remark that, if the Gupta era is to be applied, then the symbol must certainly be some multiple of 100.—J. F. F.]

[5] The *visarga* suggests that the previous word was an epithet of Rudradâsa, which might be माहेश्वरः, since, that the king was probably a Śaiva, appears from his name.

[6] Read °भट्टारकपादानुध्यातो.

[7] Read महाराज.

[8] Read °नियुक्तका° or °वायुक्तका°.

3 [---]मो स्य भरद्वज[9]सगोत्रद्रोणिलकब्राह्मणस्य कशपुर[10]-
4 [---] विकट्टाणकग्रामस्यापरसीमायाया[11] भट्टिवैद्यप्र-
5 [त्ययं] क्षेत्रं घोटकतलत्ताम[12] यावत्कोहलइकसी-
6 [मासांध्यं] ब्रह्मदेयं शाश्वतमचन्द्रा[13]र्कतारकाकालीनपुत्रा[14]-
7 [पौत्रान्व]यभोज्यं भोगा[15]यैवमिदानीमस्यास्माभि[16] कृतनु-
8 [---]तक्षेत्रं भुंञ्जत[17] कृषतःश्चास्मत्पक्षीये[18] समनुम-
9 [न्तव्यमि]ति प्रतिहारदोड्डिरदूतकः वर्ष १००[19] १०८ (?) वैत्रयया[20] २

THE VILLAGES MENTIONED IN THE GUJARAT RATHOR GRANTS Nos. III. AND IV.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

When the **Râṭhôr Grants**[1] Nos. III. and IV. were edited by Dr. Hultzsch and myself, the want of the Trigonometrical Survey Maps of Gujarat prevented our tracing the villages and towns mentioned as fully as would have been desirable. As I am now in possession of the sheets required, I think it advisable in the interest of the ancient geography of India, to supply the former omission.

Nearly all the places mentioned in No. III. the grant of Dhruvadêva III. are found on sheet No. 34 of the Gujarat series of the maps. The village granted is **Pârâhaṇaka** which lay east of the "Brâhmaṇ settlement named **Mottaka.**" As I have pointed out formerly[2] **Mottaka** can only be the present **Môta** in the Surat District, the home of the Môtâlâ Brâhmans. This identification is confirmed by the map which shows in the position, indicated by the grant, the village of **Parôna,** clearly a corruption of **Pârâhaṇaka.** North of Pârâhaṇaka, the grant states, lay **Môivâsaka;** and the map has a corresponding name, **Môwachhi.** On the southern boundary lay **Khaurâchhaka,** which we find represented on the map by **Kharwâsa.**[3] The village of Khaurâchhaka belonged to the *âhâra* of **Treṇṇâ,** which latter place according to verse 45 was granted by Dhruvarâja to Jôjibhâ's father, Doḍḍhi. Treṇṇâ is clearly the modern **Tên,**[4] about two miles west of **Bardôli.** The latter town, finally, may possibly be identical with **Bhadrapalî,**[5] which according to verse 44 was the home of Doḍḍhi, and probably also of his son Jôjibhâ. Two villages mentioned in the grant, **Kuṇḍîravallikâ,** east of Pârâhaṇaka (Parôna), and **Jônandhâ,** a second village, situated in a southernly direction, are not traceable on the map. As regards **Karmântapura,** the capital of the district to which Pârâhaṇaka belonged, it may possibly be another name of **Kamrêj,** which in the Gurjara, Chalukya and Râṭhôr inscriptions is called **Kamaṇêya,** Kârmaṇeya, or Kammaṇijja.

The villages and towns, mentioned in No. IV., the grant of Krishṇa II., are found on sheets Nos. 14 and 15 of the maps. The donee resided at **Variavi** which is also called "port of Variavi." The latter epithet makes it not doubtful that it is, as I have already pointed out,[6] the modern **Variâo** on the Taptî, east of Surat. The village granted, **Kaviṭhasâḍhi** which is stated to lie east of Variavi, can only be the modern **Kôsâd.** The other boundaries of Kaviṭhasâḍhi are,—to the north, **Vasuhârikâ** which Rao Saheb Mohanlal R. Jhaveri has already identified with the modern **Waawari;** to the east, **Valachha,** the modern **Varachha;** to the south, **Uttarapaḍhavaṇaka,**

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[9] Read भरद्वाज.

[10] Possibly a mistake of the engraver for कशपुरा; and then the following letters, in line 4, might be °न्तर्गत.

[11] Read °सीमायां; one या seems to be redundant.

[12] Probably for घोटकतलग्राम. [13] Read °माचन्द्रा°.

[14] Read °पुत्र° [15] Read °भोज्यभोगा°. [16] Read °स्माभिः

[17] Read भुञ्जतः [18] Read कृषतश्चास्मत्पक्षीयैः

[19] [See note 4, p. 99 above.—J. F. F.]

[20] Read चैत्रद्वितीयायां (?)

[1] *ante*, Vol. XII. pp. 179-190; and Vol. XIII. pp. 65-69.

[2] *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 181.

[3] The intermediate form is Khaûravâsa. In popular conversational Gujarâtî, *chha* and *sa* are constantly interchanged.

[4] Also called Tennâ in Mr. H. H. Dhruva's grant No. VIII. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. XL. p. 322; and Treyaṇṇâ in an unpublished Sêndraka grant.

[5] This is on the supposition that the poet tried to invent a significant Sanskrit name for Bardôli. The real old name of the latter town was Bâradapallikâ, see H. H. Dhruva, *loc. cit.* Similar inventions of the Pandits are common. Thus Surat is sometimes called Sûryapura and sometimes Suratapura.

[6] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 66, note 16.

in the place of which the map (sheet No. 15) gives **Utrân.** All the modern names, with the exception of Kôsâd and Utrân, are so similar to the ancient ones that they require no special remarks. With respect to the latter two places I may state that the intermediate forms which led to the corruptions, shown by the modern names, are probably **Kavihasâḍhi** and **Uttaravahaṇaka.** With respect to the statement of the grant that **Variavi** belonged to the "one hundred and sixteen villages of the **Koṅkaṇa,**" I must add that the people of Gujarat know even at present of the ancient division of their country, according to which the south was sometimes reckoned as a part of the Koṅkaṇ. Thus the Ahmadâbâdîs call the Nâgars, settled in Surat, **Kûṅkaṇâs.**

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GOTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. XV. page 233.)

5.—THE AUTHORITIES ON GRAMMAR QUOTED IN THE MAHABHASHYA.

In the preceding note I have tried to show, that the *Kârikâs*, which we meet with in the Mahâbhâshya, are taken from grammatical works composed after the *Vârttikas*, and that Patañjali has probably used the same works, even where he does not actually quote from them. In the present note I intend to collect those passages or expressions, in which Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, or the authors of the verses preserved in the Mahâbhâshya, are distinctly quoting or referring to authorities on grammar, other than Pâṇini or Kâtyâyana.

Pûrvasûtra.

Grammars older than Pâṇini are referred to by the term **Pûrvasûtra,**[1] which is used by both Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, as well as in the *Kârikâs*, and which occurs six times in the Mahâbhâshya. According to Kâtyâyana (Vol. II. p. 205), Pâṇini may have employed the word *upasarjana* in the rule IV. 1, 14, in the sense of *apradhâna*, in accordance with the usage of former grammars. According to Patañjali (Vol. I. p. 248), Pâṇini has similarly used *vṛiddha* for *gôtra* in I. 2, 65. In a *Kârikâ* in Vol. I. p. 36, the term *akshara* is said to have been employed in former grammars in the sense of *varṇa*, 'a letter.' In Vol. III. p. 104, Patañjali refutes a suggestion of Kâtyâyana's by intimating, that the term च्चितः in P. VI. 1, 163, need not necessarily be the Genitive of च्चित्, but may be taken to be the Nominative of च्चित, 'containing a suffix that has the Anubandha च्,' the Nom. having been employed by Pâṇini in accordance with the practice of former grammars, in which that which undergoes an operation was put in the Nom., not in the Gen. case.[2] According to Patañjali (Vol. III. p. 455), the word अहः in P. VIII. 4, 7, may, by the same reasoning, be taken to be the Nom. of अह, not the Gen. of अहन्. Lastly, in Vol. III. p. 247 it is suggested that Pâṇini may have taken the term औङ् which he uses in VII. 1. 18, from an older grammar, a suggestion intended to show, why the operation, which in Pâṇini's work usually takes place before a termination with the Anubandha ङ्, does not take place in the case of the terminations under discussion. This last passage has occasioned Patañjali's general remark, which has been made much of by the late Prof. Goldstücker,[3] that Anubandhas used in former grammars have no effect in the grammar of Pâṇini.

From all this we learn little about the works of Pâṇini's predecessors. That some of their technical terms differed from those used by Pâṇini, is probable enough, but Kâtyâyana's and Patañjali's remarks regarding the particular terms mentioned are hardly of more value than the similar statements concerning *Pûrvâchârya-saṁjñâḥ* or *Prâchâṁ saṁjñâḥ* of later writers. It may also be true that some ancient grammarians, like some modern ones,[4] did use the Nom. in the way stated, and that they did

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[1] Kaiyaṭa on P. IV. 1, 14:—पूर्वसूत्रशब्देन पूर्वाचार्यकृतव्याकरणमुच्यते.

[2] Kaiyaṭa on P. VI. 1, 163:—पूर्वव्याकरणे प्रथमया कार्यी निर्दिश्यते; and on P. VIII. 4, 7:—पूर्वाचार्याः कार्यभाजः षष्ठ्या न निरदिक्षन्नित्यर्थः.

[3] See Goldstücker's *Pâṇini*, p. 181; Burnell's *On the Aindra School of Sanskrit grammarians*, p. 40.

[4] *e.g.* the author of the *Kâtantra*. Compare also in the *Kârikâs* such constructions as वालवायो विदूरं (*scil.* आपद्यते), Vol. II. p. 318.—The use of the cases in the technical structure of Pâṇini's rules requires a separate and full investigation. In this respect, Pâṇini is most

named by him were really all grammarians. According to Vârt. 35 on P. I. 2, 64 (Vol. I. p. 242), **Vâjapyâyana** maintained, that words mean a genus, while according to Vârt. 45 (Vol. I. p. 244) **Vyâḍi** held the opposite doctrine, that words mean individual things.[12] In Vârt. 3 on P. VIII. 4, 48 (Vol. III. p. 465) the rule, that a tenuis before a sibilant is changed to the corresponding aspirate (वत्सः to वथ्सः), is ascribed to **Paushkarasâdi.**[13]

Apara âha ; Kêchid âhuḥ : Apara âha ; or Apara âhuḥ.

Patañjali most usually introduces the opinions of other grammarians by the phrase *apara âha* '**another says,**' which occurs no less than 83 times in the Mahâbhâshya. From an examination of the statements so introduced it appears, not only that Patañjali knew of grammarians whose views in individual cases differed from those of Kâtyâyana, or who had tried to add to, to simplify, or to render more exact, and generally to improve on, the *Vârttikas* of that scholar, but also, and to this I would draw particular attention, that there had been those who, *before* Patañjali, had *explained* the *Vârttikas.* Patañjali's quotations certainly prove, that others had interpreted or even read certain *Vârttikas* differently; and more than once he even places before us two different explanations, by others, of one and the same *Vârttika.* Besides, he introduces, by *apara âha,* opinions that are at variance with his own, also where he is not explaining Kâtyâyana; and he employs the same phrase before a number of *Kârikâs.*

I shall not weary the reader by fully discussing here every one of the many passages which have occasioned these remarks. A few simple examples will, I trust, sufficiently illustrate what I have said above. According to Kâtyâyana (Vol. III. p. 321) the word संवत्सर in P. VII. 3, 15 indicates merely, that P. VII. 3, 17 is not applicable, *e. g.,* in the formation of द्वैसमिक ; according to *another,* the same word indicates generally, that words denoting time are nowhere in Pâṇini's grammar included in the term परिमाण, and that accordingly we must, *e.g.,* by P. IV. 1, 22 form द्विवर्षा, notwithstanding the fact that that rule contains an exception regarding words denoting a measure. On P. I. 3, 25, Kâtyâyana has the remark (Vol. I. p. 281, उपाद्देवपूजासंगतकरणयोः; *another* has उपाद्देवपूजासंगतकरणमित्रकरणपथिषु. To the rule P. IV. 2, 7, Kâtyâyana appends the note (Vol. II. p. 273) कलेर्ढक् ; *another* gives the general rule सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यां ढक्. In Vol. I. p. 367, Kâtyâyana defines a sentence to be आख्यातं साव्ययकारकविशेषणम्; *another,* simplifying that definition, merely says आख्यातं सविशेषणम्. In Vol. I. p. 468 *another* permits the two constructions शोभना खलु पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना सूत्रस्य कृतिः, which is contrary to the teaching of both Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana.

In Vol. I. p. 179, Patañjali's reading of two *Vârttikas* is सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च; *another,* we learn, reads °दनन्यत्वम्. In Vol. I. p. 192, Patañjali explains the reading जाम्नोऽगुणविधिः, and he intimates, that *another* reads जाम्नो गुणविधिः. In Vol. I. p. 314 he shows, that *another* reads the Vârt. 6 without the particle च; in Vol. I. p. 422, that *another* reads द्रव्यस्य instead of अद्रव्यस्य. In Vol. I. pp. 10, 20, 64, 237, 247, 357 and elsewhere, Patañjali gives us his own explanations of *Vârttikas* and also those of *another.* Regarding the Vârt. 2 on P. VI. 1, 3, he informs us (Vol. III. p. 8), that *some* supply for तृतीयस्य the word एकाचः, while *another* supplies व्यञ्जनस्य; and regarding the Vârt. 2 on P. VI. 4, 106 (Vol. III. p. 215), that *some* supply छन्दोग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, and *others* वावचनं कर्तव्यम्. In a similar manner he records different explanations in Vol. I. p. 424 and Vol. II. pp. 92 and 171.

Again, in Vol. I. p. 390 Patañjali himself proposes to substitute भयभीतभीतिभीभिः for the one word भयेन of P. II. 1, 37, and he tells us, that *another* would substitute भयनिर्गतजुगुप्सुभिः. In Vol. III. p. 30 he explains the word अपस्पृधेथाम् in P. VI. 1, 36, to be a reduplicated form of the word स्पर्ध्, and he adds, that *another* derives the same word from अप-स्पर्ध्. In Vol. III. p. 244, he tells us, that either the rule P. VII. 1, 8, or the rule P. VII. 1, 10, is superfluous, and he adds, that according to *another* the word बहुलं of P. VII. 1, 8, *and* the rule P. VII. 1, 10, may be dispensed with. In the same manner he mentions opinions of others, that differ from his

[12] For Patañjali's reference to the *Saṁgraha,* which is reported to have been composed by Vyâḍi, see below.

[13] Compare the *Atharva-prâtiśâkhya* II. 6; *Taittirîya-prât.* XIV. 12; *Vâjasaneyi-prât.* IV. 119; and *Ṛik-prât.*

CDXXX. It may be noted that, contrary to his usual custom, Kâtyâyana in his *Vârttika* puts the name पौष्करसादि in the Gen., not in the Nom. case.

own, in Vol. I. pp. 172, 210, 290 and elsewhere; and he records the views of different scholars in Vol. I. p. 427, and Vol. II. pp. 19, 120, 151 and 254.

That Patañjali introduces some of the *Kârikâs* by *apara âha*, I have already mentioned in a previous note.[14] I will only add here, that the authors of the *Kârikâs* themselves allude to the opinions of other scholars, who are referred to by the words *Êkê* or *Kêchid*, in Vol. III. pp. 217 and 414.

The Bhâradvâjîyâḥ, Saunâgâḥ, and Krôshṭrîyâḥ.

Of individual grammarians or schools of grammarians those most frequently referred to by Patañjali are the **Bhâradvâjîyas** and the **Saunâgas**. The former are actually quoted ten times (Vol. I. pp. 73, 136, 201, 291; Vol. II. pp. 46, 55, 70, 233; and Vol. III. pp. 199 and 230), and the latter seven times (Vol. I. p. 416; Vol. II. pp. 105, 228, 238, 325; and Vol. III. pp. 76 and 159), but it does not seem at all improbable that some of the statements, which are introduced by the phrase *apara âha*, or which would appear to contain suggestions of Patañjali himself, may likewise really belong to either of those schools.[15] Both may be described as authors of *Vârttikas*, and both flourished after Kâtyâyana. But, while to amend the *Vârttikas* of Kâtyâyana appears to have been the main object of the Bhâradvâjîyas, the Saunâgas, so far as we can judge, would seem to have criticized the text of Pâṇini's grammar more independently. This is indicated also by the manner in which both are quoted in the Mahâbhâshya. Whereas Patañjali usually places the dicta of the **Bhâradvâjîyas** by the side of those of Kâtyâyana, as it were, to point out the differences between the two, and to show how the former have tried to improve on the latter,[16] he generally cites the **Saunâgas** in support of his own statements, and without any such distinct reference to Kâtyâyana's *Vârttikas*.[17] Thus it happens, too, that in six out of seven cases the remarks of the **Saunâgas** are introduced by the phrase एवं हि सौनागाः पठन्ति, preceded by इष्टमेवैतत्संगृहीतम् or some similar expression, while the dicta of the **Bhâradvâjîyas** are always introduced simply by भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति. That of the *Vârttikas* of the Bhâradvâjîyas which are cited in the Mahâbhâshya, one (in Vol. III. p. 199) is in verse, I have already had occasion to state in my remarks on the *Kârikâs*.[18]

A third school of grammarians, the **Krôshṭrîyas**, is mentioned in the Mahâbhâshya only once (Vol. I. p. 46). All we learn about them is, that they considered the two rules, P. I. 1, 3 and 52 to be quite independent of each other, and were of opinion, that in any case where both rules might happen to be simultaneously applicable, the former ought to supersede the latter, an opinion which is not shared by Patañjali.

Gôṇikâputra, Gônardîya, Kuṇaravâḍava, Sauryabhagavat, and Vâḍava.[19]

The passages in which Patañjali quotes **Gôṇikâputra** (Vol. I. p. 336) and **Gônardîya** (Vol I. pp. 78 and 91; Vol. II. p. 76; and Vol. III. p. 309), I have already discussed in my second note (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 81); and I have there tried to show, that **Gônardîya** was a writer of grammatical *Kârikâs*, who in all probability lived after Kâtyâyana. About **Gôṇikâputra** it is difficult to say anything. Later than Kâtyâyana is also **Kuṇaravâḍava**, for the two statements ascribed to him by Patañjali (Vol. II. p. 100 and Vol. III. p. 317) are distinctly directed against Kâtyâyana, whose *Vârttikas* they show to be superfluous. Whether this **Kuṇaravâḍava** is really the same as Vâḍava, who together with the *Sauryabhagavat* is mentioned by Patañjali in the difficult passage in Vol. III. p. 421, I have no means

[14] *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 231, note 17.

[15] In Vol. II. p. 209, l. 8, it seems as if Patañjali himself were attempting to improve on a *Vârttika* of Kâtyâyana's; from Vol. II. p 105, l. 7 and p. 288, l. 10 we see that he is merely repeating a statement of the Saunâgas.

[16] On P. I, 1. 20, Kâtyâyana has घुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिग्रहणं शिदर्थम्, the Bhâradvâjîyas read घुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिग्रहणं शिद्विकृतार्थम्; on P. III. 1, 88, Kâtyâyana has विदेराम्कित् the Bhâradvâjîyas add निपातनाद्वागुणत्वम् etc.

[17] But the Saunâgas also more fully explain the meaning of a *Vârttika* of Kâtyâyana in Vol. I. p. 416, and they improve on another *Vârttika* in the statement alluded to in note 15 above. A *Vârttika* of the Saunâgas, which has not been taken from the Mahâbhâshya, is given in the *Kâśikâ* on P. VII. 2, 17. In commenting on that passage, Haradatta explains सौनागाः by सुनागस्याचार्यस्य शिष्याः.

[18] *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 280.

[19] I purposely have omitted in the above Vârshyâyaṇi; the passage, in which his name occurs (Vol. I. p. 258), has been copied by Patañjali from the *Nirukta* (Roth's edition, p. 81).

of deciding; nor do I know what scholar is meant to be denoted by the term *Sauryabhagavat*, 'the *Âchârya* of the town Saurya,' as Kaiyata explains it.[20] Nâgôjîbhatta takes Vâḍava to be the author of the Vârt. 3 on P. VIII. 2, 106, a statement, the correctness of which I doubt.

The Saṁgraha of Dâkshâyaṇa.

This work, on which Patañjali is reported to have based his own work, is cited in the Mahâbhâshya only once, in connection with the first *Vârttika* (Vol. I. p. 6). From that passage we learn, that the question, as to whether words are *nitya* or *kârya*, had been fully discussed in the *Saṁgraha*, and that the science of grammar had been shown to be necessary, whichever view might be taken regarding the nature of words. Elsewhere we are told that the *Saṁgraha* was composed by **Vyâḍi**; Patañjali himself incidentally calls the author of it **Dâkshâyaṇa**, in Vol. I. p. 468.

Considering the great bulk of the Mahâbhâshya, it is disappointing that we do not learn from it more regarding the history of Indian grammar, and particularly, that, what we are told in it of the predecessors of Pâṇini, is well-nigh valueless. But I trust, that my survey of the grammatical authorities referred to by Kâtyâyana and Patañjali will at least make this much clear, that Kâtyâyana cannot have been the first author of *Vârttikas*, and that between him and Patañjali there intervene a large number of writers, writers in prose and in verse, individual scholars and schools of grammarians, who all have tried to explain and to amend the works of both Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana. To what extent Kâtyâyana and Patañjali were indebted to those that went before them, we shall never know; judging from the analogy of the later grammatical literature of India we may, in my opinion, certainly assume, that, like Pâṇini himself, both have based their own works on, and have preserved in them all that was valuable in the writings of their predecessors.

In conclusion, I would here draw attention to the fact, that instead of the regular terms of the *Pâṇinîya* and also in addition to them, occasionally, both in the *Vârttikas* and in the *Kârikâs*, we meet with a number of other grammatical *termini technici*. Most of those terms had doubtless been in use already before Pâṇini, and they were generally adopted in several of the later grammars, in preference to the more artificial terms of Pâṇini. But a few are themselves highly artificial symbols, which may have been invented by grammarians later than Pâṇini, and which remind one of the terms used in the *Jainêndra*, where indeed one of them actually occurs.

Thus, Kâtyâyana occasionally employs the terms *svara* for Pâṇini's अच् (Vol. I. pp. 59, 123, etc.), *vyañjana* for हल् (Vol. I. pp. 26, 42, etc.), *samânâkshara* for अक् (Vol. I. p. 24 and Vol. II. p. 19), *saṁdhyakshara* for एच् (Vol. I. pp. 22, 24, etc.); *sparśa* and *aghôsha* (Vol. I. p. 355); *prathama*, *dvitîya*, *tritîya*, and *chaturtha* for the first, second, third, and fourth consonants of the five *Vargas* (Vol. III. pp. 218, 465, and Vol. I. p. 154); *ayôgavâha*, *jihvâmûlîya*, and *upadhmânîya* (Vol. I. p. 28 and Vol. III. p. 431). For लट्, लुट्, लृट्, and लुङ् he has *bhavantî*, *śvastanî*, *bhavishyantî* and *adyatanî* (Vol. I. p. 443; Vol. II. pp. 114, 123, 160; Vol. II. p. 143; Vol. I. p. 474; Vol. II. p. 114; Vol. III. p. 217). For the phrase संज्ञाछन्दसोः he uses the artificial term *taṇ* (Vol. I. p. 488; Vol. II. pp. 99 and 221); and, strange to say, for Pâṇini's *shash*, which he himself has, *e.g.* in Vol. II. p. 199 and Vol. III. p. 107, he employs *ḍu* in Vol. I. p. 304.

In addition to some of these terms we find in the *Kârikâs*, *parôkshâ* for लिट् (Vol. I. p. 199), *kârita* to denote the Causal (Vol. II. p. 415), and *chêkrîyita* and *charkarîta* to denote the two forms of the Intensive (Vol. II. p. 232 and Vol. III. p. 359). In the *Kârikâs* we also meet with *la* for *lôpa* (Vol. II. pp. 284, 378, and 425), and with *ghu*[21] (or perhaps *dyu*) for Pâṇini's *uttarapada* (Vol. III. pp. 229, 247, and 318).

[20] A town Saurya is mentioned in Vol. I. p. 474.

[21] See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 231, note 14.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

No. XV.—*Good will grow out of Good.*

In a certain town there reigned a king named Patnîpriya,[1] to whose court a poor old Brâhmaṇ, named Pâpabhîru,[2] came every morning, with a yellow lime in his hand, and presenting it to the king, pronounced a benediction in Tamiḷ:—

Nanmai vidaittâl, nanmai viḷaiyum:
Tîmai vidaittâl, tîmai viḷaiyum:
Nanmaiyum tîmaiyum pinvara kâṇalâm.

"If good is sown, then good will grow:
If bad is sown, then bad will grow:
Thus good or bad the end will show."

The king respected as much the noble benediction of the Brâhmaṇ as he did his grey hairs.

In this way the presentation of the fruit was daily continued, though the Brâhmaṇ had nothing to request from the king, but simply wished to pay his respects. On observing that he had no ulterior motives, but was merely actuated by *râjasêvana*, or duty to his king, the king's admiration to his old morning visitor the more increased.

After presenting the fruit the Brâhmaṇ waited upon his sovereign till his *pûjâ*[3] was over, and then went home where his wife kept ready for him all the requisites for his own *pûjâ*. Pâpabhîru then partook of what dinner his wife had prepared for him. Sometimes however, a Brâhmaṇ neighbour sent him an invitation to dinner, which he at once accepted. For his father, before he breathed his last, had called him to his bedside, and, pronouncing his last benediction, had thus advised him in Tamiḷ—

Kâlai śôttai taḷḷâde,
Kaṇṇil Kaṇḍadai śollâde.
Râjanukku payandu naḍa."

"Morning meal do thou never spurn,
Nor say thou what thine eyes discern,
But serve thy king for fame to earn."

Thus it was that Pâpabhîru began his visits to the king, nor did he ever reject an invitation to dinner, though it might come at a very inconvenient time.

Now on a certain *êkâdaśi*[4] morning, Pâpabhîru went to the king to pay his respects as usual, with the lime and the benediction, but found that he had gone to his *pûjâ* and so followed him there. On seeing the Brâhmaṇ, the king's face glowed with pleasure and he said:—

"My most revered god on earth,[5] I thought that some ill must have befallen you, when I missed you in the council-hall this morning; but praised be Paramêśvara for having sent you to me, though it is a little late. I never do my *pûjâ* without placing my scimitar by the side of the god, but last night I left it in my queen's room. It is under the pillow of the couch on which I usually sleep. Until you came I could find no suitable person to fetch it for me, and so I have waited for you. Would you kindly take the trouble to fetch it for me?"

The poor Brâhmaṇ was only too glad of the opportunity thus presented to him of serving his king, and so he ran to the *ḥaram* and into the room where the king usually slept.

Now, Patnîpriya was very fond of his queen; but she was not faithful to him, and allowed the king's minister to pay visits to her. The most convenient time for such meetings was during the king's *pûjâ*. Of course the poor Brâhmaṇ, Pâpabhîru, knew nothing of this, and when he entered the room, a shocking scene met his eyes. He closed them for horror, and lifting up the pillow, felt for the scimitar, and then turning his back on the couch, he retraced his steps, placed the sword before the king, and took his leave. True, however, to his father's last words, "Nor say thou what thine eyes discern," he never opened his lips, and went his way with a heavy heart.

The queen and her wicked visitor were greatly alarmed.

"That rogue of an old Brâhmaṇ has seen us and may report us to the king at the first opportunity," faltered the minister.

But the queen, as bold in words as in sin, said: "I will have him murdered before the sun rises. Wait you here. I shall inform the king of what is to be ḍone and report the result to you, and then you may go home."

So saying, she assumed the guise of a most

[1] *i. e.* Lover of his wife.
[2] *i. e.* A shudderer at sin.
[3] Worship of the household gods.
[4] The eleventh lunar day of every fortnight, on which a fast is observed by orthodox Hindus.
[5] *bhûsura, bhûdêva*; a generic name for a Brâhmaṇ.

chaste lady that had resisted the temptations of a wicked man, and stood before her royal husband who was at his worship. Patnîpriya rose up and asked her the reason for her sudden appearance.

Said she:—"Your Majesty seems to think the whole world as innocent as yourself. That wretched old Brâhmaṇ, though his hair is as white as milk, has not forgotten his younger days. Fortunately for us there were several maids by me when he approached me, and so he fled away without his vile intentions being fulfilled. If you do not order his death before to-morrow morning, I shall kill myself."

The king was much vexed with what he heard, and all the regard he had for the Brâhmaṇ disappeared at once. He called two of his executioners and spoke to them thus before his wife:—

"Take to the east gate of the town a large iron caldron, and keep it boiling to the brim with gingely oil.[6] A certain person shall come to you in the morning and ask you, 'Is it all done?' Without observing who he is, tie his hands and feet and throw him into the boiling oil. When he has been boiled to death, put out the fire and empty out the oil."

The executioners received the order and went away to perform their terrible duty. The queen, too, glad at heart at having thus successfully arranged for the murder of the Brâhmaṇ, reported the fact to the Minister, but said nothing about the special question to be put by the victim. The Minister, much pleased, went to his palace and waited for the news of the Brâhmaṇ's death.

When his *pûjâ* was over the king sent for Pâpabhîru, and the poor Brâhmaṇ, never having before been sent for at such a time, made his appearance with a beating heart. When he arrived the king, in order to arouse no suspicion in his mind, said gently to him: "My dear Brâhmaṇ, to-morrow morning, when you go to make your ablutions, pass by the east gate. There you will see two persons seated by the side of a large caldron. Ask them, 'Is it all done?' And whatever reply they give you, come and communicate to me."

Thus spoke the king, firmly believing that Pâpabhîru would never return to him; while the Brâhmaṇ, glad to be able to serve the king a second time next morning, went home and slept soundly. Early in the morning, even a *ghaṭikâ* before his usual time, he got up, and, placing on his head a bag containing dry clothes, proceeded to the river for his morning bath. He took the road to the eastern gate as he had been ordered, but had not walked far when a friend invited him to a *dvâdaśi*[7] breakfast.

"My poor old mother did not taste even a drop of water the whole of the *êkâdaśi*, (yesterday). Rice and hot water for a bath are ready. Pour a little of the water over your head,[8] pronounce one *gâyatrî*,[9] and taste a handful of rice. Whatever may be the urgency of your business, oblige me for my poor mother's sake." Thus spoke his friend, and Pâpabhîru, out of regard to his father's order never to spurn a morning meal, ran in haste into his friend's house to oblige him; the king's order all the while sitting heavily on his mind.

Meanwhile the Minister was most anxious to hear the news of the Brâhmaṇ's death, but was afraid to send any one to inquire about it, lest he should rouse suspicion. So he went himself to the east gate, as soon as the sun had risen, and asked the executioners, sitting by the side of the caldron, by way of a simple question: 'Is the business all done?' And as they were instructed not to observe who the person was that came to question them, but to tie him up and boil him in the oil, they, notwithstanding his howls, bound him and threw him in. As soon as he was dead, they extinguished the fire, poured out the oil, and turned over the caldron, corpse and all.

The Brâhmaṇ finished his *dvâdaśi* breakfast, in great haste, and, with the betel leaf still in his hand, ran to the gate to inquire of the persons seated by the caldron whether it was all done. When he put them the question, they smilingly replied, "Yes, Sir, it is all done. The Minister is boiled to death. We gave full execution to the king's orders. You may go and report the affair to him."

[6] Oil of sesamum: *til* and gingely oil are the ordinary names for this common product of India.

[7] *Dvâdaśi* is the twelfth lunar day, on which early in the morning, before even the fifth *ghaṭikâ* is over, every orthodox Hindu is obliged by his religious codes to break the previous day's fast.

[8] Lit. a 'chombu-full': the *chombu* is a small vessel.

[9] A sacred hymn.

The Brâhmaṇ, not knowing the reason for the course events had taken, ran back and reported the reply of the executioners to the king. The Minister's interference in the affair at once kindled suspicion in the king's mind. He unsheathed his scimitar, and holding it in his right hand, twisted the lock of hair on the Brâhmaṇ's head into his left. He then asked him whether he had not tried to dishonour his queen the previous morning, and told him that, if he concealed the truth, he would make an end of him. The poor Brâhmaṇ now confessed what he had seen, on which the king threw down the scimitar and fell down on his knees before him.

"The words of thy benediction, O respected Brâhmaṇ, have only now been explained to me. Thou hast sown nothing but good; and good, in having thy life preserved, hast thou reaped. The wicked Minister,—whose conscious guilt made him so very anxious to hear about thy death,—because he sowed a bad intention in his heart, has reaped evil, even a death that he never expected. Another victim of evil sowing remains in my queen, in whom I placed an undeserved love."

So said he, and ordered her to the gallows. The old Brâhmaṇ he appointed his Minister, and reigned for a long time.

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 5.

In the **Haidarâbâd** grant of the **Western Chalukya** king **Pulikêsin II.**, the date (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 73, l. 11 ff.) runs—âtmanaḥ pravardhamâna-râjyâbhishêka-saṁvatsarê tritîyê Śaka-nṛipati-saṁvatsara-śatêshu chatustriṁś-âdhikêshu pañchasv=atîtêshu Bhâdrapad-âmâvâsyâyâṁ sûrya-grahaṇa-nimittaṁ,—"in the augmenting third year of (*my*) own installation in the sovereignty; when five centuries of the years of the Śaka king, increased by the thirty-fourth (*year*), have gone by; on the new-moon *tithi* of (the month) Bhâdrapada; on account of an eclipse of the sun."

This gives us, for calculation, Śaka-Saṁvat 535 (A.D. 613-14) current; the month Bhâdrapada (August-September); the new-moon *tithi*; and an eclipse of the sun. And,—in addition to the record in this inscription that **Pulikêsin II.** was, at the time of this grant, resident at the city of **Vâtâpi**, which is the modern **Bâdâmi**, the chief town of the Bâdâmi Tâlukâ in the Bijâpur District,—the Western Chalukyas were a southern dynasty; and, *primâ facie*, all the details of the date have of necessity to be treated in accordance with the southern reckoning.

In connection with this date, however, there are at least two points of difficulty.

In the first place, in Śaka-Saṁvat 535 the month Bhâdrapada was intercalary.[1] In the inscription there is nothing to indicate that the month referred to is the intercalated Bhâdrapada; and the presumption is against this, inasmuch as intercalated months are held to be inauspicious, and the performance of ceremonies in them is prohibited; unless there are two intercalated months in the same year; in which case the first of them is *praśasta* or 'stamped as excellent,' and only the second is *nindya*, or 'to be looked on as under prohibition.' But, in taking the month to be the natural Bhâdrapada; the question then arises, whether we are to take it as the second of the two Bhâdrapadas, in accordance with the present custom of Southern India, or as the first of them, in accordance with the more ancient custom mentioned in the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, in a verse,—to which my attention was drawn by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit,—quoted by Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri in his edition of the *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi* of Bhâskarâchârya, p. 49, note, and running—

> Mêsh-âdi-sthê savitari
> yô yô mâsaḥ prapûryatê chândraḥ |
> Chaitr-âdyaḥ sa jñêyaḥ
> pûrti-dvitvê=dhimâsô=ntyaḥ ||

"Whatever lunar month is completed when the sun is standing in Aries and the following (*signs*), that (*month*) is to be known as Chaitra, &c.; when there are two completions, (*there is*) an intercalated month, (*and it is*) the latter (*of the two*)."—In the first case, the corresponding English date, as closely as it can be determined by Gen. Cunningham's and Mr. C. Patell's Tables, is Thursday, the 20th September, A.D. 613; and in the second case, Tuesday, the 21st August of the same year.

On neither of these days, however, was there an eclipse of the sun. And the only solar eclipse of A.D. 613 occurred on Monday, the 23rd July.[2]

There can be no doubt that this is the eclipse intended. It was calculated some years ago by Mr. D. B. Hutcheon, for Dr. Burgess, who passed the notes on to me; and Mr. Hutcheon found, roughly, that, at Bâdâmi, the eclipse began at 9·38 A.M., with the middle at 11·14 A.M., and ended at 12·53 P.M.; that, at the time of greatest

[1] Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 157; Patell's *Chronology*, p. 120.

[2] Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 210.

obscuration, the whole of the sun's surface except 2′ (about one-sixteenth of the diameter) was obscured; and that it was thus, from all points of view, an eclipse of the most impressive and memorable kind. And the eclipse was subsequently considered by Sir George Airy, whose conclusions were that it was a total eclipse; that it was total probably at Bâdâmi, certainly very near Bâdâmi; that the totality occurred when the sun was very near the zenith of Bâdâmi; and that there could be no doubt that this is the eclipse intended in the inscription.

The 23rd July, A.D. 613, however, represents, by the southern reckoning, the new-moon day of the preceding month, Śrâvaṇa. It is only by the northern reckoning that it represents the full-moon day of Bhâdrapada; and the date is correct in every respect by the northern reckoning, in which, of the four *pakshas* or fortnights of which a natural and intercalated month consist, the first (dark) belongs to the natural month, the second (bright) and third (dark) to the intercalated month, and the fourth (bright) to the natural month.[3]

For this use of the northern reckoning in an inscription of a southern dynasty, written in the very heart of the Kanarese Country, I can find no analogous instance at present, and no explanation in the grant. But, that the northern reckoning was used in this particular instance, seems clear; unless we are at liberty to interpret *Bhâdrapad-âmâvâsyâ* as meaning, at that time, 'the new-moon *tithi* ushering in the month Bhâdrapada,' and not, as it means now, 'the new-moon *tithi* at the end of Bhâdrapada.'[4]

If, however, this interpretation may be accepted, then there still remains the point that, unless the intercalary nature of Bhâdrapada in Śaka-Saṁvat 535 can be disproved, this inscription,—having regard to the prohibition of ceremonial acts in an intercalated month; and taking into consideration the corresponding English dates, by the southern reckoning, which I have given above,—seems also to shew that, at that time, in Southern India, an intercalated month certainly was placed after the natural month of the same name, in conformity with the rule of the *Brahma-Siddhânta*; not, as now, before it. Otherwise, the Hindu date would still differ from the English by a complete lunation. J. F. FLEET.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 3.

Journal Asiatique, Vol. VII. No. 2 (Feb., March, April, 1886.)—The number opens with a paper by M. H. Zotenburg on the History of Gâl'âd and Shimâs (قصة كالعاد وشيماس), a romance which is found appended to several copies of the *Thousand and One Nights*. The author remarks that though the work has long been printed, it does not appear to have attracted the attention of scholars, who have specially interested themselves in the history of Indian folklore. It is nevertheless noteworthy as being not only one of the most ancient acquisitions which Arabic literature has made in the domain of moral fiction, but because certain reasons tend to show that it has come to the Musalmâns through a Greek recension. After briefly narrating the framework of the history, which contains the various apologies which form the bulk of the work, M. Zotenburg points out its general similarity to the *Book of Sindibâd*, although the stories contained in the two works are quite different. The book of Shimâs is mentioned by three authors of the 4th century of the Hijrâ,—Mas'ûdî, Ḥamza Iṣfahânî, and the author of the *Kitâbu'l-Fihrist*. The last mentions it amongst those romances which are either Greek or translated from the Greek. The MSS., as we have them now, appear to have passed through the hands of Christian editors, some of them even commencing with an invocation to the Trinity. One copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is found at the end of the *Book of Barlaam and Joasaph*. The origin of the book, however, is evidently Indian, and Buddhistic; witness the apologues, the moral doctrines, such as the destruction of desire, passion, and anger, the ordinances of truth, moderation of speech, humility and filial piety, the practice of justice, of generosity, and so on. The course of translation through which the book passed before appearing in its Arabic form, M. Zotenburg leaves doubtful. M. Zotenburg finally compares the contents with those of the *Kalîla and Dimnâ*, and of the *Pañchatantra*, and gives the text of one fable (the mendicant monk and the broken pitcher) in two versions, one taken from the work under notice, and the other from *Kalîla and Dimnâ*.

In the second paper M. H. Sauvaire continues his materials towards the history of the Numismatics and Metrology of the Musalmâns. Here is given a portion of the third part,—that relating to measures of capacity. "The reader will find in this third part the names and values of the generality of the measures of capacity in use in the Musulmân states, since the origin of Islâm." They are arranged in alphabetical order, and are accompanied by numerous

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[3] Prinsep's *Essays*, Thomas' Edition, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 155; Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 91; Patell's *Chronology*, p. 42.

[4] In his Sanskrit Dictionary, Monier Williams gives *amâvâsyâ* as meaning 'the first day of the first quarter on which the moon is invisible.' This explanation makes the new-moon *tithi* the first day of the month But I cannot obtain any authority in support of this.

references. As a work of reference this paper cannot but be authoritative and valuable.

The third paper concludes the articles by M. Sylvain Lévi on the Bṛihatkathâmañjarî of Kshêmêndra. The author first deals with the MSS. available, of which there are five, three belonging to the Tanjore Palace Library, and two to the library of the Deccan College at Poona. The name *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî* is peculiar to the Tanjore MSS. In the Poona ones it is called simply the *Bṛihatkathâ:* As its great extent will long postpone the work being edited, M. Lévi publishes in the article a complete table of its contents, which will be useful for future reference. M. Lévi then extracts from the subject of the notice, and translates the first two stories of the *Vêtâlapañchaviṁśatikâ*, with a notice of other versions of the same story. Herr Uhle's identifications of an anonymous version of it, as a prose translation of Kshêmêndra's verses, is established, and M. Lévi points out that the faults of Kshêmêndra's style, by which Herr Uhle identified the translation, have been greatly toned down by the translator. The two tales given in the text fully bear this out, by the numerous peculiarities of style which they exhibit. It is some years since I have read the old *Baitâl-Pachîsî*, of Hindî fame, and no copy is at present available, but, as well as I remember, the name of the hero is different from that of the *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî*. Kshêmêndra's hero is named Trivikrama Sêna of Pratishṭhâna, but he of the *Baitâl Pachîsî* is the evergreen king Bikram of "glorious, pious and immortal memory" in folktales. So, also, I miss in Kshêmêndra's version, as given by M. Lévi, the well-known bargain made by the demon with the king. A very interesting paper concludes with a chronological note on the two *Bṛihatkathâs*. Dr. Bühler satisfactorily fixes Sômadêva's date as between 1063 and 1082 A.D. He then argues that Sômadêva was a contemporary or nearly so of Kshêmêndra, and that the *Kathâsaritsâgara* and the *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî* were written about the same time. M. Lévi combats this last theory, and argues that the *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî* is anterior to the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, and that the latter was written as a direct criticism upon, or rather a kind of reply addressed by Sômadêva to Kshêmêndra. This being assumed M. Lévi now refers to a quotation from the *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî* in the *Daśarûpa*, and, differing from Dr. FitzEdward Hall, concludes that the latter work is posterior to the *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî* and anterior to the *Kathâsaritsâgara*.

The last paper in this number is a continuation of a Translation of the Tchao-Sien-Tche by the late M. F. Scherzer, French Consul at Canton. This is a discursive geographical description of the Korea in Chinese, and is, with its commentary by the translator, most interesting reading, replete with information and folklore.

Amongst the *Nouvelles et Mélanges* at the end of the number is an interesting review by M. Pavet De Courteille of *Die Scheïbaniade ein özbegisches Heldengedicht in 76 Gesängen, von Prinz Mohammed aus Charezm.* The Shaibaniad (شیبانی نامه), an Uzbeg Epic in 76 books by Prince Muhammad Salih of Khwârizm—text, translation and notes by Hermann Vambéry, Imperial Printing Office, Vienna, 1885. This is spoken of as being "a work of the greatest historical and literary interest. In a narrative, the poetic form of which in no way diminishes its rigorous exactness as a journal of events, in which the author has taken part as a witness and as an actor, he retraces for us the history of a singularly troubled epoch in the life of Central Asia. The facts of which he speaks occurred between the years 1499 and 1506 A.D. We know them already in part, thanks to the Memoirs of the celebrated Bâbar, the declared enemy of Shaibânî, but how interesting it is for us to be able to control the assertions, often partial or made under the influence of passion, of the great conqueror! * * * It has been M. Vambéry's good fortune to have discovered such a treasure; and all scholars owe him a debt of gratitude for having published, translated, and annotated it."

A shorter review follows on a Chaldaic translation of the Imitatio Christi.

Journal Asiatique, Vol. VII. No. 3 (May, June, 1886.)—The first article, from the pen of M. H. Ferté, Dragoman to the French Embassy at Constantinople, deals with the Poems of Shafî'a, alias Asar the blind (اثر اعمی), the celebrated satiric poet of Persia. Born at Shirâz, he lived at Iṣfahân during the reign of the Sulṭân Hussain in (A.H. 1105-1135) and died at Lar in Khorâsân in A.H. 1113 (A.D. 1701) according to some, and in A.H. 1124 (1712) according to others. He set before himself as his models Kamâl Iṣfahânî Salmân, and Kâtibî, and hence his style is full of conceits which too often conceal a real talent. The author concludes by giving extracts (with translations) from the *Dîwân*, which fully bear out his remarks.

The next paper is a continuation of M. Sauvaire's important materials towards the history of the Numismatics and Metrology of the Musalmâns. The subject of measures of capacity is still dealt with.

The third paper by M.C. De Harlez is entitled "Constitution de l'Empire de Kin, Livre final de l' *Aisin Gurun-i Suduri Bithe*." It is an appendix to the History of the Empire of Gold or of Kin, written in 1642, during the conquest of China by the Manchus. The generals, who ruled during the minority of Chun-tsi, and who were uncles of the young sovereign, had this history drawn up at the same time as that of the Mongols and of the Tailiao. M. De Harlez has at present in the press a complete translation of the *Aisin Gurun-i Suduri Bithe*, and he here presents to us a portion of it. It is an interesting and minute account of the country dealt with, its divisions, method of taxation, and military system.

To Indian readers, however, another of M. Senart's most valuable studies on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi will be the most welcome portion of this number. The present paper deals with the Language of the inscriptions. Owing to its nature, it is impossible to give an analysis of its contents, for it is an inventory, as condensed as possible, of all the grammatical forms worthy of notice in the inscriptions. In a second part M. Senart proposes to draw general conclusions. He first deals with the Girnâr Inscription, then with those of Kapur-di-Giri, then with those of Khâlsi, Dhauli-Jaugad, Bhabhrâ, Sahasrâm, Rûpnâth, and the Columnar edicts (especially that of Fîrôz Shâh at Dehlî). Each of these is subject to a minute grammatical analysis, under the heads of phonetics, declension, and conjugation. The whole paper is really three distinct complete grammars of the Piyadasi inscriptions. A continuation is promised in a future number, and will be eagerly looked for.

G. A. GRIERSON.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE TARKA-KAUMUDI of LAUGAKSHI BHASKARA, edited with various readings, notes critical and explanatory, and an introduction, by MANILAL NABHUBHAI DVIVEDI, B.A. Bombay Government Central Book Depôt; 1886. 8vo. pp. 18 and 70. [Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXXII.].

European scholars, desirous of acquiring an elementary knowledge of the Nyâya-system of philosophy, which indeed is indispensable for all who engage in the study of Sanskṛit, hitherto have had to resort to the *Tarkasaṁgraha* and its often inaccurate English translation. For the understanding of the original texts, they have, from the Dictionaries, not been able to get any real help whatever; for, in them, even the ordinary terms of the Nyâya are either not given at all, or are explained in a vague and slovenly manner, apt to mislead rather than to instruct the beginner. This edition of the Tarka-Kaumudî, therefore, in my opinion, supplies a long-felt and urgent want; and I may well congratulate the Superintendents of the Bombay Sanskṛit Series, not only on the choice of this particular text, but even more on having found an editor so eminently qualified to explain that text, as Mr. Dvivêdi has proved himself to be. Mr. Dvivêdi no doubt has had the advantage of studying Nyâya under Bhîmâchârya in the Elphinstone College; and he himself gratefully acknowledges what he owes to that learned Naiyâyika. But even with such assistance his task has been by no means an easy one. And the result of his labours is all that could have been desired. His full and yet very concise notes show that he has thoroughly mastered his subject, and that he is able to explain it to others. He has shirked no difficulty himself; and, judging from my own study of the book, he has succeeded in solving the difficulties, which the student is likely to encounter in his attempt to master the somewhat unfamiliar contents of the *Tarka-Kaumudî*. By furnishing similar text books for other Śâstras, the Bombay Department of Public Instruction will certainly earn the gratitude of all who are interested in the progress of Sanskṛit scholarship.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL; edited by the Directors of the Oriental Institute of the University. Published by Messrs. HÖLDER, Rothethurmstrasse 15, Vienna.

This new paper, published under the patronage of the Austrian Ministry of Public Instruction, is intended to supply a want long felt among Austrian Orientalists, by giving them a central organ, exclusively devoted to the interests of Oriental studies. It contains—(1) original articles on Oriental history and philology; (2) reviews of important works on such subjects, published in Europe and in the East, as well as short miscellaneous notes. Its critical portion is really a continuation of the "*Literarischkritische Beilage zur österreichischen Monatsschrift für den Orient*," which have appeared during the last three years with the assistance of the gentlemen who now edit it.

English, French and Italian communications are accepted for both parts of the journal, besides papers in German. Articles referring to India, or likely to interest Indian students, are published, as far as possible, in English, the *lingua franca* of the Aryans in the East. The numbers of the Vienna Oriental Journal will, as a rule, appear in each January, April, July and October, and the subscription for a volume of four numbers, about 320 pages octavo, has been fixed for India at eight rupees.

The editors are Messrs. G. Bühler, J. Karabacek, D. H. Müller, F. Müller, and Leo Reinisch, whose names are sufficient guarantee for the excellence of its contents.

THE METHOD OF CALCULATING THE WEEK-DAYS OF HINDU TITHIS AND THE CORRESPONDING ENGLISH DATES.

BY SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT; BOMBAY EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

IN this paper I purpose to exhibit, according to the system laid down by the late Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre in his book entitled *Graha-sâdhanâchîṁ Kôshṭakeṁ*, or "Tables for calculating the places of the Planets," the correct method by which we may determine, for any given Hindu *tithi* (तिथि) or lunar day, the corresponding *vâra* (वार) or week-day, and the equivalent English date according to either the Julian or the Gregorian Calendar.

Before detailing, however, the steps of the process, I will explain the principal technical terms which will be used, and which for the sake of brevity and conciseness, will be retained in their original Sanskrit forms.[1]

Explanation of Technical Terms.

The *abdapa* (अब्दप), *lit.* 'lord of a year,' of any particular year, is the conventional term,—in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and others; but not universally,—for the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* (मेषसंक्रान्ति) or 'entrance of the Sun into Aries,' in that year.

The figures for the *abdapa* are given in Table I. on pages 10, 11, of Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and are expressed in *vâras*, *ghaṭîs*, and *palas*.

Of these, the *vâra*, sometimes also called *dina* or *divasa* (दिन or दिवस) or 'solar day,' is counted in regular order from Sunday, as 1, up to Saturday, as 7 or 0. And the *vâra* of the *abdapa* shows the week-day on which the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of the year fell.

A *ghaṭî* (घटी), also *ghaṭi* and *ghaṭikâ* (घटि and घटिका), is the sixtieth division of the twenty-four hours of a solar day and night, which is always reckoned by the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise; and it is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English minutes. A *pala* (पल) is the sixtieth division of a *ghaṭi*; and is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English seconds. And the *ghaṭîs* and *palas* of the *abdapa* give the time after sunrise, on the particular *vâra*, at which the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* took place. As a matter of convenience, the word *ghaṭî* is also used for the sixtieth part of a *tithi*; but in that application it is not identical with the sixtieth division of a solar day and night.

Thus, the *abdapa* of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 is given on page 10, opposite the entry *Mêsha-Saṁkrântîchî vêḷ* or 'time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*,' as 1 *dina*, 10 *ghaṭîs*, 10 *palas*; which indicates that, in that year, the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* took place on Sunday, and 10 *ghaṭîs* and 10 *palas*, or four hours and four minutes, after sunrise.

The *abdapa* adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is the time of the *spashṭa* (स्पष्ट) or 'apparent,'—*lit.* 'clearly perceived, distinctly visible,'[2]—*Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, as ascertained by the method given in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*;[3] whereas, in other Hindu works of the same kind, the term *abdapa* is used as meaning the time of the Sun's entrance into Aries with reference to his *madhyama* (मध्यम) or 'mean' longitude. So, also, the length of the solar year adopted by him, is that of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, which is accepted, in the present day, in most parts of India. It should, however, be borne in mind that the tables of the sun and the moon, and those of the planets, given by him, are based on European tables; and that the places of the sun and other heavenly bodies, obtained from his book, are reckoned from the equinoctial point. The starting-point adopted by Hindu astronomers, for reckoning the places of heavenly bodies, coincided, in their opinion, with the

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[1] Most of these explanations are my own. Either to reduce the bulk of his book, or for some other reason, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has used the technical terms without explanation, except in the case of a few of the simpler ones; nor does he explain how he obtained certain figures for certain years, or the variation for a year.

[2] English astronomers use the word 'apparent' in all cases in which we use *spashṭa*. 'Apparent,' therefore, is the proper translation of *spashṭa*.

[3] There are three schools of astronomers in India. One follows the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and is called Saurapaksha; another follows the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, and is named Brahma-paksha; while the third follows the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, and is called Âryapaksha. The main point on which they differ is the length of the year: but with differences, between each other, of only a few *vipalas* (a *vipala* is the sixtieth part of a *pala*). Another point of difference is, that the number of revolutions of the moon, planets, &c., in a certain period,—for instance in a Mahâyuga,—is generally different in each of them. Prof. K. L. Chhatre has adopted, from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, only the length of the year, and its starting-point, that is the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*: in almost every other respect he follows none of these three authorities, but has based his Tables on European Tables of planets. As to his Tables relative to *tithis*, however, in the part of his work called *Kâla-sâdhana*, see page 115 below, note 10, and the text above note 19 on page 120.

equinoctial point about Śaka-Saṁvat 444 (A.D. 522-23). The interval in time between two successive returns of the sun to the vernal equinox,—called "the tropical year,"—amounts at present to 365 *days*, 14 *ghaṭîs*, and 31·972 *palas*, while the length of the year, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, is 365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭîs*, and 31·523 *palas*. During this time, the sun's motion amounts to one complete revolution from equinox to equinox, plus about 58·6881 seconds of arc. The starting-point, therefore, of the Hindu astronomers is at present a little more than 22 degrees to the east of the vernal equinox. This difference is called *ayanâṁśas* (अयनांश) *lit.* 'degrees of precession;' and the *ayanâṁśas* for the present year, Śaka-Saṁvat 1809, are 22 degrees, 45 minutes, according to the *Graha-Lâghava* of Gaṇêśa Daivajña.[4] As the longitudes of heavenly bodies, reckoned from the equinox, include these *ayanâṁśas*, they are called *sâyana* (सायन), *lit.* 'possessed of *ayana* or precession.' And the places of heavenly bodies obtained by the method given in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and other Hindu works, are called, for the sake of distinction, *nirayaṇa* (निरयण), *lit.* 'destitute of precession.' The places obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's tables are *sâyana*. The *tithi*, however, obtained by either process, is the same; but this is not the case with the *nakshatra* (नक्षत्र) or 'lunar mansion,' and the *yôga* (योग) or 'addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon.'[5]

The word *tithi* denotes the thirtieth part of a lunation or lunar month; that is, as applied to the ecliptic circle, it denotes exactly the one-thirtieth part of that circle, *viz.* twelve degrees; but, taken as an apparent *tithi*, and applied to the period of a lunation, it may be the exact thirtieth part of that period, or it may vary from fifty to sixty-six *ghaṭîs*, as subdivisions of a solar day. If the word *tithi* requires to be rendered into English, it is best represented by 'lunar day.' Of the thirty *tithis* of each month, fifteen belong to the bright fortnight, or period of the waxing moon, and fifteen to the dark fortnight, or period of the waning moon. The fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight is called *pûrṇimâ*, *pûrṇamâsî*, or *paurṇamâsî* (पूर्णिमा, पूर्णमासी, or पौर्णमासी), *lit.* 'that which has the full-moon, or that on which the month is completed;' and the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight is called *amâvâsyâ* (अमावास्या), *lit.* 'that on which there is the dwelling-together (of the sun and the moon).'

At the end of the *amâvâsyâ*, the sun and the moon are together; that is, they have the same longitude. When the moon, moving towards the east, leaves the sun behind by 12 degrees of longitude, then ends the first *tithi*, which is technically called *pratipad* or *pratipadâ* (प्रतिपद् or प्रतिपदा). So, a *tithi* is the time which the moon takes to out-go the sun by 12 degrees. With the exception of the *pratipadâ*, the *tithis* are denoted by the regular ordinal numerals, *dvitîyâ*, *tritîya*, &c., up to *chaturdaśî*, 'the fourteenth.' The *pûrṇimâ* and *amâvâsyâ* are called sometimes by their own special names, and sometimes *pañchadaśî*, 'the fifteenth; but the *amâvâsyâ* is generally entered in *Pañchâṅgs* as the thirtieth *tithi*, even in Northern India, where the dark fortnight of the month precedes the bright.

The term *tithi-śuddhi* (तिथिशुद्धि), *lit.* 'the subtraction of *tithis*,' denotes the number of *tithis* that elapse from the beginning of the month Chaitra (March-April) up to the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*. In Prof. K. L. Chhatre's tables, this term is used to shew the number of *tithis*, calculated from the difference between the moon's mean longitude and the sun's apparent longitude, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's *spashṭa* or 'apparent' *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*.[6] Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 0, at the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, the sun's mean longitude was 11 signs, 20 degrees, 46·1 minutes (page

[4] The date of this work is Śaka-Saṁvat 1442 (A.D. 1520-21). At present, all the *Pañchâṅgs* (Hindu calendars) in the Dekkan, and in some other parts of India, are prepared from this authority, and from another small work, by the same author, entitled *Tithi-Chintâmaṇi*, containing the necessary tables.

[5] To calculate *tithis*, only the difference between the longitudes of the moon and of the sun is to be taken. Therefore it matters not whether these longitudes are *sâyana* or *nirayaṇa*. To find a *nakshatra*, the *ayanâṁśas* must be applied to the moon's longitude obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's tables. The *Sâyana-Pañchâṅga*, annually published, from Śaka 1806, under the patronage of His Highness the Mahârâjâ Holkar, by Mr. Visaji Raghunath Lele of Gwâlior, with the aid of Mr. Janardan B. Modak, B. A. of the Bombay University, of myself, and of Mr. Krishnarao Raghunath Bhide of Indôr, is based on the *sâyana* system.

[6] In the *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi* and other works, the term *tithi-śuddhi* is used in the sense of the number of *tithis*, calculated from the mean places of the sun and the moon, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's *madhyama* or 'mean' *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*.

46); and the apparent longitude obtained from it, according to the method given by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, is 11 signs, 22 degrees, 38·9 minutes. The moon's mean longitude at that time was 4 signs, 25 degrees, 42·4 minutes (page 87). The difference between the longitudes of the sun and the moon,—the sun's longitude being subtracted from that of the moon,—is, therefore, 5 signs, 3 degrees (=153 degrees), 3·5 minutes. Then $153^\circ\ 3'{\cdot}5 \div 12 = 12 + (9^\circ\ 3'{\cdot}5 \div 12)$ *tithis*; that is 12 *tithis* and about 45 *ghaṭîs* and 14 *palas*, had elapsed. This, therefore, is given as the *tithi-śuddhi* for Śaka-Saṁvat 0.

The *tithis*[7] obtained from the mean places and mean motions of both the sun and the moon, are *madhyama* or 'mean' *tithis*. So, also, those calculated from the apparent place and motion of the sun and the mean place and motion of the moon,—as in the case of the *tithi-śuddhi* and the mean solar equivalents of *tithis* given in Table III. pp. 13-19, column 2,—may be called mean *tithis*, and not apparent. But the *tithis*, &c., given in our *Pañchâṅgs* are always *spashṭa* or 'apparent;'[8] that is, they are calculated from the apparent places and motions of the sun and the moon. The *spashṭa-tithi* differs from the *madhyama-tithi* sometimes by nearly 25 *ghaṭîs*; and this is chiefly owing to the fact that the moon's apparent longitude differs from her mean longitude sometimes by about 5 degrees.[9] Many corrections have to be applied to the mean place of the moon, in order to find her apparent place; but, generally speaking, only one of these, called *phala-saṁskâra* (फलसंस्कार), is taken into account by Hindu astronomers;[10] and this amounts to 5 degrees at the greatest. This correction varies according to the moon's *kêndra* (केन्द्र) or 'anomaly;' which is taken to be her distance from apogee.[11] From this correction is calculated the correction in time to be applied to the mean *tithi*; it is named *parâkhya* (पराख्य); and it is given in Table IV., on page 20, in the column headed *parâkhya*. It evidently varies according to the moon's *kêndra*. One revolution of the moon's *kêndra* is completed in 27 *days*, 33 *ghaṭîs*, 16·56 *palas*. This period is called *nîchôchcha-mâsa* (नीचोच्चमास);[12] and is known to English astronomers by the name of the 'anomalistic month.' This period, converted into *tithis*,[13] is equal to 27 *tithis*, 59 *ghaṭîs*, 33·36 *palas*; that is, nearly and practically, 28 *tithis*. It is converted into *tithis* for the sake of convenience; since the variation in the *kêndra* is one *tithi* of *kêndra* in one *tithi* of time; and it is called *tithi-kêndra* (तिथिकेन्द्र), or 'the anomaly of the *tithi*, expressed in *tithis*.'

The moon's mean *kêndra* at the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* in Śaka-Saṁvat 0, is 10 signs, 19 degrees, 58·8 minutes (page 87). This, converted into *tithis*, is equal to 24 *tithis*, 52 *ghaṭîs*, 50 *palas*;[14] and this is given (page 10) as the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra* (तिथिमध्यमकेन्द्र), or 'mean anomaly of the *tithi*,' at the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* in Śaka-Saṁvat 0. It shews that so many *tithis* and parts of a *tithi* had elapsed, up to that *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee.

The year adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is equal to 365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭîs*, 31·52 *palas*. Dividing 365 by 7 (the number of days in a week), the remainder is 1. And so, if in one year the Sun enters Aries at the time of sunrise on a Sunday, then, in the following year, he will come to Aries on Monday, and 15 *ghaṭîs*, 31·5 *palas*, after sunrise. Therefore, the variation in the *abdapa* in one year is given (page 10, col. 3, under *vâra*) as 1 *day*, 15 *ghaṭîs*,

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[7] Here, and in such cases in general, by the expression *tithi* is meant the end, not the beginning or duration, of a *tithi*. In *Pañchâṅgs*, the *ghaṭîs* and *palas* of *tithis* are given; and, by them, it is to be understood that the *tithis* end so many *ghaṭîs* and *palas* after sun-rise.

[8] Though not always in the strictest sense. I say so, because, in practice, extreme accuracy is not, and cannot be sought. But, in theory, they are required to be 'apparent' in the strictest sense.

[9] According to European Tables, the difference is sometimes about 8 degrees.

[10] The amount of this correction, adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, in finding out *tithis* in his *Kâla-sâdhana* Tables (pp. 1 to 30 of his book), is nearly the same as that adopted by ancient Hindu astronomers. Therefore, the *tithis* obtained by his method, as described above, should agree very closely with those obtained from the methods prescribed in Sanskrit works. But, in the *abdapa* and other elements, the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and other authorities themselves slightly differ, one from the other. And, accordingly, the difference will be sometimes about 5 or 6 *ghaṭîs*. There are, also, some other minute causes of difference.

[11] In European astronomical works, the anomaly is reckoned from perigee or perihelion; but in Hindu works it is reckoned from apogee or aphelion.

[12] In this term *nîcha* means 'perigee:' and *uchcha*, 'apogee.' And *nîchôchcha-mâsa* is the period in which the moon comes from perigee or apogee to the same point again.

[13] One *tithi* is equal to 0·9843529572 of a mean solar day.

[14] $360^\circ : 319^\circ\ 58'{\cdot}8 :: ti.\ 27\ gh.\ 59\ p.\ 33{\cdot}36 : ti.\ 24\ gh.\ 52\ p.\ 50.$

31·5 *palas*; the decimals being supplied from column 2, in which is given the number of days, corresponding to the number of years in column 1.

In one solar year, the mean *tithis* are 371, and 3 *ghaṭis*, 53·4 *palas*. Dividing 371 by 360, the remainder, 11 *tithis*, 3 *ghaṭis*, 53·4 *palas*, is given as the variation of the *tithi-śuddhi* in one year (page 10, col. 4).

The variation in the moon's *kêndra*, in one year, is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6·2 minutes (page 87, column 3). This, changed into *tithis* by the rule of three, *viz.* — 360° : 92° 6′·2 :: *ti* 27 *gh.* 59 *p.* 33·36 : *ti.* 7 *gh.* 9 *p.* 42,—is given, therefore, as the variation in the *tithi-kêndra* in one year (page 10, col. 5).

A few other points and terms will be explained, as we proceed with the following example.

To find the Week-day of a given Tithi.

The process will be best illustrated, step by step, by actually working out an example. And, at Mr. Fleet's request, I take, as my example, the date of **Śaka-Saṁvat 406** (A.D. 484-85).; the month **Âshâḍha** (June-July); the **bright fortnight**; the **twelfth** *tithi*.

From Table I. page 10, write down (see the Table on page 117 below), in three separate columns, three quantities, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0, which are technically called the *kshêpaka* (क्षेपक) or 'additive quantities;' *viz.* (*a*) the *abdapa*, *vâras* 1, *ghaṭis* 10, *palas* 10; (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi*, *tithis* 12, *ghaṭis* 45, *palas* 14; and (*c*) the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*, *tithis* 24, *ghaṭis* 52, *palas* 50. Below each of them respectively, in its proper column, enter, from the same Table, the *bhêda* (भेद)or 'variation' for the component parts of the given Śaka year;[15] *viz.* for 400, in (*a*) *vâras* 6, *gh.* 30, *p.* 9·3, in (*b*) *tithis* 15, *gh.* 55, *p.* 49·2, and in (*c*) *tithis* 9, *gh.* 24, *p.* 45; and for 6 years, in (*a*) *vâras* 0, *gh.* 33, *p.* 9·1, in (*b*) *tithis* 6, *gh.* 23, *p.* 20·2, and in (*c*) *tithis* 14, *gh.* 58, *p.* 39.

Now, as the given year is anterior to Śaka-Saṁvat 1622, a correction, to be arrived at from Table II. p. 12, is to be applied, and is always to be added, in respect of the *tithi-śuddhi* and the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*. The reason for this correction, is this. As explained above, the *tithi-śuddhi* and the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra* depend respectively on the mean longitude and the mean anomaly of the moon. But the moon's mean motion is not always the same. Therefore, to her mean longitude and mean anomaly, obtained from the general Table of annual variation in them (Table III. p. 87f., cols. 2, 3), a correction (Table IV. p. 89f., cols. 2, 3) is to be applied. Thus, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0, the correction in the moon's mean longitude is 44 seconds, and that in the *kêndra* is 2 degrees, 55 seconds (page 90). These, turned into *tithis* are 3 *ghaṭis*, 40 *palas*, with regard to the *tithi-śuddhi*; and 14 *ghaṭis*, with regard to the *tithi-kêndra*. These figures, therefore, are given as the correction in respectively the *tithi-śuddhi* and the *tithi-kendra* for Śaka-Saṁvat 0. In the Table, this correction is given for intervals of 1000 years each. Taking first the *tithi-śuddhi*, the correction for Saka-Samvat 0 is *gh.* 3, *p.* 40; and the correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 1000 is *p.* 32. Therefore, deducting the latter from the former, the difference, *gh.* 3, *p.* 8, or 188 *palas*, is the variation of correction in 1000 years.[16] Then, by the Rule of Three,—1000 years : 406 years :: 188 palas : 76 palas. And 76 *palas* are *gh.* 1, *p.* 16. As the quantities are decreasing ones, this is to be subtracted from *gh.* 3, *p.* 40, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0. And the remainder gives us, as the sufficiently approximate correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 406, *gh.* 2, *p.* 24, to be added in (*b*). Similarly, the correction for the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*, worked out in the same way, is *gh.* 9, *p.* 8, to be added in (*c*).

Now add together the respective quantities in (*a*) (*b*) and (*c*), bearing in mind that, in doing so, when the *vâras* in (*a*) the *abdapa* exceed 7, or any multiple of 7, only the remainder, above 7 or its multiple, is to be brought to account, because there are 7 *vâras* or week-days in each week; and that, when the *tithis* in (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi* and in (*c*) the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra* exceed 30 and 28

[15] The decimals in the *palas* of (*a*) the *abdapa* are taken from the *ahargana*, or total number of solar days of the solar year, in col. 2.

[16] Properly speaking, this variation is for Śaka-Saṁvat 500, midway between Śaka-Saṁvat 0 and 1000. It should be reduced first for the year midway between Śaka-Saṁvat 0 and the given year; in this instance 406. But there is no absolute necessity for such exact precision.

Śaka-Saṁvat 406 = A.D. 484-85.

Âshâḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvâra (Thursday).

(a) *Abdapa.*

	vâra	gh.	p.
Śaka-Saṁvat 0 (p. 10) ...	1	10	10
Add variation for 400 Śaka years (p. 11)	6	30	9·3
Add variation for 6 Śaka years (p. 10)...............	0	33	9·1
Add correction for a date prior to Śaka-Saṁvat 1622			
Week-day and time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 ...	1	13	28·4
ghaṭis and *palas* only, from above	0	13	28
Add, from (*b*), the mean solar day	0	52	20
tithi-bhôga	1	5	48

Add:—

expired *tithis*:—

Chaitra.........	15
Vaiśâkha	30
Jyêshṭha	30
Âshâḍha	26
	101
minus, from (*b*), *tithi-dhruva*......	5
expired *tithis* from end of Chaitra śukla 5	96

solar equivalent of 96 *tithis* (p. 14)............	94	17	36
	95	23	24
Add *parâkhya*, obtained from (*c*) *tithi-spashṭa-kêndra* of Âshâḍha śukla 12	0	24	19
Days elapsed up to end of apparent Âshâḍha śukla 12	95	47	43
Add week-day of *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of Śaka-Samvat 406	1		

Reduce to weeks......... 7) 96 (13
 91

Remainder, the 5th day, is Thursday............... 5

(b) *Tithi-śuddhi.*

	tithi	gh.	p.
....	12	45	14
....	15	55	49·2
....	6	23	20·2
....	0	2	24
tithi-dhruva and *bhukta-tithi*	5	6	47·4
From one *tithi*	1	0	0
Deduct *bhukta-tithi*	0	6	47
bhôgya-tithi	0	53	13
Deduct as many *palas* as there are *ghaṭis* in the *bhôgya-tithi*	0	0	53
Mean solar day......	0	52	20

RESULT; THURSDAY.

(c) *Tithi-madhyama-kêndra.*

	tithi	gh.	p.
....	21	52	50
....	9	24	45
....	14	58	39
....	0	9	8
	21	25	22
Add, from (*b*) the *bhôgya-tithi* ...	0	53	13
tithi-spashṭa-kêndra	22	18	35
Add *tithi-kêndra* of (*a*) 96 *tithis* (p. 11)	12	1	2
tithi-spashṭa-kêndra at end of Âshâḍha śukla 12.........	0	19	55

respectively, or any multiple of them, only the remainders above 30 and 28, or their multiple, are to be taken notice of, because there are 30 *tithis* in one lunar month, and, as nearly as possible, 28 *tithis* in one revolution of the *tithi-kêndra.*

We thus obtain in (*a*) the *abdapa, vâras* 1, *gh.* 13, *p.* 28·4. The first quantity, of the days, shews that the week-day on which the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406, occurred, was Sunday. And the remaining quantities shew that the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* took place at the end of *gh.* 13, *p.* 28·4, after sunrise on that Sunday. The small decimal which we have here, as also in (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi*, under the *palas*, may be disregarded in the following steps of the process.

In (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi*, we obtain *tithis* 5, *gh.* 6, *p.* 47·4. From this we learn that, when the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406, occurred, 5 'mean' *tithis* of the month Chaitra were completed, and also 6 *ghaṭîs* and 47 *palas* of the 6th *tithi* had elapsed. The number of completed *tithis*, here 5, is technically called the *tithi-dhruva* (तिथिध्रुव) or 'constant of the *tithi*;' because, when it has been determined for any given year, it remains uniform or constant in working out any example in that same year. And the remainder, here *gh.* 6, *p.* 47, is called the *bhukta-tithi* (भुक्ततिथि) or 'elapsed portion of the (current) *tithi*.'

Subtracting the *bhukta-tithi*, *gh.* 6, *p.* 47, from 1 *tithi* or 60 *ghaṭîs*, the remainder, *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, gives the portion of the 6th *tithi* that was still to run. This is technically called the *bhôgya-tithi* (भोग्यतिथि), *lit.* '(that portion of) the *tithi* which is still to be enjoyed.'

In (*c*), the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*, we obtain *tithis* 21, *gh.* 25, *p.* 22. This gives us the moon's *kêndra*, reduced to *tithis*, at the time of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406.

To this, the *bhôgya-tithi*, viz. *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, is to be added. And the result, *tithis* 22, *gh.* 18, *p.* 35, is the *kêndra* at the end of the 6th *tithi* of Chaitra. This is called the *tithi-spashṭa-kêndra* (तिथिस्पष्टकेन्द्र) or 'apparent *kêndra* of the *tithi*.'

Next, by subtracting from the *bhôgya-tithi* viz. *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, as many *palas*, 53, as there are *ghaṭîs* in it,[17] we convert it into a mean solar day, with the result of *gh.* 52, *p.* 20.

Add this *gh.* 52, *p.* 20, to the *ghaṭîs* and *palas* only of (*a*) the *abdapa*. The result, *vâra* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, shews that the 6th mean *tithi* of Chaitra ended with *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, after sunrise on the following day, Monday, after the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, Sunday. This quantity, *vâra* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, is called the *tithi-bhôga* (तिथिभोग), *lit.* 'the enjoyment or duration of the *tithi*;' and it is the end of the *dhruva-tithi*, increased by 1. It is, of course, a mean *tithi*. And it shews that *days* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, up to the end of Chaitra śukla 6 as a mean *tithi*.

We have now to bring into consideration the number of *tithis* elapsed up to the commencement of the given *tithi*. And, in doing this, we must of course take account of any intercalary month that there may be, preceding the given *tithi*, in the given year.

In our example, however, the result in (*b*) the *tithi-śuddhi* is less than 19 *tithis*. And a reference to Table VI. on page 22,—which would enable us to determine the intercalary month approximately, if there were one,—shews us that there was, therefore, no intercalary month at all in the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406. The explanation of this, is, that, when the *tithi-śuddhi* is less than 19, it shows that the *saṁkrânti* in Chaitra occurred within the first 19 *tithis* of that month. And, as, generally, the solar months are longer than the lunar months, the *saṁkrântis* of the sun, *i.e.* his passage from one sign of the zodiac into the next, occur continuously later in each successive lunar month. But, when the *saṁkrânti* in Chaitra falls within the first 19 *tithis*, no *saṁkrânti*, up to the end of the year, can go beyond the 30th *tithi* of any lunar month; and, therefore, no month will be intercalary.

Consequently, from the beginning of Chaitra, up to the commencement of the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12, there had elapsed only the usual number of 101 *tithis*; *viz.* in

[17] *i.e.* by subtracting the sixtieth part. This proportion is taken for the sake of easy calculation. Properly speaking, to convert a *tithi* into a solar day, the sixty-fourth part should be subtracted; because one mean *tithi* is equal to ·984353 of a solar day, *i.e.*, as nearly as possible, sixty-three sixty-fourths of a solar day. The difference, however, does not introduce any material error.

the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 15; in Vaiśâkha, 30; in Jyêshṭha, 30; and in Âshâḍha, 15 in the dark fortnight, and 11 in the bright.[18] From this number of *tithis*, 101, we subtract the *tithi-dhruva*, 5. And the remainder, 96, is the number of *tithis* elapsed from the end of Chaitra śukla 5 up to the end of Âshâḍha śukla 11. But the *tithi-bhôga*, which we have already arrived at, is the end of Chaitra, śukla 6; and the same number of *tithis*, 96, expire from the end of Chaitra śukla 6, up to the end of Âshâḍha śukla 12. Therefore, adding to the *tithi-bhôga* the solar equivalent, now to be introduced, the result will bring us to the end of the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12.

Turning to Table III. on page 14, we find that the equivalent, in mean solar days, of 96 *tithis*, is *days* 94, *gh*. 17, *p*. 36. And, adding this to the *tithi-bhôga*, the result, *days* 95, *gh*. 23, *p*. 24, gives the interval that had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* up to the end of Âshâḍha śukla 12, as a mean *tithi*.

Now, however, we have to determine the *spashṭa-tithi*, or apparent *tithi*. For this purpose, we require the *parâkhya*-correction, which is to be ascertained through the *tithi-kêndra*.

Turning again to Table III. page 14, we find that the variation in the *tithi-kêndra* for 96 *tithis* is *tithis* 12, *gh*. 1, *p*. 20. Enter this in (c), below *tithis* 22, *gh*. 18, *p*. 35, which we have already arrived at as the *tithi-kêndra* at the end of Chaitra śukla 6. Add the two quantities together; and the result,—excluding 28 *tithis*, as before,—is *tithis* 6, *gh*. 19, *p*. 55; which is the *tithi-spashṭa-kêndra* at the end of the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12.

With this argument, we turn to Table IV. page 20, for the *parâkhya*-correction. In this Table, the correction is given for *tithis* and *ghaṭîs*, at intervals of 10 *ghaṭîs*. Thus, for the *tithi-spashṭa-kêndra*, *tithis* 6, *gh*. 10, the *parâkhya* is *gh*. 24, *p*. 10; and for *tithis* 6, *gh*. 20, it is *gh*. 24, *p*. 19. The difference, 9 *palas*, is shewn in the last column of the Table, and would serve to calculate the exact *parâkhya* for the *tithi-spashṭa-kêndra*. But here it is sufficiently close for our purposes to take the *parâkhya* as *gh*. 24, *p*. 19.

Under (a) the *abdapa*, enter this *parâkhya* below the sum of the *tithi-bhôga* and the solar equivalent of 96 *tithis*, and,—as is indicated by the sign plus at the top of col. 1 in Table IV.,—add it to that sum.

The result, *vâras* 95, *gh*. 47, *p*. 43, gives the number of days, and parts of a day, that had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, up to the end of the apparent Âshâḍha śukla 12. To the days, 95, add 1, the week-day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkranti*. Divide the sum, 96, by 7, and the result is 13 weeks, and 5 days over; which shews that the current week-day on Âshâḍha śukla 12 was the fifth day in the week; that is **Thursday.** The remaining quantities, *gh*. 47, *p*. 43, shew the time after sunrise, on that Thursday, on which the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12, ended.

The Tables in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, however, are adapted to the meridian of Bombay. The *ghaṭîs* and *palas*, therefore, of a *tithi* worked out by the method exhibited above, are for Bombay; and are to be reckoned from mean sun-rise at Bombay. When the *tithi* is required for any other particular place, the difference of longitude in time (1 degree = 10 *palas*) is to be added or subtracted, according as the place is east or west of Bombay.

In the present instance, as I learned after first working it out, the above Śaka date was selected in consequence of its being the equivalent of the date, in **Gupta-Saṁvat 165,** recorded in the pillar inscription of **Budhagupta at Êraṇ** in the Central Provinces. We have therefore now to determine the *tithi* for Êraṇ itself.

The longitude of Bombay is 72° 51′; and that of Êraṇ is 78° 15′; both east of Greenwich. Êraṇ, therefore, is 5 degrees, 24 minutes, east from Bombay. Adding (5° 24′ × 10 =) 54 *palas* to 47 *ghaṭîs* and 43 *palas*, which we have obtained above for Bombay, the *tithi* at Êraṇ is *gh*. 48, *p*. 37, reckoned from mean sunrise, on the same day, **Thursday.**

The above-result is sufficient for all practical purposes. But it is further to be noted that the *tithis* in our *Pañchâṅgs* are intended to be

[18] We are dealing with a northern date; and that is why, the *tithis* are counted in this way. If we were dealing with a southern date, the enumeration would be, in Chaitra, 30; in Vaiśâkha, 30; in Jyêshṭha, 30; and in the bright fortnight of Âshâḍha, 11. The total is the same, 101; since a bright fortnight is concerned.

Saka-Saṁvat 406 = A.D. 484-85.

Âshâḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvâra (Thursday)

The time, after sunrise, on which the Tithi ended.	By K. L. Chhatre's method exhibited above.	By the Sûrya-Siddhânta.	By the Siddhânta-Śirômani.
	gh. p.	gh. p.	gh. p.
Reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay	47 43	50 42	52 52
" " " " " Ujjain	48 12	51 11	53 21
" " " " " Êraṇ	48 37	51 36	53 46
" " apparent sunrise at Êraṇ	50 33	53 32	5542

given from apparent sun-rise. In practice, however, so much minuteness is not always and everywhere attempted; at least, in the present day, in the Dekkan. For this reason, it seems, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has not noticed this point in his method exhibited above. But I will now give the *tithi* in question from apparent sun-rise at Êraṇ. Without going through the process, which is rather too complicated to be given in the present paper, I will state only the result, that the apparent sun-rise at Êraṇ, on the day in question, took place *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, before the mean sun-rise; the latitude of Êraṇ used in the process, being 24° 5′. Adding, therefore, *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, to the above result from mean sun-rise, we get *gh.* 50, *p.* 33, reckoned from apparent sun-rise, at which the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12, ended at **Êraṇ** on the **Thursday.**

Before dismissing this part of the subject, I would point out that the calculation of a *tithi*, by the above method, is not of necessity absolutely accurate, according to the present absolutely accurate European Tables of the sun and the moon. Absolute accuracy, in this sense, could be ensured only by working from the actual places or longitudes of the sun and the moon, to be determined in strict accordance with the method prescribed for that purpose. The *tithi* obtained by the method exhibited above, will differ, sometimes by as much as 10 *ghaṭis*, from that which would be obtained from the apparent places of the sun and the moon, actually calculated from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables for the sun and the moon. The difference, however, at full-moon and new-moon will be very small, 1 *ghaṭi* at the greatest; and it reaches its maximum on the eighth *tithi* of the bright and of the dark fortnight. But, in respect of this second possible method of Prof. K. L. Chhatre, it must be stated that we have nothing to do with it in dealing with Hindu *tithis*; for the reason that, with the exception of the *phala-saṁskâra*, the corrections introduced by him in finding the apparent longitude of the moon, were not taken into account by ancient Hindu astronomers.

And, on the other hand, the method exhibited above being in close agreement with Hindu works, it may be claimed that the *tithi* obtained by it will differ but very little from the *tithi* obtained by the method prescribed in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and other Hindu works. The difference[19] will amount to 5 or 6 *ghaṭis* at the utmost; and that in but very few cases.

In order, however, that no room may be left for doubt, I have calculated the *tithi* in the present example actually by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and the *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi*. I calculated it first for Ujjain, reckoning from the mean sun-rise there; and then turned it into the *tithi* for Êraṇ. The longitude of Ujjain is 75° 43′, east of Greenwich. I have also calculated the *ghaṭis* and *palas* from the apparent sun-rise at Êraṇ; and all the results are given in the Table on the top of this page. From them we see that the *tithi* fell on a Thursday, according to all the authorities. The result arrived at from the *Siddhânta-Śirômaṇi*, may be said to be the result from also the *Brahma-Siddhânta*; since the former is based on the latter. I have not at present a copy of the *Ârya-Siddhânta* to refer to; but I am confident that that authority would give the same general result.

[19] See page 115 above, note 10.

Śaka-Saṁvat 406 = A.D. 484-85.
Âshâḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvâra (Thursday).

	days.	gh.	p.
Date of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* in March of A.D. 0 (p. 30)	13	59	10
Add variation for A.D. 400 (p. 30)	3	30	9
„ „ 84 (p. 27)...	0	44	7
Date of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* in March of A.D. 484	18	13	26
Add days elapsed from the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* up to the given *tithi*, from col. (*a*) of the previous process	95		
	113		
Deduct number of days in completed months from the 1st March:— March................... 31; April .... 30; May 31	92		
Remainder is the current day of the next month, and the current day of the given *tithi*	21		

RESULT; 21st JUNE, A.D. 484.

If, by the calculations detailed above, we find that a certain *tithi* ended nearly at the end of a Hindu day,—for instance, 57 *ghaṭîs* after sunrise on a Sunday; *i.e.* 3 *ghaṭîs* before sunrise on Monday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly after sunrise on the following day, Monday. And, on the other hand, if our results shew that a certain *tithi* ended shortly after the commencement of a Hindu day,—for instance, 3 *ghaṭîs* after sunrise on a Sunday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly before the termination of the preceding day, Saturday.

In dealing with a particular record that, on a certain week-day, there was a certain *tithi*, we can only be sure of absolute accuracy in our results, if we can ascertain, so as to apply, the actual authority and method used by the author of the calendar which the drafter of that record consulted in preparing his statement.

The method exhibited above, however, may be safely relied on for all practical purposes.

To find the English Date for a given Tithi.

The materials for this process are to be found in Prof. K. S. Chhatre's book, in Table IX. on page 27, and in Table XI. on page 30.

The English date answering to the given Hindu date in our present example, has obviously to be worked out according to the Julian Calendar, or Old Style; being long anterior to A.D. 1752, when the Gregorian Calendar, or New Style, was introduced.

From the heading of Table XI. page 30, we find that, in A.D. 0, the Hindu *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* occurred on the 13th March, and *gh.* 59, *p.* 10, after sunrise (civil time). Enter these quantities. And below them, enter the *bhêda* or variation for the component parts of the given year A.D., in this instance A.D. 484-(85), which is always obtained by adding A.D. 78-(79) to the given Śaka year; *viz.* for 400, *days* 3, *gh.* 30, *p.* 9, from Table XI.; and for 84, *days* 0, *gh.* 44, *p.* 7, from Table IX. p. 27.

Add these quantities together. The result, for A.D. 484, is *days* 18, *gh.* 13, *p.* 26. And this shews that, in A.D. 484, the Hindu *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* occurred on the 18th March, and 13 *ghaṭîs* and 26 *palas*[20] after sunrise.

Add 95, which we have already ascertained, in the previous process, under (*a*) the *abdapa*, to be the number of days that had elapsed from

[20] The *ghaṭîs* and *palas* ought to agree with the *ghaṭîs* and *palas* of the *abdapa* of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 in col. (*a*) of the previous process. Here there is a difference of 2·4 *palas*; which shews that here is a small mistake somewhere in the Tables.

sunrise on the day of the *Mêsha-Saṅkrânti*, up to sunrise on the day on which the given *tithi* ended. The sum, 113, gives the number of days up to, and inclusive of, the given *tithi*, from, and inclusive of, the 1st March.

From this sum subtract the number of days in as many entire months as were completed within the total of 113 days; *viz.* in the present instance, in March, 31 days; in April, 30; and in May, 31; total, 92.

The remainder, in this instance 21, gives the current day of the next month, corresponding to the given *tithi*. The result, therefore, in the present instance, is the **21st June, A.D. 484,** Old Style.

The identification of this date with the week-day previously obtained for the given *tithi*, may be verified by any of the ordinary means available. For instance, from Gen. Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, Table II. p. 98, we find that the 1st January, A.D. 484, Old Style, was a Sunday. And then, turning, as the given year was a Leap-year, to the right-hand side of his Table I. on page 97, we find that the 21st June of the same year was a Thursday, as required.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Concluded from p.* 98.)

XXXIII.

Having selected Ogotai as Khakan, Chinghiz **divided his empire** into four parts, assigning one as the particular patrimony of each of his four sons, Juchi, Chagatai, Ogotai and Tului. In this division he apparently ignored the settled and civilized territories which he had conquered, and limited himself to what he probably alone valued, the pasture lands of Central Asia, and in fact he apparently divided rather his clans than his lands among his sons. It was the tribes that they inherited: the necessary pastures where they lived simply went with the men.

Let us now shortly try and realize the limits of this division. To Juchi was assigned what was afterwards known as the Khanate of Kipchak, from the dominant Turkish tribe which lived there. The Kipchaks and Kankalis answered roughly to the Kirghiz Kazaks and Turkomans of our day; and with the smaller tribes in their neighbourhood they formed his *ulus* or kingdom. It was probably bounded on the west by the Caspian and the Volga. On the north by Great Bulgaria and the Ugrian tribes of Siberia, who were not herdsmen but fisher-folk and hunters. On the South it included the district of Khwârizm, now known as the Khanate of Khiva, as far as the northern frontiers of Khorasan. Excluding Mâwaru'n-Nahr or Transoxiana, the boundary probably followed the Sihun or Jaxartes up to its sources. On the east it was bounded by Lake Balkhash and it also included a large part of the valleys of the Chui and its tributaries. The **Ulugh Tagh** mountains were the strongholds of the Khanate, and there **Juchi** probably had his chief camp. At **Khwârizm** he apparently put a deputy with a garrison. This deputy was Chin Timur, who had summoned the town of Urganj when it was first attacked.[1] In the *Kang-mu*, Juchi is described as of an impetuous temperament, but as a very brave and a good soldier.[2] Abulfaraj says that Chinghiz made him his master-huntsman.

East of the camping grounds of Juchi were those of **Chagatai.** Their boundary is not very clear. They included apparently the country south of the **Thian Shan range** from the **Pamir** as far east as **Kâmul,** and also the northern slopes of the same range from the **Talas** valley as far as and including **Bishbaligh** and the **Uighur** country. Its capital was **Almaligh.** It thus included the old country of the Karluks and the Uighurs, Kashgar, Khoten and the various smaller States as far east as Kamul. Chagatai is described in the *Kang-mu* as of a serious character, reserved and very taciturn, whence he was generally feared.[3] Abulfaraj says that Chinghiz made Chagatai chief judge of the Empire, and according to Mirkhond he was styled director of the law.

Minhaj-i-Saraj says that as he was of a very sanguinary, malevolent, and tyrannical nature, his father did not leave him the sovereignty,

[1] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 103-104.
[2] De Mailla, Vol. IX. p. 128.
[3] *De Mailla*, Vol. IX. p. 129.

but left it to his younger brother Ogotai.[4] North of the country controlled by Chagatai was the *ulus* of **Ogotai**, that is to say his private appanage, independent of his position as emperor of the whole Mongol world. This apparently stretched from **Lake Balkhash** as far as the **Kanghi chain** in the East and as far north into **Siberia** as the Mongol arms had reached. It apparently included the land of the Kirghiz and the Naimans. Its chief towns were **Imil**, near the modern Chuguchak, and **Pûlad** and **Kayâlik**. Abulfaraj says Chinghiz appointed Ogotai chief counsellor of the empire.

East of the **Kanghi chain** and as far east as the sources of the **Onon**, including Chinghiz Khân's own private property and *ulus* among his own people, was the *ulus* of **Tului**, the youngest or hearth-child of Chinghiz Khân, whom he nominated commander-in-chief of the army, with control of the Mongol community properly so called. He ruled the kernel of the empire, a position in which he was succeeded by his sons, who were thus able to secure supreme power more easily a few years later.

East of Tului's appanage and on the borders of Manchuria lay the domains of Khazar, Ochigin, Kachiun and Belgutei, Chinghiz Khân's brothers.[5] Manchuria, Liau-tung and Corea were ruled by chieftains of their own, who owed allegiance to the Mongol emperor.

Northern China and **Transoxiana** were treated as common property, each of the four brothers having a share in their revenues, and a deputy there to look after his interests. China was administered by Yeliu Chutsai, who had had temporary authority in Transoxiana, as we have seen. Transoxiana was apparently administered by Mahmud Yelvaj, whose visit to Chinghiz I have also described, and who seems to have retained the post till the year 1241, when he took charge of Northern China.

It is hard to say what occurred between Chinghiz Khân's withdrawal and the reappearance of Jelalu'd-dîn, the son of the Khwârizm Shâh Muhammad in the country south of the Oxus, in Afghanistan. It would seem that a contingent was posted at Badghiz under Tair Baghatur. A coin, now in the British Museum, has been found, which bears the name of Chinghiz Khân on it. One side has the inscription Al-Adil-al-Aazim Chinghiz Khân, and the other An Nasir-i-din-ullah Amin-al-Mumunin, that is, the name of the then ruling Khalif. Major Raverty is doubtless right when he says that this coin was struck, in all probability, by one of the subjected rulers of Ghur or Kerman, or the parts adjacent, perhaps by Hassan the Karluk. Mr. Thomas, in his account of the coins of the Pathan dynasty, mentions another similar coin apparently struck at Kerman. He says these coins in fabric are like those struck by the Khwârizm Shah Jelalu'd-dîn, when in the East, and by Nasir-u'd-dîn Muhammad-ibn Hassan Karluk.[6]

There is no mention among Western writers, nor yet among those of China, of any conquest of **Tibet** by Chinghiz Khân. And Colonel Yule says that it is not very clear how it came under subjection to the Mongols. In the 11th book of the Tibetan work Dub-thah leg-shad sel-kyi mélon, there is a curious notice, however, which has been translated by Babu Sarat Chandra Das, which *inter, alia*, says :—"Chinghiz Khân, who turned the wheel of might, visited Tibet. After subjugating Nari-kor-sum, U, and Tsañ, Lho, Kham and Gañ, he sent an envoy to Tsan offering large presents to the learned Kun-gah-Niñpo, the hierarch of Sakya, and appointed him his spiritual guide, and subsequently invited him to visit Hor.[7] He obtained from Tibet some images, sacred volumes and *chaityas*, from which the Mongols imbibed faith in Buddhism and commenced to adore Kon-chhog, or the Supreme Being. During this time some Mongols also took the vows of *Upâsaka*, &c., whence they got hold of *Dharma*.[8]" This notice is not very trustworthy, and I quote it merely for what it is worth.

Ssanang Setzen has an entirely different story, which is probably of equal authority. He says that in the Bing panther year 1206, when the Lord was 45 years old, he marched against Kâlûge Dorji, Khakan of Tibet. The king of Tibet sent the prince named Ilughu with his submission, to the Lord, with 300 men, and many camels, as tribute. The Lord met them on the mountain Ajinu Tsai dam, received them well, and made them large presents and

[4] *Tab-i-Nas.* p. 1146.
[5] *vide* chap. III.
[6] *op. cit.* pp. 91, 97 and 98.
[7] *i.e.* Mongolia.
[8] *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, LI. p. 66.

when he sent Ilughu Noyan back again he gave him a letter and salutations for the Lama, called Sakia Tsak Lodsawa Ananda Garbai. The letters stated,—"I have wished to summon thee, but as the course of my worldly affairs was completed, I have not summoned thee. Henceforth I confide in thee. Do thou protect me." Thus did the Lord subdue the three districts of the eight hundred and eighty thousand people of Kara Tibet lying below the province of Ngari.[9]

In a Mongol work entitled Jirukenu Tolta, written by Choigji Odozer, we are told that Chinghiz Khân sent an envoy to the Lama r-Jebstun b-Sopnam r-Chemo with the message; "Be thou the Lama to counsel me in the present and the future. I will become the lord and fosterer of religious alms, and will unite the practice of religion with the administration of the state. For this end I have relieved all the clergy in the kingdom of Tibet from the payment of alms." Thereupon the Lama replied: "I will endeavour to follow thy wishes in all things."[10]

Pallas has taken the same story from a Mongol work entitled Brullva-Sagdsha-Bandida jan gargaksen Monggol Wessuk, written according to the title under the 4th Khan Daiching Nairal Tub. He calls the Lama to whom Chinghiz sent an envoy, Jibsun-Sotnam-Sih-nōn.[11] Both these works treat this event as the foundation of the position of "Grand Lama."

Minhaj-i-Saraj tells us that "Chinghiz Khân when he entered Khorasan was 65 years old, a man of tall stature, of vigorous build, robust in body, the hair on his face scanty and turned white, with cat's eyes, possessed of great energy, discernment, genius, and understanding, awe-striking, a butcher, just, resolute, an overthrower of enemies, intrepid, sanguinary and cruel." He reports some remarkable things of him: *e.g.*, that he was an adept in magic and deception, and that some of the devils were his friends. Every now and then he used to fall into a kind of trance, when he used to say strange things, and the devils who had power over him foretold his victories. The tunic and clothes, which he wore on the first occasion, were placed in a trunk, and sealed up; and he used to take them about with him. When thus inspired he used to discourse on his victories, undertakings, defeats, plans for invading countries, &c. A person used to take the whole down in writing and enclose it in a bag and place a seal upon it, and when he came to his senses again they used to read over his utterances to him one by one, and according to these he would act, and more or less the things used to come true.[12] This account may possibly be based on some epileptic tendency on the part of Chinghiz Khân, such as Napoleon suffered from. Minhaj-i-Saraj goes on to say that he was skilled in the process of divination by means of burnt shoulder-blades of sheep, adding that the Ajami diviners[13] were not in the habit of burning the bones they consulted. Justice was so well administered by him that throughout his camp it was impossible for any one to take up a fallen whip from the ground unless he was the owner of it; while lying and theft were unknown. If any woman who had a husband living was captured by the Mongols no one would form a connection with her, and if a Mongol desired such a connection he first killed the husband.[14]

An anecdote reported by Rashidu'd-dîn puts graphically before us the character of the great conqueror. He one day asked his general, Borghorji, what was the greatest pleasure in life. "It is," said the latter, "to go hawking on a spring morning, mounted on a beautiful horse holding a falcon on one's fist, and to see it seize its prey." He then put the same question to Burgul and others of his officers, who replied in the same terms as Borghorji. "No," replied Chinghiz Khân, "man's greatest joy is to vanquish his enemies, to drive them before him, to seize what they possess, to see those whom they love bathed in tears; to mount their horses and press their wives and daughters to his bosom."[15]

From an anecdote reported by Minhaj-i-Saraj it would appear that Chinghiz Khân could only speak Mongol and did not speak Turki, which is curious, since it was probably his mother's language.[16]

Chinghiz Khân was undoubtedly the fore-

[9] *op. cit.* p. 89.
[10] Ssanang Setsen, pp. 392-3, note 9.
[11] Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nath. etc. II. 356, 357.
[12] *Tab-i-Nas.* pp. 1077-1078.
[13] *i.e.* those of Irak Ajam.
[14] *id.* pp. 1078-1079.
[15] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 404.
[16] *Tab-i-Nas.* p. 1114.

most figure in Asiatic history, not only from the area which he conquered, but still more from the length of time which his conquests remained in his family, and the deep impress he made upon the polity of the Asiatic peoples. Timur compared with him was but a transient meteor, and it must also be remembered that the weapons which Timur fought with were ready to his hand, while those which Chinghiz Khân used he had to make. It is not, therefore, strange that his name should occur in so much of the poetry of the desert, and should even have reached the far west; where, as Colonel Yule has argued, Chaucer's **Cambuscan Bold** probably represented our hero through the intermediate form of Father Ricold's **Camius Can.** It is more strange that he should have been almost lost sight of in English literature. D'Ohsson has admirably condensed the accounts of him left us by Juveni, Rashidu'd-dîn, &c. **Chinghiz Khân,** he says, owed his triumphs to the strength of his will and the resources of his genius, in which he enlisted all kinds of means as justified by his end. Perfidy and treachery were drawn upon, as much as the strong arms and robust frames of his soldiery. The terror he inspired deprived men of courage to defend themselves. Never did a conqueror more despise the human race, and well might he do so. The Mongols in their original home were among the most wretched of men, wandering with their herds in an elevated region of further Asia under an inclement sky, and with very hard surroundings. So poor that, as Rashidu'd-dîn says, only their chiefs had iron stirrups. The chief of a few small tribes of shepherds such as these, after fighting for years with adversity, first secured the rule over his own people, then broke the yoke binding him to his feudal superior; and, reinforced by a succession of hordes which he first defeated, he subdued the nomadic world of Asia. Lastly he broke in upon China and Persia, the two greatest contemporary Empires in the world, trampled upon them, and marched with such continuous success, that he professed that God had given him the empire of the world; and when he died in the midst of his conquests, he left his sons an empire so well organized, and an army so well equipped and strong, that they speedily increased the great circuit of his dominions.

How so much was done so quickly and with so very few errors, is a great puzzle, until we realize what an elaborate and perfect machine Chinghiz had created in his highly organized army, or rather his nation organized like an army. "The nomad nations," says an historian of Russia, "are armies, irregular indeed, but easily put in motion, prompt, and always on foot; whatever they leave behind them, can be guarded by old men, women and children. To such nations war is not an event; for long marches produce but little change in the habits of a wandering people; their houses, their provisions march along with them; and this is of some importance in uncultivated and uninhabited forests."[17] There was no distinction among the Mongols between civilian and soldier; all were soldiers who could carry arms, save perhaps a few Shamanist medicine men. They could live anywhere where their horses and cattle could find pasturage. They were kept together also by a most rigid discipline. Each tribe was broken up into small sections of ten men, each with its leader; nine such leaders chose a tenth for their centurion; nine centurions similarly chose a millenarian; and ten of these latter, a divisional commander, who had charge of 10,000 men or a *tuman*; and in giving orders each officer, from the leader of 100,000 to the leader of ten, had to give them to ten inferior officers only, and each of them to ten others, and so on, every one being responsible to his immediate superior alone. No man could change his section or company, and the most implicit obedience was exacted from all. If a commander committed a fault it was provided that the meanest soldier might be sent to summon him for punishment, and if he was at the other extremity of the Empire, and in command of 100,000 men he would, on an order arriving in such hands, submit himself at once to the bastinado or to execution. "Very different," says Juveni, "is what one sees elsewhere," referring to the customs of the Muhammadans, "where, as soon as a slave who has been bought with money, becomes possessed of ten horses, his master must speak to him with some deference; much more so if he has given him command of an

[17] Kelly's *Russia*, p. 1-66.

army. And it is seldom that a general, who has become rich and powerful by his master's favour, does not rebel against him. Every time such chiefs have to march, either to attack or repel the enemy, they require months to put their troops in motion. They draw pay for soldiers who are only on paper in peace time, and when war comes about they have to borrow from one another to fill up their ranks. Among the Mongols, on the contrary, the warrior, instead of receiving pay, pays his chief annually a certain number of horses, cattle, pieces of felt, &c. &c. Nor does a time of war exempt him from these payments. His wife, or the person he leaves in charge of his house, must perform the services he owes. A man cannot, like the sun, be present everywhere; it follows, therefore, that his wife, when her husband is on a campaign or hunting, should keep his house in such good order that, if a messenger comes from the prince, or some stranger arrives, he may find it in good order and find a good meal there. This does honour to a married man. The merit of a man may be judged of by that of his wife."

Chinghiz insisted that his officers should have their men in such good trim that they were always ready to mount. He said that a man who could command ten men well, deserved to be entrusted with a thousand; but, he adds, "if a commander of ten men does not know how to manage them, I will put him to death, him, his wife and his children, and will replace him by another man from his section." It was the same with the commanders of 100, 1,000 and 10,000. He urged his officers to come to him in the spring of each year to receive his orders and listen to his advice. "Those who stay at home, instead of coming at these times, are like a stone dropped into deep water, or an arrow shot among the reeds. They disappear. They are unfit to command." He wished his officers to instruct their children in riding, archery and wrestling as they would have to rely on their bravery for a livelihood, just as a merchant relies on his wares. He professed to employ each man in the post he was best fitted for. Thus he said: "I give the command of troops to those who join courage with skill. To those who are alert and active I confide the baggage, while the dullards I send to tend cattle with a whip in their hands. It is by due vigilance, order and discipline that I have seen my power grow like a new moon, that I have obtained the countenance of heaven and the support of earth. If my descendants will only follow my example, they will for 500 years, nay for a thousand or ten thousand, be similarly aided by heaven. God will reward them, men will bless them, and they will enjoy during long reigns all the good things of the earth."[18]

In time of peace Chinghiz counselled his soldiers to be quiet and gentle as calves, but in war to rush on the enemy like a hungry falcon on its quarry. Speaking one day of the merits of his generals, he said: "A braver man than Yessutai does not exist; no one possesses rarer gifts; but, as the longest march does not fatigue him, he feels neither hunger nor thirst, and fancies his soldiers are as enduring as himself. This is why he is unfit to command. A general should not be insensible to hunger and thirst, so that he may appreciate the sufferings of those whom he commands. His marches should be moderate and he should be sparing of the strength of his horses and men."[19] He recommended his successors, before undertaking an expedition, to examine the arms of their soldiers. Carpini tells us each Mongol had at least one bow, sometimes two or three, with three quivers full of arrows, and an axe and cords for drawing military engines. The richer men also had pointed swords, somewhat recurved. Some of them carried lances, with hooks on them to drag men down from their horses. Their arrows, he says, were two feet, a palm, and two fingers in length, their iron heads being very sharp and two-bladed. On their quivers were hung files to sharpen the arrows with. They had, besides, arrows with broad points for hunting, &c. They also carried shields made of osiers, &c., which were apparently only worn when in camp or on guard, especially at night, about the chief's tent.

Carpini describes in considerable detail the body armour used by the Mongols for covering their horses as well as themselves, body and head, and which was made of *cuir bouly* or softened leather, with plates of iron sewn upon it, for which purpose each man, as we elsewhere

[18] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 386-393. [19] *id.* 403.

read, had to supply himself with an awl, a needle and thread.[20] Thomas of Spalato says their armour was made of buffalo hides with scales fastened on it, and was virtually impenetrable. They wore iron or leathern helmets, crooked swords, quivers and bows. The heads of their arrows were four fingers broad, longer than those used in the west, and were made of iron, bone or horn, and the notches were so small that they would not pass over the strings of western bows. Their standards were short, made of black or white yak's tails, and having balls of wool at the top. Their horses were small, compact and hardy, and submitted to almost any hardship. They rode them without stirrups, and made them jump like deer over rocks and walls.[21]

The commissariat of campaigns, such as the Mongols indulged in, which is such a mystery at first sight, is partially explained by Marco Polo:—"They are more capable of hardships," he says, "than other nations; for many a time, if need be, they will go for a month without any supply of food, living only on the milk of their mares, and on such game as their bows may win them. The horses also will subsist entirely on the grass of the plains, so that there is no need to carry store of barley or straw or oats, and they are very docile to their riders. These, in case of need, will abide on horseback the livelong night, armed at all points, while the horse will be continually grazing. Of all troops in the world, these are they which endure the greatest hardships and fatigue, and which cost the least: * * * and when the army is on the march they have always 200 horsemen very well mounted, who are sent a distance of two marches in advance to reconnoitre, and these always keep ahead. They have a similar party in the rear and on either flank, so that there is a good-look out kept on all sides against a surprise. When they are going on a distant expedition, they take no gear with them except two leather bottles for milk, a little earthenware pot to cook their meat in, and a little tent to shelter them from rain, and in case of great urgency they will ride ten days on end without lighting a fire or taking a meal. On such an occasion they will sustain themselves on the blood of their horses, opening a vein and letting the blood jet into their mouths, drinking till they have had enough, and then staunching it. They also made a paste out of milk, by boiling it, separating the butter, and then drying the curds. When on an expedition, a man will take ten pounds of this, and on a morning put half a pound in a leathern bottle with as much water as he pleases."[22] This dried milk, called *kurut*, is also referred to by Rubruquis, who says the milk was allowed to go very sour before the curds were taken and dried. He adds that they would not drink water by itself.[23] From Ramusios' version of Marco Polo, it would seem that each Mongol, what with horses and mares, took 18 animals with him.[24]

The account of these Western travellers, is very like the report sent to Muhammad the Khwârizm Shah by his envoys, which has been extracted from an eastern author by Erdmann. "The army of Temujin," we there read, "is as countless as ants or locusts. Their warriors are matchless in lion-like valour, in obedience and endurance. They take no rest, and flight or retreat is unknown to them. They take oxen, sheep, camels and horses with them, and live on meat and sour milk. Their horses scratch the earth with their hoofs and feed on the roots and grasses they dig up, so that they need neither straw nor oats. They pray to the sun and moon on their rising and setting; they heed not whether food be clean or unclean, and eat dogs, swine, and bears. They will open a vein in their horses and drink the blood."[25]

Before each expedition, a Kuriltai or General Assembly of the princes and military chiefs was held, when the time and mode of attack were decided upon. Spies were sent forward and intelligence collected diligently about the country to be attacked. Chinghiz intrigued with the discontented and seduced them by fair promises. On attacking a province he generally divided the army into small bodies, invested the towns and slaughtered the people in the open country, sparing only a certain number to be utilised in attacking fortified places, which were blockaded. An advance guard was gene-

[20] Carpini, ed. d'Avezac, pp. 684-689.

[21] *Thomas of Spalato, Hist. Salon.* ch. 37. Wolff, *Gesch. der Mong. etc.* 334.

[22] *op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 252-254.

[23] *op. cit.* ed. d'Avezac, p. 229.

[24] Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p, 256, note 3.

[25] Erdmann, *Temudschin, etc.* p. 364; Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 257.

rally sent ahead, which prudently refrained from destroying buildings or killing cattle. Presently came the main army; when everything was swept away, leaving nothing of any kind alive. In crossing rivers the Mongols sewed skins together into water-tight bags, put their goods, &c. inside, and then tied the bundles to their horses' tails and swam over on them, holding on by the horses' manes.

They generally devastated the country round a fortress before attacking it, and tried to entice the garrison into an ambuscade. They built regular siege works armed with catapults, made and manned by Chinamen, Persians, &c. &c., skilled in working such machines and in the use of the so-called Greek fire. The peasants and captives were compelled to work the machines, to fill up the ditches, &c., and were then forced to head the assault. The attack was continued day and night, relieving-parties keeping the garrison in perpetual excitement. Mines were skilfully employed to sap the walls; and rivers were turned to overwhelm devoted cities. To delude the garrison, they would sometimes raise the siege, leaving their baggage and valuables behind, only to return by a sudden countermarch as soon as the garrison was lulled into security. They rarely abandoned an attack on a fortress, and would sometimes blockade it for years. They were bound by no oath; and, however solemn their promise to the inhabitants to induce them to surrender, it was unscrupulously broken, when the credulous garrison capitulated; and a general massacre ensued. Nor did instant submission avail in any case where possible danger to the communications, &c. of the invading army might ensue, for it was their policy to leave behind them no body of people, who could thus molest them. Towns and men they deemed of no value, and everything was swept away to make pastures for their herds. "They gloried," says Vincent of Beauvais, "in the slaughter of men; blood was spilt by them as freely as water. They employed lies and deception to delude their victims, and then destroyed them. They styled those who shut themselves up in fortresses "their imprisoned pigs" and deemed them more completely in their power than others.

"At the approach of a hostile force, their scattered detachments concentrated together to meet it. They despised honour and chivalry. In the business of war, ruse and surprise were more welcome to them than open fighting, and even their fighting was rather of a Fabian kind." "When they come to an engagement with the enemy," says Marco Polo, "they will gain the victory in this fashion. They never let themselves get into a regular medley, but keep perpetually riding round and shooting into the enemy, and as they do not count it any shame to run away in battle, they will sometimes pretend to do so, and in running away they turn in the saddle and shoot hard and strong at the foe, and in this way make great havoc. Their horses are trained so perfectly that they will double hither and thither, just like a dog, in a way that is quite astonishing. Thus they fight to as good purpose in running away, as if they stood and faced the enemy, because of the vast volleys of arrows that they shoot in this way, turning round upon their pursuers, who are fancying that they have won the battle. But when the Tartars see that they have killed and wounded a large number of horses and men, they wheel round bodily, and return to the charge in perfect order, and with loud cries; and in a very short time the enemy are routed. In truth they are stout and valiant soldiers and inured to war. And you perceive that it is just when the enemy sees them run, and imagines that he has gained the battle that he has in reality lost it, for the Tartars wheel round in a moment when they judge the right time has come, and after this fashion they have won many a fight."[26]

Carpini tells much the same story. He adds that the princes and chieftains did not join in the struggle with the men, but stood some distance behind and encouraged them. They mounted the boys and women so as to make the enemy believe the army was really larger than it was, and for this purpose they sometimes also mounted puppets on horseback. They placed their captives and the men of other tribes in the front of the fight, while with their picked troops they turned the enemy's flanks and tried to surround him. If a desperate foe resisted

[26] Yule's *Marco Polo*, I. pp. 254-5.

bravely, they would open their ranks to let him escape until the disorder of retreat made the work of destruction easy; and they wounded the horses and men from a distance by flights of arrows before they closed with them, so as to create a stampede.[27] Their cavalry manœuvred by signals and was very skilfully handled. They mercilessly killed cowards, and even put to death a whole section if several men in it tried to fly, and they similarly killed those who wilfully lagged behind when others were charging ahead.[28] Each man had several horses so that when the enemy's cavalry showed signs of weariness, they secured remounts. They would extend their lines quickly and thus envelop bodies of the enemy which had imprudently advanced too far. Those who turned aside to loot were treated like cowards.

In these expeditions the Mongols encamped to rest and recruit their horses for a few months every year. And, as the drudgery and the dangerous work of war was chiefly done by the captives, their lordly masters easily kept up their strength in the most distant expeditions. During times of peace, the nation was annually exercised in all the manœuvres of war at the great winter hunt, which, as we have seen, was organized like a military expedition, and formed the best of all training.

It is when we realize such facts as these in detail, that we see how admirable a machine for the purposes of war the Mongol army was. Probably no army that ever existed could rival it in the combined qualities of the hardihood of its men and horses, its complete independence of communications, in the excellence of its armature, its rigid discipline and loyalty, and in its most skilful tactics and strategy. Certainly no army then existing could approach it in these respects. And we must remember that a great deal of its organization and character was the actual work of Chinghiz himself, whose military genius and resources can only be compared with those of Napoleon. No doubt, he used his power ruthlessly. It is awful to think that from 1211 to 1223, 18,470,000 human beings are said to have perished in China and Tangut alone, at his hands—a fearful hecatomb which haunts the memory.[29] In Persia and its locality, he utterly laid prostrate the fairest and most flourishing provinces. "They came," said a fugitive poet from Bukkara, reported by Juveni, "and they rifled, they fired and they slew, trussed up their loot and were gone." Najmu'd-dîn of Rai says the same in most dismal phrases: "It was in the year 617[30] (of the Hijra) that the army of the reprobate Tâtârs (may God humiliate and destroy them) conquered that country. Such alarm, slaughter, slavery, destruction and burning as was caused by these accursed ones, was never seen or heard of before in the land of unbelievers or of Islam, and can only be compared with what the Prophet announced as signs of the Last Day, when he said: 'The Hour of Judgment shall not come until ye shall have fought with the Turks, men small of eye and ruddy of countenance, whose noses are flat and their faces like hide-covered shields.' 'There shall be days of horror. And what meanest thou by horror? said the Companions, and he replied: 'Slaughter! Slaughter!' This beheld the prophet in vision 600 years ago. And could there well be worse slaughter than there was in Rai where I, wretch that I am, was born and bred, and where the whole population of five hundred thousand souls was either butchered or carried into slavery."[31] It is curious to contrast these sombre phrases with the inflated rhetoric of the great traveller and geographer, Ibn Yakut, in a letter preserved by Ibn Khalikan, which he sent in the Hijra year 617 from Mosul to the Vizier Jamalu'd-din. It has been given at length by Von Hammer, and in it the Persian art of concealing any distinct statement of facts under a cloud of turgid metaphors is carried out in an extraordinary way, even when dealing with such a terrible calamity.

The progress of the Mongols was so destructive, that we are apt to overlook some of the constructive elements which characterized it and which very considerably affected the direction of subsequent human progress. In the first place, it was a great gain to secure that, over the wide stretch of Asia, men

[27] Carpini, ed. D'Avezac, pp. 682-684.

[28] *id.*, p. 684.

[29] [If there figures mean anything, it is most probable that they represent the number of the transported, *as well* as of the killed. All through the narrative there is more real evidence of Chinghiz Khân's making use of his captives than of his slaying them.—Ed.]

[30] *id.*, p. 1250.

[31] Von Hammer, *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, pp. 76-77; Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 258.

could freely pass to and fro without danger, and that the trade of the brigand and the robber were for a time in abeyance. Chinghiz Khân, *inter alia*, organized a postal service, with relays and convenient posts, &c., between the principal places, such as had been in vogue in China along the grand routes, to facilitate travellers, couriers and public officers in their travels. The horses, carriages and food were supplied by the inhabitants, and strict regulations prescribed the conditions under which they were used, and the safety of the road was protected by severe police regulations. For the first time probably, and for the last, it was possible to travel with safety across the Steppes of Central Asia.[32] The result of this was that a very great intercourse sprang up between the East and West, and we can gather from the narratives of the Missionary friars how constant and widespread was the flow of commerce and of culture over the whole Mongol world, and how remarkably colonies of traders sprang up in various inland towns of the Empire. This led to an interchange of thought between East and West, which caused a great renaissance in both. The art of printing from movable blocks, and the use of gunpowder, were two among the more notable crafts which have revolutionised the world, which there can be small doubt found their way into Europe from China through the intervention of the Mongols. Similarly the art of Persia invaded and greatly modified that of China; while many ideas from the West travelled thither, so that in two generations, namely in the reign of the great Khubilai Khân, the artistic and literary condition of China was at its best.

It was not only merchandize, literary and artistic wares which were thus exchanged, but more important elements in human progress. Chinghiz Khân counselled his sons to tolerate all creeds, telling them that it was largely indifferent to the Deity how men honoured him; and he exempted from all taxes the ministers of different religions, devotees, the poor doctors, and other learned men.[33] It is easy to see what a revolution in the social life of large parts of Asia and even of Europe lay behind this breadth of view, when we consider the fierce bigotry both of Muhammadans and Christians at this period.

Another great moral change which Chinghiz endeavoured to introduce, was the suppression of the chicanery, lying and general obliquity and artificiality of Eastern life. I have quoted some instances in an earlier page. Especially noticeable was his life, as a protest against pomp and luxury. Disdaining the extravagant titles which were then in vogue, he used only that of Khân or Khakan. The princes of the blood addressed him by his own name, and in his letters, diplomas, etc., this name was unaccompanied by any honorary titles. The Edicts issued from his chancellary were simple and concise, and free from the inflation then so usual in Persia. When he had conquered Transoxiana, a Secretary of the Khwârizm Shah Muhammad was taken into his service. Having heard from his general Chepe, that he was prevented from attacking Syria by the opposition of Badru'd-dîn Lulu, the prince of Mosul, Chinghiz told the secretary to write to that prince in these terms: "God has given us the Empire of the world. Those who submit and allow our troops to pass will preserve their kingdom, their families and property. As to the rest God alone knows what will happen to them. If Bedr-u'd-dîn submits he will find a friend in us; if not, what will become of Mosul at the approach of our army?" The secretary wrote this message in Persian, in an inflated style, and using the various epithets then applied to sovereign princes. When the chamberlain, Danishmand, had interpreted it in Mongol, Chinghiz Khân said this was not what he had dictated. The scribe replied that he had followed the ordinary usage. "You are a traitor," answered the Mongol Chief, in a rage. "You have written this letter in a tone which will only encourage the prince of Mosul to be more audacious," and he had him put to death.[34] The same writer tells us how he prophesied that his descendants would dress themselves in costly stuffs, broidered with gold, would feed on rich food, ride splendid horses, enfold beautiful women in their arms, and forget to whom they owed these pleasures. Nor did he fail to warn them that if they ceased to keep up a system of strict subordination and discipline their empire would fall into decadence. "Then," he adds, "they will ask for Chinghiz Khân again."[35]

[32] Juveni and Rashidu'd-din quoted by D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 406-407. [33] *id.* p. 412.

[34] Rashidu'd-dîn, quoted by D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 413-414. [35] *id.* p. 416.

If we limit ourselves to the area he controlled, perhaps the most notable of all the changes made by Chinghiz Khân was the breaking down of the feeling of nationality, and especially of tribal feeling, by wholesale transportations of whole peoples, with their chiefs, from one area to another. It was thus he consolidated a heterogeneous mass of clans into a nation of which the aristocracy was Mongol in blood. This aristocracy in certain cases ceased to be Mongol in speech and in other respects, and became absorbed in the mass of Turks which surrounded it. On the other hand, various Turkish clans in Mongolia were swallowed up and incorporated among the Mongols themselves. Thus we account for the presence in Mongolia, at this day, of several small clans of Nains, etc., of Turkish origin, but speaking Mongol; while the reverse has occurred in many districts elsewhere. The process of consolidation was, no doubt, greatly assisted by the community of habit, religion, &c., even when language and separate tradition created barriers; and this was strengthened by the fact of Chinghiz Khân having been a Turk by origin, although ruling over Mongols. It was probably in consequence of this that the Turks in all parts of Asia, after a momentary resistance, collapsed and joined his army, which thus grew like a rolling snowball in the Alps. Each tribe he encountered when defeated fell into ranks behind him and joined in his triumphal march, just as the Hessians, Poles and Italians followed Napoleon, and as the Goths, Alans and Slavs followed Attila. The perpetual success of his arms was the most potent of consolidating forces; and, when he died, the many tribes he had conquered formed a strong nation, bound together by a fanatical loyalty to himself and his family.

In regard to wider issues, we are tempted to despair as we trace the careers of ruthless conquerors whom men make gods of, such as Alexander, Cæsar, Attila, Chinghiz, Timur, Napoleon. And yet there is no lesson more firmly established perhaps by history than that the progress of civilization is not continuous. It passes through periods of stagnation and decay, when it needs a rude plough to tear up a virgin stratum, and rude hands to sow untainted seed; and it is a strange fact that, as the most bountiful harvests of summer are generally garnered after the severest winters, so do worn out and sophisticated communities need a very deep harrow to unlock their riches; and, the greater the desolation for the moment, and the longer the fields lie fallow, the more generous is the harvest. This is not an apology for "the Scourges of God;" it is an empirical lesson from history.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 169.—PARLA-KIMEDI PLATES OF THE MAHARAJA INDRAVARMAN.—THE YEAR 91.

This inscription, which has not been previously published in full, was first brought to notice by me in 1884, in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 120. It is on some copper-plates which were found at **Parlâ-Kimeḍi**,[1] the chief town of a Zamindârî or Estate of the same name near Chicacole (properly Śrîkâkulam), in the Gañjâm District of the Madras Presidency. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the Government Central Museum at Madras, to which they were presented by Mr. W. Taylor.[2]

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 5⅞" by 2". They are quite smooth; the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The heads of the letters have in many places an imperfect and disjointed appearance, as if they had been partially worn away by rust; but this is due, wherever it occurs, to faulty execution on the part of the engraver, in omitting sometimes to complete the *mâtrâs* or horizontal top-strokes, and sometimes even to commence them

[1] The 'Purlah Kimedy' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108. Lat. 18° 46' N.; Long. 84° 8'—In Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*, the second component of the name is written both 'Kimedi' and 'Kimidi'. It has also been certified to me as 'Khimiḍe'; but the aspirate in the first syllable is hardly likely to be correct in the case of a Drâviḍian name.

[2] See Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. II. p. 262 and note.

at all. In all other respects, the engraving is bold and good; though the interiors of the letters in a few places shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plates are tolerably thick and substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all.—Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring, which had not been cut or otherwise opened when the grant came under my notice, is about $\frac{5}{16}$″ thick and $3\frac{1}{4}$″ in diameter. The **seal**, in the lower part of which the ends of the ring wère fused and so secured, is slightly oval, about $\frac{7}{8}$″ by $\frac{11}{16}$″. It had, on a slightly countersunk surface, either a legend or some emblem; but it is now quite unrecognisable, and not worth reproducing by lithography. A lithograph of the plates themselves has been prepared, and will be issued in my *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 18, the publication of which will commence as soon as my Gupta Inscriptions are out of hand.—The **weight** of the three plates is $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, $6\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total, 1 lb. 1 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$″. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; and are of almost precisely the same type with those of the Chicacole grants of the *Mahârâja* Indravarman, of which lithographs have been published in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XIII. pp. 120, 122. They include, in line 19, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1, 30, and 90.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and all the formal part of the inscription, which agrees pretty closely with the corresponding portions of the Chicacole grants, is in prose. Four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are introduced in lines 13 to 18; and the name of the writer of the grant is given in another verse in line 19f.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhamânîya*, in *anuddhyâtaḥ=parama*, line 6f.; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś* and *h*, in *triṅśatima*, line 19, and *siṅha*, line 20; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y* and *r*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 6, and *ddhruvaśarmmaṇê*, line 11; and (4) the use of *b* for *v*, in *bâ* for *vâ*, line 15.

The **inscription** records that, from the victorious city of **Kaliṅganagara** (line 1), the most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara, the *Mahârâja* **Indravarman** (l. 7),—who has had all the stains of the Kali age removed by performing obeisance to the god Śiva under the name of the divine Gôkarṇasvâmin (l. 2); who acquired the authority of *Adhirâja* over the whole of **Kaliṅga** by the power of his own sword (l. 4); who is the establisher of the spotless family of the **Gâṅgas** (l. 5); and who meditates on the feet of his parents,—issues a command to all the cultivators at the village of **Kettaṭa** in the **Dêvanna** *pañchâlî* (l. 7), to the effect that, on the admonition[3] of a person named **Koṇḍavallaka** (l. 11), the said village of **Kettaṭa** is constituted an *agrahâra*, and is given by him to Dhruvaśarman (l. 11), of the Gârgêya *gôtra*, belonging to the community of **Kaliṅganagara**, and a religious student of the Chhandôga school.

Lines 12 to 18 contain an address to future rulers, about continuing the grant; followed by four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses.

And lines 18 to the end contain the date, in both words and numerical symbols, of the ninety-first year of the augmenting victorious reign, and the thirtieth solar day,[4] without any reference to the fortnight, of the month Mâgha (January-February); followed by a verse recording that the charter was written by Vinayachandra, the son of Bhânuchandra, at the personal command of **Râjasiṅha**.

The **Kaliṅganagara** that is mentioned in lines 1 and 10, is the modern **Kaliṅgapaṭam**,[5] a well-known town in the Gañjâm District, at the mouth of the 'Vamsadhâra' river, about sixteen miles north of Chicacole.

The two **Chicacole** grants, published by me in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XIII. pp. 119 ff. 122 ff., are grants of a *Mahârâja* **Indravarman**, dated respectively in the years 128 and 146. The difference of fifty-six years between the present grant and the second of them, renders it extremely doubtful whether the

[3] *Koṇḍavallakêna pratibôdhitair=asmâbhiḥ*; line 11.—The usual expression is by some derivative or other from *vijñâpi*, 'to request.' I cannot quote any other instance of the use, in such a connection, of a derivative from *pratibôdhi*.

[4] *dina*.

[5] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108. Lat. 18° 20′ N.; Long 84° 9′ E.

Indravarman of all three grants is one and the same person. Another point in the same direction is that the Indravarman of the present grant had the second name or *biruda* of **Râjasiṁha** (l. 20), which is not mentioned in the Chicacole grants. And it may also be noted that the present grant was written by a certain Vinayachandra; whereas the grant of the year 128 was engraved by Âditya, the son of a Vinayachandra, who seems likely to be the same person; and this tends to shew that, in the interval of thirty-seven years, one generation of subordinates, at any rate, had passed away. But an apparently more conclusive point still is that, though the other epithets and the general style of the charters correspond more or less closely, the Indravarman of the Chicacole grants is simply mentioned as belonging to the family of the Gâṅgas; thus (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 121, l. 4) *Gâṅg-âmala-kula-tilakaḥ*, "the ornament of the spotless family of the Gâṅgas;" and (*id.* p. 123, l. 7 f.) *prathita-vipul-âmala-Gâṅg-ânvay-âmbara-sakala-śarach-chhaśâṅkaḥ*, "the full autumn-moon of the sky which is the famous and great and spotless lineage of the Gâṅgas." Whereas, the **Indravarman** of the present grant is called **the establisher of the family of the Gâṅgas**; thus (line 5) *Gâṅg-âmala-kula-pratishṭhaḥ*, "he who has (effected) the establishment of the spotless family of the Gâṅgas." The four points, taken together, seem to prove that the Indravarman of the present grant was an ancestor,—probably the grandfather,—of the Indravarman of the two Chicacole grants.

As regards the era in which the dates of this inscription and of the two Chicacole grants is recorded, I can do little more than repeat what I have already said;[6] *viz.* that it is evidently the **Gâṅgêya era**, specifically mentioned under that name,—but apparently only in connection with a conventional date,—in a grant of the *Mahârâja* Dêvêndravarman, and another of the *Mahârâja* Satyavarman, both of which are dated in the fifty-first year of the era. I have also a grant of Dêvêndravarman, which is dated, genuinely, in the two hundred and fifty-fourth year of the era. The epoch of the era still remains to be determined. But, in publishing the Chicacole grants, I wrote—"It is possible that the *Mahârâja* Indravarman of this grant [of the year 128] is identical with the *Adhirâja* **Indra**, who is mentioned, in the Gôdâvarî grant of the *Râja* **Pṛithivîmûla**,[7] as combining with other chiefs and overthrowing a certain **Indrabhaṭṭâraka**. This **Indrabhaṭṭâraka** must be the **Eastern Chalukya** of that name; the younger brother of Jayasiṁha I. (Śaka 549 to 579 or 582), and the father of Vishṇuvardhana II. (Śaka 579 to 586, or Śaka 582 to 591)." This is the period to which all the three grants, issued in the name of Indravarman, may be allotted on palæographical grounds, —as far as such evidence can be applied. As I have previously intimated, the clue to the date may perhaps be found in the record, in line 10 f. of the grant of the year 128, of **an eclipse of the moon** on the full-moon day of the month Mârgaśira (November-December). The Śaka years that I have quoted above, represent A.D. 627 to 670. But, owing to the possibility of the Indravarman who is connected with the history of Indrabhaṭṭâraka, being the grantor of the present charter of 91,—not of the charters of 128 and 146,—the later limit of Śaka-Saṁvat 591, as regards the second Indravarman, may have to be brought down fifty-five years later, to Śaka-Saṁvat 646 or A.D. 724-25. Taking the extreme limits of A.D. 627 to 725, and allowing a margin of a few years on either side, the lunar eclipse mentioned in the grant of the year 128 may be any one of the following:[8]—

30th November .... A.D.	624
20th "	625
9th "	626
1st December	643
19th November	644
10th "	653
1st December	662
10th November	672
22nd "	690
11th "	691
2nd December	708
22nd November	709
2nd "	719
3rd December	727
12th November	737

[6] *ante*, Vol. XIII. pp. 120, 273f.
[7] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 114ff.
[8] Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 210 f.

And, coupled with the eclipse, the record in line 19 of the present grant, that, in the 91st year of the era, the month Mâgha included thirty solar days,—which is not always the case,—may very possibly enable us hereafter, by means of detailed calculations, to determine precisely which of the eclipses mentioned above is the one intended.

TEXT.[9]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[10] Svasti Sarv-artu-sukha-ramaṇîyâd=vijaya-**Kaliṅganagarât**=sakala-bhuvana-nirmmâṇ-ai-
2 ka-sûtradhârasya bhagavatô Gôkarṇṇa-svâminaś=charaṇakamala-yugala-praṇâmâd=a-
3 pagata-Kali-kalaṅkô vinaya-naya-sampadâm=âdhâraḥ sv-âsi-dhârâ-parispand-âdhigata-sa-
4 kala-**Kaliṅg**-âdhirâjyaś = chatur - udadhi - taraṅga - mêkhal - âvanitala - pravitat - âmala - yaśâḥ anêka-
5 samara-saṁkshôbha-janita-jaya-śabdô **Gâṅg**-âmala-kula-pratishṭhaḥ pratâp-âtiśay-ânâmita-

Second Plate; First Side.

6 samasta-sâmanta-chûḍâmaṇi-prabhâ-mañjarî-puñja-rañjita-charaṇô mâtâpitṛi-pâd-ânuddhyâ-ta-
7 ḥ=paramamâhêśvaraḥ śrî-mahârâj-**Êndravarmmâ** ı[11] **Dêvanna**-pañchâlyâṁ **Kettaṭa**-grâmê sarvva-
8 samavêtân=kuṭumbinas=samâjñâpayati [ı*] Viditam=astu vô yath=âyaṁ=grâmas=sarvva-
9 karaiḥ parihṛity=â-chandr-ârkka-pratishṭham=agrahâraṁ=kṛitvâ mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhi-
10 vṛidhayê **Kaliṅganagara**-sâmânyâya Gârggêya-sagôtrâya Chhandôga-sabrahmachâriṇê

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 Dḍhruvaśarmmaṇê **Koṇḍavallakêna** pratibôdhitair=udaka-pûrvvam=asmâbhis=sa[ṁ*]-pradattas=Tad=viditv[â]
12 yath-ôchitaṁ bhâgabhôgam=upanayantaḥ sukhaṁ prativasath=êti ı bhavishyad-râjabhiś=ch=âyaṁ
13 dâna-dharmmô=nupâlyaḥs[12]=Tathâ cha Vyâsa-gîtâḥ ślôkâ bhavanti [ı*] Bahu-bhir[13]=vva-
14 sudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tad[â]
15 phalaṁ [ıı*] Sva-dattâm=para-dattâm=bâ(vâ) yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahîṁm[14]=mahîmatâṁ śrêshṭha

Third Plate.

16 dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ [ıı*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi môdatê divi bhûmi-daḥ â-
17 kshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâṁny[15]=êva narakê vasêd=iti ı(ıı) Vighnatâṁ bhartṛi-gô-vipra-bâla-yôshid-vi-
18 paśchitâṁ yâ ga[16]tis=sâ bhavêd=bhûmiṁ harataś=śâsan-âṅkitâm=iti [ıı*] Pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râ-
19 jya-saṁvatsarâḥ êkâ-navati[ḥ*] 90 1 Mâgha dina triṁśatima 30 [ıı*] Idaṁ[17] Vinayachandrê-
20 ṇa Bhânuchandrasya sûnunâ śâsanaṁ **Râjasiṁhasya** likhitaṁ sva-mukh-âjñayâ ıı

9 From the original plates.
10 In the original, this word is expressed by a symbol, not in letters.
11 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
12 Read *nupâlyas.*
13 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following three verses.
14 Read *mahîm.*
15 Read *tâny.*
16 This letter is partially destroyed by the ring-hole, which seems to have been made after the engraving was finished, though a space must have been left blank for it.
17 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

A LETTER OF THE EMPEROR AKBAR ASKING FOR THE CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES.

BY E. REHATSEK.

From the text of a letter, which occurs in the first *daftur* of Abû'l-fazl's correspondence lithographed at Kânhpûr (Cawnpore) in 1849-50, we can conjecture—but no more—that it was sent either to the Viceroy or to the Archbishop of Portuguese India, as that neighbourhood is mentioned in it in such a way as to imply contiguity of frontier between the two powers,—the Portuguese and the Mughal,—and as the individual addressed is alluded to as a propagator of the Christian religion. It is the only letter of this kind that appears, as far as we know, to have been preserved in Persian; and the in other respects valuable *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* does not contain translations of any such, although it alludes to correspondence, and to an ambassador from Akbar, who arrived in Goa on the 25th October 1584, and remained there till his death, which occurred on the 5th May 1588.

Before that time, however, according to another authority, an ambassador, 'Abdu'llah by name, had arrived and been received in Goa with great honours in 1579 during the month of September.[1] This ambassador, who was accompanied by an Armenian Christian interpreter, Domenico Perez, brought to the Archbishop a letter which we know only in its Italian rendering and translate as follows:—

"In the name of God. Letter from Jalâlu-'ddîn Muhammad Akbar, the king, placed on his seat by God. Chief Padres of the order of St. Paul;[2] let it be known to them that I am their great friend. I send them 'Abdu'llah, my ambassador, and Domenico Perez, to ask you to send to me with them two of your *literati*, (and) that they may bring with them the Books of the Law, and above all the Gospels, because I really desire much to understand their perfection; and pressingly again demand that they come with this my ambassador and bring the Holy Books, that by their arrival I may obtain supreme consolation: they will be dear to me, and I shall receive them with every possible honour. And when I shall have been well instructed in the Law, and shall have understood its perfection, they may return whenever they like, and I shall send them back with great honours and worthily remunerated. Neither let them be at all afraid, as I take them under my protection and guarantee their safety."

In consequence of the request made in this letter, three Jesuits were sent to the Emperor Akbar, namely, Ridolfo Aquaviva, who was an Italian, Antonio Montserrat, a Frenchman, and Francisco Enrichez [for Henriquez] a native of India. The first of these, Padre Ridolfo, was still at the Court of the Emperor Akbar, when the Persian letter, now to be given in English, was despatched from it in 1582. He arrived there on the 15th February 1580, and returned to Goa in 1583, where he was soon afterwards slain at Salsette, together with several other Padres, in a riot created by angry Hindus on the 15th July of that year.

It will be seen hereafter that the purport of the above letter,—of which, as already said, we possess only the Italian translation, and which was written more than three years before the Persian one,—and of the Persian letter, to be given herein in as literal a rendering as possible, is nearly the same; although the former appears shorn of all the rhetorical oriental figures of speech that the original probably contained. The Italian translated letter is, moreover, entirely devoid of that spirit of enlightenment and philanthropy, which permeated every document issued by the great and good Akbar, and which is noticeable also in the text of the Persian letter. On the other hand, it is a matter of some surprise, that in the Persian letter no mention is made of Padre Ridolfo, who, when it was written, happened to be still at the Mughal Court, which his two companions had left, and who, although leading the retired life of a hermit during the last year of his sojourn, continued to enjoy the favour of the Emperor, who was very loth to part with him.[3]

[1] *Missione al Gran Mogor*, Descritta dal P. Danielle Bartoli, S.J., p. 7, *et seq.*

[2] This is the name, as well as that of 'Paulists,' by which the Jesuits were at that time better known in India than by their own. See *Calcutta Review*, No. CLXIII., January 1886, p. 13: end of the first footnote.

[3] *La risposta no, il Re la diede subita, ma non inaspettata. Missione al Gran Mogor*, p. 41 *infra*.

The heading of the Persian letter, "Imperial Rescript to European Scholars," is not in accordance with the text, no such persons being addressed in it, and may, perhaps, have been added afterwards for publication purposes. It may, also, have been deliberately chosen as an indefinite expression, because the Mughal Court very likely possessed no certain knowledge as to whether the Goa Territory belonged, or would in the future belong, to Spain or to Portugal. Subsequent events showed that it was to remain for sixty years under the sway of the first named monarchy; but when the letter was sent, Portuguese India had but lately become subject to Spain, the King of which, Philip VI., had appointed Don Francisco Mascarenhas his first Viceroy, who made way for his successor and departed to Europe on the 22nd November 1584. It may, therefore, be conjectured, that under these circumstances it was considered best to adopt an indefinite mode of address, which was, however, probably changed a few years afterwards, when Akbar wrote to other Viceroys, such as Duarte de Menezes, Mannoel de Sousa Coutinho, and Mathias d'Albuquerque;* but, as already observed, neither the originals, nor the translations of any of these letters appear to have been preserved, and although allusions to their contents occur, nothing positive can be said about them.

The said Persian letter may be translated as follows :—

Imperial Rescript to European Scholars.

"Boundless homage to the true Sovereign, whose realm is preserved from the calamity of decline, and whose dominion is safe from the shock of extinction. The wonderful extent of heaven and earth is but a portion of the infinite universe of His creation! He is the Director, who causes order to depend in the world, among mankind, on the wisdom of just kings, and to subsist by the aid of righteous princes. He fore-ordained that by means of the binding instincts of love and affection various individuals and species of created beings should associate and commingle with each other amicably. Unlimited salutations are due to the blessed spirits of the multitude of prophets and apostles—benediction and peace be upon them—that lived the most profitable of lives, and are the guides to the best of paths, collectively and individually.

"It is not concealed and veiled from the minds of intelligent persons, who have received the light of divine aid and are illuminated by the rays of wisdom and knowledge, that in this terrestrial world, which is the mirror of the celestial, there is nothing that excels love and no propensity so worthy of cultivation as philanthropy, because the peace of the world and the harmony of existence are based upon friendship and association, and in each heart, illuminated by the rays of the sun of love, the world of the soul, or faculties of the mind, are by them purged of human darkness; and much more is this the case, when they subsist between monarchs, peace among whom implies the peace of the world and of the denizens thereof.

"Considering these things, we are, with the whole power of our mind, earnestly striving to establish and strengthen the bonds of love, harmony and union among the population, but above all with the exalted tribe of princes, who enjoy the noblest of distinctions in consequence of a greater (share of the) divine favour, and especially with that illustrious representative of dominion, recipient of divine illumination, and propagator of the Christian religion, who needs not to be praised or made known; (and this decision is) on account of our propinquity, the claims whereof are well established among mighty potentates, and acknowledged to be the chief condition for amicable relations. But, as weighty obstacles and great hindrances have delayed personal intercourse, an interchange of messages and correspondence is the best substitute for it. Intelligent and shrewd men having considered it fit to take the place of oral conversation, we entertain hopes that the portals of correspondence will be continually kept open on both sides, whereby we may inform each other of various affairs and pleasant hopes.

"It will be known to your enlightened mind, that by the unanimous consent of the adherents of all religions and governments, regarding the two states, namely, the religious and the secular,—the visible and the invisible world,—it is believed and considered fully proved, that, in comparison to the next, the

* *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasciculo 3, Lettera No. 23, No. 206, 239, &c.

present world is of no account. What laudable efforts the wisest men of the period, as well as the great princes of every country, are making to ameliorate the present perishable outward state! But they are nevertheless spending the essence of their lives, and the best of their time, in the acquisition of mundane objects, striving for, and being fully absorbed in the enjoyment of pleasures, and the indulgence of appetites which must soon vanish! Allâh, the Most High, has, however, by His eternal favour and unceasing guidance—despite our multifarious occupations, drawbacks, connections, and dependence on external circumstances—graciously inspired us with a longing after Him; but, although we have brought the dominions of several great princes under our subjection,—the administration and amalgamation whereof engrosses our intellect, because we are bound to promote the welfare and happiness of all our subjects,—nevertheless—Allâh be praised—the purpose of all our activity, the head and front of all we do, is a desire to meet with divine approbation, and to discover that which is true.

"As most men are fettered by the bonds of tradition, and by imitating the ways followed by their fathers, ancestors, relatives and acquaintances, every one continues, without investigating the arguments and reasons, to follow the religion in which he was born and educated, thus excluding himself from the possibility of ascertaining the truth, which is the noblest aim of the human intellect. Therefore we associate at convenient seasons with learned men of all religions, and thus derive profit from their exquisite discourses and exalted aspirations. Our language, however, being different from yours, we hope that you will rejoice us by sending to these parts a man able to represent to us those sublime objects of research in an intelligible manner.[5]

"It has been brought to our notice, that the revealed books, such as the *Pentateuch*, the *Gospels*, and the *Psalms*, have been translated into Arabic and Persian. Should these books—which are profitable to all—whether translated or not, be procurable in your country, send them.

"On the present occasion, we have, for the purpose of strengthening our friendship, and confirming our union, despatched Sayyid Muẓaffar, who is endowed with many excellent qualities, loyal, and distinguished by enjoying our special favours. He will orally communicate to you certain matters and may be trusted. Please always to keep open the portals of correspondence.

"Salutation to him who followeth guidance.[6] Dated in the month Rabi'u'l-awal, in the year 990."[7]

That, after this, other letters were sent by Akbar, and that, after the departure of Padre Ridolfo Aquaviva, other missionaries arrived from Goa, who likewise returned thither from the Mughal Court, appears from a letter of the king of Portugal, or rather of Spain and Portugal,[8] dated Lisbon the 28th January 1596, referring to a letter of Martin d'Albuquerque, in which he says:—

"He also tells me [in his letter] that Akbar had written him some letters, and among them one which he had sent by an Armenian Christian, [Domenico Perez ?] who had given him suitable information about our power and prosperity; furthermore, that the said Akbar wanted some men of letters to be sent to him, and complained of the early departure homewards of the Jesuits sent to him by Manoel Sousa Coutinho, when he was governor; that he [d'Albuquerque] had considered this matter with the prelates and monks, who were of opinion that two learned monks should be sent; and that the Provincial of the Society of Jesus forthwith offered his own ecclesiastics with the same zeal for the service of God and for mine, with which he had given the two others, as well as a very learned layman. And I recommend you to thank the said Provincial on my part, as well as those of his order whom

[5] This demand speaks badly for the scholarship of Padre Ridolfo. It would also appear that neither Domenico Perez, already alluded to above as having accompanied 'Abdu'llah, the ambassador of Akbar to Goa, and who is mentioned as an 'interpreter' (*Missione*, &c., p. 22), nor Padre Francisco Enriches, who is by Daniello Bartoli alleged to have possessed some knowledge of Persian, could satisfy Akbar. Accordingly we may be allowed to doubt whether Padre Ridolfo made any great impression upon the *mullas*, although he is said immediately after his arrival at the Court of Akbar, to have convinced them in disputation ("*Convince in disputa i Mulassi*," *Missione al Gran Mogor*, p. 20, *et seq.*)

[6] *Qurân*, XX. 49, also translated: "Peace be upon him who shall follow the true direction."

[7] This month began on the 26th March, A.D. 1582.

[8] *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* (2nda Parte, Nro. 206, para. XV.)

he has given to Ethiopia, and that you should favour those things and keep me always informed about them."

The superscription and text of Akbar's letter which has been discussed are as follows, according to the Kânhpûr edition, above-mentioned, of the *Inshá-i-Abú'lfazl* :—

مفاوضه حضرت شاهنشاهي بدانايان
فرنگ

سپاس بي قياس نثار بارگاه پادشاه حقيقي كه مماكتش مصون از صدمهٔ زوالست و سلطنتش مامون از لطمهٔ انتقال فضاي بديع تمامي زمين و آسمان گوشه ايست از اقطاع ابداع او و بيسداى ناپايداي لامكان قطعه ايست از جهان اختراع او و مدبري كه انتظام عالم و نظم بنى آدم بدستياري عقل پادشاهان عدالت پيشه و پايمردي عدل شهرياران نصف انديشه منوط و مربوط ساخته مقدري كه برابطهٔ محبت و ضابطهٔ مودت طنطنهٔ ايتلاف و التيام و دبدبهٔ امتزاج و استيناس در افراد كاينات و انواع مكونات انداخته و درود نامحدود هديه ارواح طيبهٔ معاشر انبيا و رسل عليهم الصلوة والسلام كه سالكان اصوب طرق و هاديان اصلح سبل اند عموماً و خصوصًا بعد بر ضماير ارباب بصاير كه مقتبس از انوار ولايت و متجلي از اشعهٔ حكمت و درايت اند مخفي و محتجب نيست كه درين عالم ناسوت كه مرات عالم لاهوت ست هيچ چيزي بر محبت فايق نيست و هيچ امري چون مودت لايق نه چه مدار صلاح عالم و نظام كون بر تودد و تالف نهاده اند و در هر دلي آفتاب محبت پرتو اندازد جهان جان و عالم روح و روان را از ظلمت بشري مي پردازد فكيف وقتيكه در سلاطين كه صلاح طايفه صلاح عالم و عالميانست متحقق شود بناء على هذا همگي همت عالي نهمت بآن مصروفست كه روابط محبت و وداد و ضوابط ارتباط و اتحاد ميان عباد الله موكد و مشيد باشد سيما در طايفهٔ عليهٔ ملوك كه بمزيد عنايت الهي شرف اختصاص دارند خصوصاً بآن سلطنت مآب خلافت كباب موره تجليات معنوى محى مراسم عيسوي الغَنيُّ عن التعريف و التوصيف كه تفوق نسبت بوساطت همسايگي متحقق ست و رعايت حقوق جوار و محبت بآن ممدهٔ سلاطين نامدار محقق و موكد و از اشرف مقتضيات محبت جاني و اكمل موجبات مودت روحاني تالف صوري و تانس ظاهريست چون بواسطهٔ موانع عظمى و بواعث كبرى احراز مشاهدهٔ جسماني در پردهٔ توقف ميماند امري كه خلف آن شرف تواند شد ارسال رسل و رسايل ست كه ارباب فطنت و ذكا آنرا قايم مقام مكالمه و نايب مناب مجاوبه ميدانند اميد كه على التواتر و التوالى ابواب رسل و رسايل از جانبين مفتوح باشد و سوانح احوال و لطايف آمال از طرفين مبين و منشرح گردد

بر ضمير منير واضح خواهد بود كه باتفاق جميع ارباب ملل و نحل و اصحاب دين و دول نشاتين دينى و دنيوي و عالم صوري و معنوي مشخص و معين و مدلل و مبرهن ست كه نشاء صورى دنيوي در برابر نشاء معنوي اخروي چه قدر دارد و عقلاي روزگار و كبراي هر ديار در تكميل اين حالت فانيه ظاهريه چه قدر مساعى جميله و دواعى جزيله باقدام ميرسانند و خلاصهٔ اعمار و زبدهٔ اوقات را در استحصال مقاصد صوريه به چه طريق صرف ميسازند و در مستلذات سريع الزوال و مشتهيات قريب الانتقال چگونه مضمحل و منهمك اند الله تعالى مارا بمحض عنايت ازلي و هدايت لم يزلي خود با چندين مشاغل و عوايق و روابط و علايق ظاهرى درد طلب خود كرامت فرموده و با آنكه ممالك چندين سلاطين عالي مقدار را در حوزهٔ تصرف ما درآورده و مقتضاي عقل در انتظام و التيام اين ممالك برنهجيكه جميع رعايا و كافهٔ برايا مرفه الحال و منشرح البال باشند سعي بايد نمود و توجه برين بايد داشت اما الحمد الله كه استرضاي الهي و شوق ما هو الحق سر همه مطالب و فاتحه همه مآرب ست و چون اكثر ابناي روزگار اسير ربقهٔ تقليد اند هركه طريقهٔ آبا و اجداد و اقارب و معارف مشاهده مي نمايد بي آنكه تامل در دلايل و براهين نمايد آن كيش كه در اهل آن نشو و نما يافته اختيار ميكنه و از مشرف تحقيق كه در علت غائي ايجاد عقلست محروم ميمانه بنابرآن در اوقات طيبه با دانايان جميع اديان صحبت داشته از كلمات نفيسه و مقاصد عاليه هركدام مستفيد و مستفيض ميشويم چون تباين السنه و تغاير لغات در ميانست لايق آنكه

اتمان سیادت مآب فضایل اکتساب صادق‌العقیده
والاخلاص سیه مظفررا که بمزید التفات وعنایت
سرافراز مخصوص بوده فرستادیم سخن چند
بالمشافهه خواهد گفت اعتماد نمایند وهمواره ابواب
مکاتبات و مراسلات را مفتوح دارند والسلام
علی من اتبع الهدي شهر ربیع الاول سنه نهصد و
نود نگاشته شد

بارسال این طورکسي که آن مطالب عالیه با حسن
عبارت خاطرنشان کنه مسرور سازند وبسمع همایون
رسیده که کتب سماوی مثل توریت و انجیل و
زبور بزبان عربي وفارسي در آورده اند اگرآن
کتب مترجم یا غیرآن که نفع آن عام و فایده
آن تام باشد درآن ولایت بوده باشد فرستند
درینولا بجهت تاکید مراسم وداد و تشید مباني

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

No. XVI.—"*Pride goeth before a Fall.*"

Corresponding to this English proverb, there is one in Tamiḻ,—*Ahambhâ vam âḻai aḻikkum*, "Pride of self destroys;" and the following story is related by the common folk to illustrate it:—

In a certain village there lived ten cloth-merchants, who always went about together. Once upon a time they had travelled far afield, and were returning home with a great deal of money which they had obtained by selling their wares. Now there happened to be a dense forest near their village, and this, early one morning, they reached. In it there lived three notorious robbers, of whose existence the traders had never heard, and while they were still in the middle of it, the robbers stood before them, with swords and cudgels in their hands, and ordered them to lay down all they had. The traders had no weapons with them; and so, though they were many more in number, they had to submit themselves to the robbers, who took away everything from them, even the very clothes they wore, and gave to each only a small loin-cloth (*laṅgôṭi*), a span in breadth and a cubit in length.

The idea that they had conquered ten men, and plundered all their property, now took possession of the robbers' minds. They seated themselves like three monarchs before the men they had plundered, and ordered them to dance to them before returning home. The merchants now mourned their fate. They had lost all they had, except their chief essential, the *laṅgôti*, and still the robbers were not satisfied, but ordered them to dance!

There was, among the ten merchants, one who was very intelligent. He pondered over the calamity that had come upon him and his friends, the dance they would have to perform, and the magnificent manner in which the three robbers had seated themselves on the grass. At the same time he observed that these last had placed their weapons on the ground, in the assurance of having thoroughly cowed the traders, who were now commencing to dance. So he took the lead in the dance, and, as a song is always sung by the leader on such occasions, to which the rest keep time by hands and feet, he thus began to sing:—

Nâmânum puli pêr,
Tâḷanum tiru pêr:
Śâvana tâḷanai
Tiruvaṇan śuttinân,
Śâvana tâḷan mîdi.
Tâ tai tôm tadiṅgaṇa.
"We are *puli* men,
They are *tiru* men
If one *śâ* man,
Surrounds *tiru* men,
Śa man remains.
Tâ, tai, tôm, tadiṅgaṇa."

The robbers were all uneducated, and thought that the leader was merely singing a song as usual. So it was in one sense: for the leader commenced from a distance, and had sung the song over twice, before he and his companions commenced to approach the robbers. They had understood his meaning, which however, even to the best educated, unless trained to the technical expressions of trade, would have remained a riddle.

When two traders discuss the price of an article in the presence of a purchaser, they use an enigmatic form of language. "What is the price of this cloth?" one trader will ask another. "*Puli* rupees," another will reply, meaning "ten rupees." Thus, there is no possibility of the purchaser knowing what is meant unless

he be acquainted with trade technicalities.[1] By the rules of this secret language *tiru* means 'three,' *puli* means 'ten,' and *śâvana* (or shortly *śa*) means 'one.' So the leader by his song meant to hint to his fellow-traders that they were ten men, the robbers only three, that if three pounced upon each of the robbers, nine of them could hold them down, while the remaining one bound the robbers' hands and feet.

The three thieves, glorying in their victory, and little understanding the meaning of the song and the intentions of the dancers, were proudly seated chewing betel and *tambâk* (tobacco). Meanwhile the song was sung a third time. *Tá tai tôm* had left the lips of the singer; and, before *tadiṅgaṇa* was out of them, the traders separated into parties of three, and each party pounced upon a thief. The remaining one—the leader himself, for to him the other nine left the conclusion—tore up into long narrow strips a large piece of cloth six cubits long, and tied the hands and feet of the robbers. These were entirely humbled now, and rolled on the ground like three bags of rice!

The ten traders now took back all their property, and armed themselves with the swords and cudgels of their enemies; and when they reached their village, they often amused their friends and relatives by relating their adventure.[2]

BOOK NOTICE.

The Sacred Books of China—The Texts of Confucianism; translated by James Legge; Part III. The Li-Ki, Two Vols., p. xiv., 484; viii., 496. [Sacred Books of the East; Vols. XXVII.-XXVIII.]—Oxford; Clarendon Press. 1885.

The Lî-Kî is one of the "Five-King" or classical books of Confucianism, and is "a collection of treatises on the rules of propriety or ceremonial usages," in fact, a sort of code of social intercourse. The translation by Mr. Legge is the first that has been published of the whole of the *Lî-Kî*; the valuable translation by Callery (*Lî-Kî ou Mémorial des Rites*) having been done as an abridged and expurgated edition, which contains hardly more than a half of the great editions of the Thang and present dynasties, which Mr. Legge has followed.

In an interesting introduction, the translator gives a brief history of the *Lî-Kî*; from which it appears that, very likely as early as the time of Confucius, most certainly in the time of Mencius, there were in existence treatises about ceremonial usages, of the same nature as the *Lî-Kî*, if not of the same contents. In B.C. 213, when Shih Hwang Tî ordered the destruction of the old literature, there were two books of *Lî* in existence, the *Î-Lî* and the *Kâu-Lî*, which were recovered in the great revival of Confucianism that took place under the Han dynasty,—the *Î-Lî* in the reign of the emperor Wû (B.C. 140-87), and the *Kâu-Lî* under the same emperor, and again in the next century. The *Lî-Kî* has taken a higher position than the other two, and may contain parts as old or older; but, as a collection in its present form, it does not go higher than the Han dynasty. The third book of the *Lî-Kî*, the Royal Ordinances, was compiled at the order of the emperor Wan (B.C. 179-157), by the Great Scholars of his Court. It required two centuries or more of *Lî*-scholars, and several general searches for old records, to arrive at last at the present compilation of the *Lî-Kî*, of which the definitive redaction was done by Mâ-Yung (A.D. 79-166) and his pupil Kăng Hsüan (A.D. 127-200). In its present form, the *Lî-Kî* is composed of forty-six books; and the reader will find, in Mr. Legge's introduction, notices of the different books and what is known about the authorship and date of each.

The high authority which the *Lî-Kî* enjoys in China invests it with a special value in the eyes of the Western scholar, as being the best and most faithful representation of the social ideal of the Chinese. Mr. Legge's estimate of that ideal seems to be a fair and judicious one. We are apt to overlook many deep and thoroughly human aspects of the Chinese ideal, which are hidden from our sight by the strangeness of expression or the dead formalism of modern China. The truth is that, as Mr. Legge observes, a nation's creed is generally better than its practice. The ceremonial, which now seems to be everything, was originally only the natural outspring and outward sign of the inward feeling, whether in worship, or in mourning for the dead, or in the joy of family festivities, or in the relations between rulers and subjects. Subsequently, what was the natural sign of the feeling became its conventional sign, till the sign was supposed to be all-sufficient, and did away with the feeling itself.

[1] Traders have also certain secret symbols for marking their prices on their cloths.

[2] [This story, apart from its folklore value, is specially interesting as showing that the customs mentioned, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 155 ff., as being prevalent at Delhi, regarding secret trade language are universal in India.—Ed.]

THE SCHEME AND EQUATION OF THE YEARS OF THE GUPTA ERA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

IN my paper on "The Epoch of the Gupta Era," I intimated (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 189f.) that, with the rendering given to us by M. Reinaud of Albîrûnî's statements, we must settle certain preliminary points, before any of the recorded dates can be satisfactorily converted into English equivalents, and especially in such a way as to shew clearly and conclusively whether the difference between the Śaka and Gupta eras is 240, 241, or 242 years; *i.e.* whether the epoch is Gupta-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 318-19, or 319-20, or 320-21.

The Scheme of the Years.

Bearing in mind that, in all cases in which the notation and computation of *tithis* are concerned, the years of the Kaliyuga era[1] and of the northern Vikrama era have to be treated as commencing, like the years of the Śaka era, with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and also that the decision as to the order of the dark and bright lunar fortnights of the months must of necessity go with the decision as to the general northern or southern nature of the era and its years, since we cannot have a northern year coupled with the southern arrangement of the fortnights, or a southern year coupled with the northern arrangement,—these points resolve themselves into the question, whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era[2] had a distinct scheme and initial day of their own, or whether they followed the scheme and initial day of the years of the Śaka era, according to either the northern or the southern arrangement, or of the years of the southern Vikrama era.

A reference to the Table on page 143 below will explain at once the difference in the schemes of these years, and the necessity for determining the question that we have under consideration.

The Śaka years of both Northern and Southern India commence with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra. But, in the scheme of the year, there is the important difference that, in the northern arrangement, the dark fortnight of each month precedes the bright;[3] whereas in the southern year, it is the bright fortnight that stands first. Popularly, and in *Pañchâṅgs*, the northern arrangement is called *Pûrṇimânta*, or 'ending with the full-moon,' and the southern arrangement is called *Amânta*, or 'ending with the conjunction (of the sun and the moon), *i.e.* with the new-moon;' and these terms will be found very convenient for practical use. The result of this difference of arrangement, is, that, in the northern year, the dark fortnight of Chaitra stands at the end of the year, instead of in the place of the second fortnight, which it occupies in the southern year; and that the dark half of the southern Chaitra is the same lunar period as the dark half of the northern Vaiśâkha; and so on all through the year. For dates in the bright fortnights of Śaka years, it obviously is immaterial whether we follow the northern or the southern system. But, for dates in the dark fortnights, it is as

[1] This era is also of extremely exceptional use in epigraphical records. The only instances that I can quote are (1) the Aihoḷe inscription of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II. of A.D. 634-35 (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 237ff.), which is dated when three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed from the Bhârata war, supplemented by the statement that, at the same time, five hundred and fifty-six years of the Śaka kings also had gone by, in (their own era as a subdivision of) the Kali age, the figures of which are marked by those of the Bhârata war; and (2) some of the inscriptions of the Kâdambas of Goa, ranging from A.D. 1167 to 1247 (*Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. pp. 241f., 262ff., and *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 288ff.), which, for some capricious reason, are dated in the Kaliyuga, without any reference to the Śaka era at all, though other records of the same family (see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 90ff.) are dated in the Śaka era, and in that alone.

[2] According to the convenience of the moment, I shall call the era indifferently the Gupta era, the Valabhî era, or the Gupta-Valabhî era. It never had, in ancient times, the name of the Gupta era at all. But, as I have stated on previous occasions, it is convenient to continue the practice, which has been current for nearly fifty years, of calling it the Gupta era, until we know for certain by whom it was established. In later times, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, it did acquire the name of the Valabhî era. And Albîrûnî tells us that the Gupta and Valabhî eras are one and the same, with one and the same epoch. My nomenclature of the era needs no apology, if I point out that, even by those who maintain that the Early Guptas were themselves anterior to A.D. 319-20, it is admitted that the so-called Gupta era which has come down to us in the writings of Albîrûnî, had the same epoch with the Valabhî era. They only maintain that the Early Guptas used a Gupta era which was not this Gupta era.

[3] See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 71, where Hiuen Tsiang's account shews that the arrangement was just the same twelve centuries ago.

obviously essential, in order to compute them correctly, that we should know exactly which system they are recorded in; since, for instance, the thirteenth lunar or solar day of the dark fortnight of Âshâḍha represents, if treated as a southern date, an English day later by one complete lunation, or practically a month, than the English equivalent of it as a northern date.

In the southern Vikrama year, the arrangement of the fortnights is the regular *Amânta* southern arrangement. But the year commences seven lunations later than the equivalent Śaka year, and corresponding northern Vikrama year; *viz.* with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November). Here, again, for purposes of computation, any date in a southern Vikrama year has to be treated as the same date in the equivalent Śaka year. And a reference to the right-hand columns in the Table on page 143, will shew at once the way in which the years overlap; and will explain fully the necessity of determining the question with which we are concerned. By the epochs of the two eras, the proper equivalent of, for instance, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 is Śaka-Saṁvat 1185; and this is also its actual equivalent for any date from Kârttika śukla 1 up to Phâlguna kṛishṇa 15, both included; but, for any date from the following Chaitra śukla 1 up to Âśvina kṛishṇa 15, both included, the actual equivalent of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 is the following Śaka-Saṁvat 1186. Consequently, if the Gupta-Valabhî year is to be treated as a southern Vikrama year, any such date as Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 944, Chaitra śukla 1, up to Âśvina kṛishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent later by twelve complete lunations, or practically a year,[4] or else any such date as Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 944, Kârttika śukla 1, up to Phâlguna kṛishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent earlier by twelve complete lunations, than the English equivalents if the year is to be treated as a Śaka year.

The question, whether by any chance we can be concerned, in the Gupta-Valabhî era, at any period, with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, is, if possible, still more an essential point, because the dates that we have in the era, under its later name of the Valabhî era, come from Kâṭhiâwâḍ, where, as in the neighbouring provinces of Gujarât and the Northern Koṅkaṇ, the national era is the Vikrama era, in the southern arrangement. In those parts there would of course be a tendency, sooner or later, to adapt the original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhî year to the scheme of the years of the local national era. And a distinct instance of this adaptation having been actually made in Gujarât, is furnished by the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of Valabhî, published by Dr. Bühler in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 335ff. Its date is the year 330; the "second" month Mârgaśira; the bright fortnight; and the second *tithi* or lunar day. And the interest and importance of it result from its shewing that, in that year, there was an intercalation of a month, which, according to this record, was Mârgaśira or Mârgaśîrsha. Now, allowing for the moment, what I shall shortly prove, as closely as absolute certainty can be obtained, *viz.* that the true original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhî year is the scheme of the northern Śaka year, and that the difference between the epochs of the two eras is two hundred and forty-one years, the month Mârgaśîrsha of this record should belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 571, and should fall in A.D. 649. Gen. Cunningham, however,[5] shews no intercalation in that year; but, in the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 570, an intercalation of the month Kârttika, which would fall in A.D. 648; and this appears to be quite correct, in accordance with the regulation of intercalations by the actual place of the sun. Looking further into the matter, Dr. Schram, as reported by Dr. Bühler, found that in A.D. 648 there certainly was an intercalated month, which, according to the present method would be Kârttika, but according to the rule for mean intercalations, would be Mârgaśîrsha. So, also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, that, by mean intercalation, in A.D. 648 there was an intercalated month between the natural Mârgaśîrsha and the natural Pausha, which would be named Pausha according to the present practice, but Mârgaśîrsha according to the verse *Mêsh-âdi-sthê savitari &c.*, that is quoted as belonging to the *Brahma-Siddhânta*.[6] In

[4] Or, in the case of certain intercalations, later here, and in the other case earlier, by thirteen lunations, or practically a year and a month.

[5] *Indian Eras*, p. 158.

[6] See page 109 above.

Comparative Table of the Vikrama, Śaka, and Gupta-Valabhî Years.

Northern India. *Pûrṇimânta.*	Months and Fortnights.			Southern India. *Amânta.*	
	Chaitra	bright	Chaitra		Vikrama-Saṁvat 1319. A.D. 1262-63.
	Vaiśâkha	dark	Chaitra		
		bright	Vaiśâkha		
	Jyêshṭha	dark	Vaiśâkha		
		bright	Jyêshṭha		
	Âshâḍha	dark	Jyêshṭha		
		bright	Âshâḍha		
	Śrâvaṇa	dark	Âshâḍha		
		bright	Śrâvaṇa		
	Bhâdrapada	dark	Śrâvaṇa		
Śaka-Saṁvat 1185. Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320. Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 944. A.D. 1263-64.		bright	Bhâdrapada	Śaka-Saṁvat 1185. A.D. 1263-64.	
	Âśvina	dark	Bhâdrapada		
		bright	Âśvina		
	Kârttika	dark	Âśvina		
		bright	Kârttika		
	Mârgaśîrsha	dark	Kârttika		
		bright	Mârgaśîrsha		
	Pausha	dark	Mârgaśîrsha		
		bright	Pausha		
	Mâgha	dark	Pausha		
		bright	Mâgha		
	Phâlguna	dark	Mâgha		
		bright	Phâlguna		
	Chaitra	dark	Phâlguna		
		bright	Chaitra		
	Vaiśâkha	dark	Chaitra		Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320. A.D. 1263-64.
		bright	Vaiśâkha		
(*Verâwal Inscription. Âshâḍha; the dark fortnight; the 13th solar day; Sunday.*)	Jyêshṭha	dark	Vaiśâkha		
		bright	Jyêshṭha		
	Âshâḍha	dark	Jyêshṭha		
		bright	Âshâḍha		
	Śrâvaṇa	dark	Âshâḍha		
		bright	Śrâvaṇa		
Śaka-Saṁvat 1186. Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321. Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 945. A.D. 1264-65.	Bhâdrapada	dark	Śrâvaṇa		
		bright	Bhâdrapada	Śaka-Saṁvat 1186. A.D. 1264-65.	
	Âśvina	dark	Bhâdrapada		
		bright	Âśvina		
	Kârttika	dark	Âśvina		
		bright	Kârttika		
	Mârgaśîrsha	dark	Kârttika		
		bright	Mârgaśîrsha		
	Pausha	dark	Mârgaśîrsha		
		bright	Pausha		
	Mâgha	dark	Pausha		
		bright	Mâgha		
	Phâlguna	dark	Mâgha		Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321. A.D. 1264-65.
		bright	Phâlguna		
	Chaitra	dark	Phâlguna		

either case, the two intercalated fortnights are, of course, the same lunar period; the only difference is in respect of the name by which that period should be called. And, in finding that period coupled with the name of Mârgaśîrsha, there is the fact, which must be admitted, that in contravention of the usual rule, the grant recorded in this inscription was made in the intercalated month; a deviation for which I cannot find any reason in the record itself. Having regard to this and other points, I asked Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit to also make the necessary calculations on the possibility of the abbreviation *dvi* for *dvitiya*, "the second," qualifying, not only the word *Mârgaśira*, but the whole expression *Mârgaśira śu* 2; *i.e.* on the possibility of the intercalation or repetition referring to the *tithi* or lunar day, not to the month. He finds, however, that the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mârgaśîrsha of Śaka-Samvat 571, falling in A.D. 649, was not a repeated *tithi*, either by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Table, or by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; and that, on the contrary, by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, there is the possibility of this *tithi* having been expunged, in the far eastern parts of India. It is certain, therefore, that the intercalation refers to the month; not to the *tithi*. And it is equally certain that in Śaka-Saṁvat 570 there was an intercalated month, falling in A. D. 648, which might be named Mârgaśira or Mârgaśîrsha, and which, evidently, was actually so named in the calendar that was consulted by the drafter of this record. This being the case. there cannot have been an intercalation of the same month, or in fact of any month at all, in the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 571. Therefore, the Mârgaśîrsha of this record undoubtedly fell, not in A. D. 649, as should be the case according to the true Gupta-Valabhî reckoning, but in A. D. 648; and the year 330 of this record must have commenced with the month Kârttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṁvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1, according to the original scheme of the years of the era. Bearing in mind, however, that this record comes from Gujarât, we have not to seek far for the explanation of this discrepancy. When once the Gupta-Valabhî era had been fairly introduced in Gujarât, the natural tendency, as I have said, would soon be to disregard the original scheme of its years, and to substitute for it the scheme of the southern Vikrama years. Let us assume that this substitution took place in Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat[7] 303, which commenced, approximately, on the 19th March, A. D. 622, about half-way through southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 678. Then, if the change of scheme was effected in the first seven lunations of the Gupta-Valabhî year, the Gujarâtîs would make the new year, Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 304, commence with their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 679, on Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 12th October, A. D. 622; and Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 303, as thus adapted and shortened by them, would have contained only seven lunations, from Chaitra śukla 1 up to Âśvina krishṇa 15. If, on the other hand, the change was effected in the last five lunations of the Gupta-Valabhî year, when southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 679 had already commenced, then the Gujarâtîs would defer the commencement of the new year, Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 304, until the commencement of their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 680, on Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 1st October, A. D. 623; and Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 303, as thus adapted and prolonged, would have contained nineteen lunations. The years of the era would, for the future, always commence, in Gujarât, with the years of the southern Vikrama era, on the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika. Under the second condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence seven lunations later than it would in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, as long as the true original reckoning was preserved in the latter country; which was the case up to, at least, Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 945. Under the first condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence five lunations earlier than in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. And the grant of Dharasêna IV., now under notice, shews that this latter was the manner in which the change of scheme, which had already been accomplished, was effected; since this is the only method by which the

[7] I do not mean to assert that the change took place in this particular year; or even within a few years on either side of it. All that is certain, is, that it took place before Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 330. And I have used the year 303, instead of 300 in round numbers, for purposes of illustration, only in order to avoid a year with an intercalary month.

intercalary Mârgaśîrsha of this record can be made to belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 330, instead of to 329.

The Verâwal inscription, however, of the Chaulukya king Arjunadêva, dated Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, the surroundings and full bearings of which will be explained in detail further on, contains such particulars, in the record of its date, as shew that, in it at all events, there is no reference to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, or even of the southern Śaka year.

But, apart from any particular instances, which supply proof by means of the circumstances under which the recorded week-days are shewn to be correct, there is, as I have said, the general fact that we cannot have either a southern year coupled with the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the fortnights of the months, or a northern year coupled with the *Amânta* southern arrangement. And, to prove that the arrangement of the months of the Gupta-Valabhî year was the regular *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement, and that, therefore, we cannot be concerned with any southern reckoning at all, I shall now bring forward some perfectly conclusive evidence, which has been known to me for a long time past, and which I have kept back only in order to deal with the whole case at once.

The Khôh copper-plate grant of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha,[8] of Gupta-Saṁvat 209 (A.D. 528-29), is dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Aśvayuja *saṁvatsara*," and, as regards other details, in fortunately a double manner. In line 2f. we have — Chaitramâsa-śuklapaksha-trayôdaśyâm (where, in apposition with *trayôdaśyâm*, we have to supply *tithau*),— "on the thirteenth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra." And at the end, in line 24, in numerical symbols, this date is repeated as — Chaitra di° 20 7 (where the abbreviation *di* stands for *dina*, *dinê*, *divasa*, or *divasê*) — "(the month) Chaitra; the (solar) day 20 (*and*) 7."

The point that is proved by this double record has hitherto been missed; because Gen. Cunningham, who first brought this inscription to notice, read the first symbol in line 24 as 10, instead of 20, and overlooked the second symbol altogether. He thus obtained "Chaitra, day 10;" and added the remark "this figure should be 13, to agree with the written date given" [in line 2f.] "above."[10] There are, however, distinctly two symbols, meaning 20 and 7; or, together, 27.

This double record is explicable only on the understanding that, in the arrangement of the months of the Gupta year, the dark fortnight stood first, according to the regular *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement. By this means only can the thirteenth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight be the 27th solar day of the whole month.

A double record of precisely the same kind is given in the Majhgawâṁ grant of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Hastin,[11] of Gupta-Saṁvat 191, in which we have, in line 2, Mâghamâsa-bahula-paksha-tṛitîyâyâm, "on the third *tithi*, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha;" and, in line 21, Mâgha di 3, "Mâgha, the (solar) day 3." But, the number of the solar day in this instance being under sixteen, this record is not in itself sufficient to prove the case, one way or the other. What we require is a double date, in which the *tithi* of the fortnight, the number of which cannot exceed fifteen, is connected with a solar day, the number of which, exceeding sixteen, shews itself to be referred to the whole month, and not to the fortnight.

This we have in the grant of the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha. And the record proves absolutely that, in the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year, it is the *Pûrṇimânta* northern system that is concerned; and, consequently, that the general scheme of the years of the era was not that of any southern year at all.

At present, the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva, dated Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, is the only instance in which the equation of the Gupta-Valabhî era and another era is accompanied by the full details of a month, fortnight,

[8] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. p. 112ff.

[9] In my printed version of this inscription, the second numerical symbol is given as 9, with a note (*id.* p. 112, note 4) that it might possibly be 7, 8, or 9. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit having found by calculation that this *tithi* was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month, I now substitute 7 for 9.

[10] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 15.

[11] *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 23, p. 106ff.

and day [12] And the thirteenth solar day in the dark fortnight of Âshâḍha, which is mentioned in it, might be the last or the first day of the Valabhî year. As a single instance, therefore, it does not help us in any way to fix the initial day of the year.

Consequently, the remaining point,—whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era followed in all respects the scheme of the northern Saka year, or whether they had some distinct initial day of their own,—is one which cannot be absolutely settled, until we obtain, either some more double records like that of the Verâwal inscription, which will enable us to gradually decrease the limits within which the commencement of the Gupta-Valabhî year is to be placed on the sliding scale of the twelve months; or the entry of an early date, approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, followed, in the same record, by a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, both of them referred to one and the same Gupta-Valabhî year, and the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow after the event or ceremony with which the former is connected; or the entry of a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, followed, in the same record, by an early date approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, the two of them referred to two consecutive Gupta-Valabhî years, and, in the same way, the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow the event or ceremony with which the former is connected. And these conditions, of course, are rather difficult of fulfilment.

Meanwhile, we have now had it made quite clear that the original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhî year is that of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement; as was, in fact, to be expected in the case of an era used by so essentially a Northern India dynasty as the Early Guptas were. And, in a subsequent paper, I shall shew that the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, which are quoted in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and *Saṁkshôbha*, not only confirm the above results by proving that the details of them cannot be referred to a year commencing with the month Kârttika, but also prove that we cannot be concerned even with a year commencing with the month Mârgaśîrsha (November-December), which is mentioned by Albîrûnî[13] as having been in use by the people of Sindh, Multân, and Kanauj, as well as at Lâhôr and in that neighbourhood, and as having been abandoned at Multân only shortly before his own time. As a matter of fact, a year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha, and having the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the months, would suit the details of every Gupta-Valabhî date,—including even the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 330, and the Verâwal inscriptions of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927 and 945,—except one, *viz.* the Majhgawâṁ grant of the *Mahârâja* Hastin of Gupta-Saṁvat 191, which has been referred to above. This being the sole exception, the calculations which determine the commencement and end of the *saṁvatsara* that is quoted in it, have been gone through again and tested with very great care. But the result is that they distinctly bar the use of a year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha. And thus,—having no other known year to fall back on, except the Śaka year; and giving due consideration to the explicit manner in which Albîrûnî connects the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era with those of the Śaka era; and having regard also to the fact that any Hindu date has to be converted, for purposes of computation, into its equivalent Śaka date,—we need not hesitate in accepting it as already almost certain, from what has gone before, that the same rule has to be followed in respect of any Gupta-Valabhî date that conforms to the original scheme of the Gupta year; *i.e.* in affirming that, whatever may have been the real historical initial point

[12] The only other instance in which the Gupta-Valabhî era is mentioned in direct connection with another era, is Albîrûnî's statement (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 189), in which Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 712 is given as equivalent to Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088 and Śaka-Saṁvat 953. It cannot be turned to any practical use, in determining the scheme of the year, because he does not give any details of a month, &c.; and because we do not know for certain whether he is referring to the northern or to the southern Vikrama year.

[13] Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 145f.—He also, in the same place mentions a year commencing with the month Bhâdrapada (August-September). But, from his statement, it seems to have been confined to the vicinity of Kaśmîr. And, under any circumstances, as Bhâdrapada is earlier than Kârttika in the Saka year, the circumstances which bar a year commencing with Kârttika, still more emphatically bar one commencing with Bhâdrapada.

of the Gupta-Valabhî era, the scheme of its years, for the purpose of recording dates, was adapted to, and became in all respects identical with, the scheme of the northern Śaka year. Only in exceptional cases, at present two in number,—*viz.* the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV., mentioned above, and a Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927, which will be fully exhibited below,—can any deviation from such an arrangement be established.

The Equation of the Epoch.

Our next step, therefore, will be, to see how far the available Gupta-Valabhî dates, computed as northern Śaka dates, with Chaitra śukla 1 as the initial day of the year, give satisfactory results; and what uniform equation between the Gupta-Valabhî and Śaka eras is established by those results.

The Verâwal Inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945.

Of the Gupta-Valabhî dates, which, containing the names of week-days, as well as all the other required details, are available for accurate computation, I will notice first the **Verâwal** inscription of the **Chaulukya** king **Arjunadêva,** on a stone in the temple of Harsaṭadêvî at **Verâwal,** the modern representative of the ancient Sômnâthpaṭaṇ, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. This date furnishes a specially crucial test, partly because it is a date in a dark fortnight; and partly because, coming from Kâthiâwâd, and belonging to rather a late period, and being mentioned in the same record with a Vikrama year, there was a special chance of finding that its details had been confused with, or rather had been subordinated to, the reckoning of the southern Vikrama era, which was, and is, the original national era in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and the neighbouring country of Gujarât; it will be seen, however, that this has not happened.

The details of this date[14] are —Śrî-Viśvanâtha-pratibaddha-naujanânâṁ bôdhakara-sûla-Mahaṁmada-saṁvat 662 tathâ śrî-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁvat 1320 tathâ śrîmad-Valabhî-saṁ 945 tathâ śrî-Siṁha-saṁ 151 varshê Âshâḍha va di 13 Ravâv = ady = êha . . . . śrî-Sômanathadêva-pattanê,—"the year 662 of the prophet Mahammada, who is the teacher of the sailors connected with (*the temple of*) the holy (god) Viśvanâtha; so also the year 1320 of the glorious king Vikrama; so also the year 945 of the famous (city of) Valabhî: so also the year 151 of the glorious Siṁha; in (*this*) year; the month Âshâḍha; the dark fortnight;[15] the (solar) day 13; on Sunday; . . . . to-day; here, in the city of the holy god Sômanâtha."

This gives us, for calculation, Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, and Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, both current; the month Âshâḍna (June-July); the dark fortnight; the thirteenth solar day of the fortnight, with whatever *tithi*, presumably the thirteenth, fell on it; and Ravivâra, or **Sunday**. And, in order to decide between the three epochs of Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 318-19, or 319-20. or 320-21,—either of which is possible, so far as M. Reinaud's rendering of Albîrûnî's statements is concerned,—we have to consider the calculations for the Śaka years 1185 and 1187, as well as for Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 945 + A.D.

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[14] *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 242, l. 2ff.

[15] The syllable *va*, in the original, either is an abbreviation of *vadya*, whether alone or in composition with *paksha* or *pakshê*, or stands for *ba*, the abbreviation of *bahula*, similarly either alone or in composition with *paksha* or *pakshê*. The corresponding method of denoting the bright fortnight, is by the use of the abbreviation *śu*, which represents *śukla* or *śuddha*, similarly either alone or in composition. The solar day is represented by *di*, which is the abbreviation of *dina*, *dinê*, *divasa*, or *divasê*. These abbreviations, *śu di* and *ba di* or *va di*, are often quoted as if they were real words in themselves (*śudi*, *badi*, *vadi*), meaning respectively 'the bright fortnight,' and 'the dark fortnight.' And Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *vadi*, as an indeclinable word, meaning 'in the dark half of a month;' with the remark that, according to some, it stands for *badi*, and is a contraction of *bahula-dina*; but with an intimation of his own opinion that it represents *vadya* But I doubt whether the Hindus themselves, even when using the abbreviations, look on them as words. And it is worth noting that Molesworth and Candy's Marâṭhî Dictionary, which is very comprehensive, does not include these expressions, either as abbreviations, or as words. Even if a modern Hindu practice of treating these abbreviations as words, should be proved, it is an erroneous practice. By origin the syllables are nothing but distinct and separate abbreviations; of which the first denotes the fortnight, and the second, the day of the month or of the fortnight This is the point of view from which they have to be looked at, in dealing with any ancient records. And it is highly desirable that the modern English practice of using them as words, especially to denote a *tithi* or lunar day, should be completely abandoned, as being only productive of mistakes It will be seen further on that, in this instance, the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Âshâḍha fell on the thirteenth solar day. And I am quite sure that a sufficient number of calculations of different dates, will prove, certainly that the abbreviation *di* is never used, except when the reference is to the solar day; and probably that it is never used in connection with *śu* and *ba* or *va*, unless the *tithi* happens to have the same running number with the solar day on which it ends. But I have no leisure, at present, to take this last question up properly.

319-20 = A.D. 1264-65 = Śaka-Saṁvat 1186, treated of course as an expired year, which was first found to be the true equation, on the assumption of our having to deal with a northern Śaka year, by the details of the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, and, as will be seen, was subsequently proved to be the true equation by the details of the present date.

The first point to be noted is, that, as the inscription is in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, the presumption is that the Vikrama year referred to is a southern Vikrama year, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November). This, however, apart from the natural presumption, is rendered absolutely certain by the concomitant mention of the year 662 of the prophet Muḥammad. This is the year 662 of the well-known Hijra era. And it commenced[16] on Sunday the 4th November, A.D. 1263, and ended on Saturday, the 23rd October, A.D. 1264. Therefore, since the month Âshâḍha answers ordinarily to June-July, it is plain,—as was pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch in editing the inscription,[17] and by Gen. Cunningham in commenting on the date,[18]—that the English date which we have to look for, lies in or about June-July, A.D. 1264. And this at once removes the possibility of any reference to the northern Vikrama year; since the month Âshâḍha of the northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, is represented by June-July of the preceding English year, A.D. 1263. Also, since the month June-July, A.D. 1264, fell in Śaka-Saṁvat 1186, it removes any real necessity of making calculations for Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 and 1187; the results, however, for these two years will be given, in order to help in setting the general question entirely at rest.

So much, as regards the given date lying in A.D. 1264, had been clearly pointed out, first by Dr. Hultzsch, and then by Gen. Cunningham. But nothing further, that I can find, was said about the details of the date, until quite recently; when Gen. Cunningham announced to me, in a letter dated the 3rd December last, that the corresponding English date is Sunday, the 25th May,[19] A.D. 1264.

This result, **Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264,** is, as will be seen below, the correct one. But a good deal more is requisite, than simply to state it; especially because it is necessary to shew clearly, in the face of what has elsewhere been written about this date, that this result is not obtained from the mention of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, though it does answer the requirements of that mention; *i.e.*, that it is not the result for a year commencing on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika which fell in A.D. 1263; and, consequently, that, even apart from what I have already established, this record proves that Valabhî-Saṁvat 945 commenced at any rate not on that date.[20] And here I would remark incidentally, that no argument, of identity between the two years, can be based on the mere fact that the record mentions both a Valabhî year and a southern Vikrama year. It might just as well be asserted that the mention also of the Hijra year 662, shews that the scheme of the years of that era, too, is identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year; whereas,—even apart from the fact that the Hijra year 662 commenced, as stated above, on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, while the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 commenced on Friday, the 5th October of that same year,[21]—everyone knows that these two eras have absolutely nothing in common at all; the Hijra era being a purely Musalmân era. The Verâwal record is simply analogous exactly to scores of records which are still being turned out in India, in which the date is expressed according to the English and also one or other of the Indian systems; and in which the principal record depends entirely upon the person by whom, and the circumstances under

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[16] Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 126.

[17] *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 241.

[18] *Indian Eras*, pp. 50, 53, 63.

[19] The ordinary equivalent of Âshâḍha is June-July. But the dark fortnight of the northern Âshâḍha corresponds to the dark fortnight of the southern Jyêshṭha, which month is ordinarily May-June. And this, with the fact that Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 commenced rather early, on Saturday, the 1st March, or Friday, the 29th February, A.D. 1264, is the reason why this dark fortnight of Âshâḍha fell entirely in May.

[20] As opposed to these results, Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, p. 53), has quoted this record as proving absolutely that Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 = A.D. 319; which could only be by taking the epoch as A.D. 318-19, and by treating the years as commencing, from the beginning, on Kârttika śukla 1.—Also (*id.* pp. 50, 63) he treats Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 as the leading record of the date, and very clearly implies throughout, though he does not actually state, the identity of the scheme of the Valabhî and southern Vikrama years.

[21] C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 150.

which, it is drawn up. Sometimes it will be the English date, sometimes the Indian. We shall see immediately that, in this Verâwal inscription, the principal record is the Valabhî date; and that the Vikrama date accidentally, as well as the Hijra date naturally, was entirely subordinated to it. Possibly, we may hereafter obtain instances, in which the reverse of this will be found to have been the case. But they will not avail to disprove any of the pointed and unavoidable conclusions, regarding the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhî era and the scheme of its years, which are absolutely forced on us by the circumstances of the present Verâwal date.

The second point to be noticed is that the month Âshâḍha, which fell in A.D. 1264,—*i.e.* both the Âshâḍha of northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 and northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321, and the slightly different Âshâḍha of southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320,—was an intercalary month.[22] The effect of this intercalation was as follows:—The initial day of Śaka-Saṁvat 1186, both northern and southern, and of the northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321, was Saturday, the 1st March, A.D. 1264, according to Gen. Cunningham,[23] and Friday, the 29th February (the English year being a Leap-year), according to Mr. C. Patell.[24] With Gen. Cunningham's own initial day, and by his own theory and process,—*viz.* that Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13 fell on the 87th solar day of the year, from and inclusive of the initial day,—the resulting English date would be Monday, the 26th May, A.D. 1264. Therefore, in arriving at Sunday, the 25th May, he has adopted Mr. C. Patell's initial day, in preference to his own. And I will follow the same course for the rough purposes for which the initial day may here be utilised.

The double Âshâḍha included four lunar fortnights. In northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 and northern Vikrama-Śaṁvat 1321, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 75th and 133rd solar days of the year;[25] *i.e.* on respectively the 13th May and the 10th July. And, according to the regular northern system, of the four fortnights, the first (dark) belonged to the natural month; the second (bright), and the third (dark), to the intercalated month; and the fourth (bright), to the natural month. But, in southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 90th and 148th solar days of the Śaka year;[26] *i.e.* on respectively the 28th May and the 25th July. And, of the four fortnights, if we adopt the present regular southern system, the first (bright), and second (dark), belonged to the intercalated month; and the third (bright), and the fourth (dark), to the natural month.[27] Now, we have, *primâ facie* at least, to look on the date as belonging to the dark fortnight of the natural Âshâḍha; partly because the record contains no qualificatory term, indicative of the intercalated month; and partly because of the well-known prohibition of official, ceremonial, and religious acts in an intercalated month.[28] And the

[22] See Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 179.—The fact is also proved by K. L. Chhatre's Tables. In C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 150, the intercalation is entered opposite (Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 and) southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321. This is in accordance with a mistake that runs all through his Table I. pp. 94 to 183. The intercalations are given by him correctly for the Śaka years. But he has omitted to point out that, in applying them to the Vikrama years, which, throughout his Table, are the southern Vikrama years, they must, in consequence of the way in which the years of the two eras overlap, be read off as far as the months Chaitra to Âśvina, both inclusive, are concerned, for the Vikrama year preceding that opposite to which they are entered; at least, I can find no note in his book to that effect.—A reference to the Table at p. 143 above, will shew at once that an intercalation of any month from Chaitra to Âśvina inclusive, in, for instance, Śaka-Saṁvat 1186, northern or southern, did fall in northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321, but in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320.

[23] *Indian Eras*, p. 179. [24] *Chronology*, p. 150.

[25] See *Indian Eras*, p. 109, and *Chronology*, p. 71.

[26] C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 71.

[27] A verse that is quoted as being in the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, indicates a more ancient custom (see page 109 above), according to which the first (bright), and the second (dark) fortnights would belong to the natural month; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month. When this custom was changed, the object of the change evidently was to make the period covered by the intercalated fortnights the same all over India; the reason for this being that intercalated months are *nindya*, or 'to be looked on as under prohibition;' so that ceremonial and religious rights could not be performed in them; and it would obviously be highly inconvenient, especially on the border-land of the dividing-line between Northern and Southern India, that the prohibition should not be applicable to exactly the same lunar periods. The change of custom must have been made long before the period of the present inscription. I have mentioned this earlier custom here, because it is one of the general surroundings of the date. But the question is of no vital importance in this case, because the date is a northern, not a southern one.

[28] Only if, in one and the same year, there are two intercalary months (which are always accompanied by the expunction of a month, which may be one of the two, or a third month), then the first intercalated month is *praśasta*, or 'stamped as excellent or approved of;' the second being, as usual, *nindya*, or 'to be looked on as under prohibition.'

results, worked out for me by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, for the natural Âshâḍha, are — for northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 and northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321, **Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264,** for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and for southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, Tuesday, the 22nd July, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 23rd July, for the thirteenth solar day; and the result for the intercalated Âshâḍha is Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Tuesday, the 24th June, for the thirteenth solar day, by both the northern and the southern reckoning, according to the present custom in both parts of the country. He has also given me full results, according to both the *Pûrṇimânta* northern system, and the *Amânta* southern system, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 and 1187; in order to present at once all the possible surroundings of the date. These results are,—for northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1185, and northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, Tuesday, the 5th June, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 6th June, for the thirteenth solar day; and for southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1319, either[29] Wednesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but, in either case, Friday, the 6th July, for the thirteenth solar day; for northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1187, and northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1322, Saturday, the 13th June, A.D. 1265, for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and for southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1187, and southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321, Sunday, the 12th July, A.D. 1265, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Monday, the 13th July, for the thirteenth solar day. The last is the only other case in which the result includes a Sunday at all. But it is of no practical value; in the first place, because it is obtained by the southern reckoning, whereas I have already shewn that this is not the reckoning which is to be applied; secondly, because in this case the English date, Sunday, the 12th July, was the thirteenth *tithi*, but the twelfth solar day, of the fortnight, whereas the record specifically refers to the thirteenth solar day; and finally, and, if possible, still more conclusively, because the result is for the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321, whereas the record specifically refers to the preceding year, 1320.

The true English equivalent, therefore, really is **Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264.** And, as is seen from the dates and other particulars given above, it is obtainable only by treating the Âshâḍha krishṇa 13 of the record as belonging to the northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186. It, and it alone, answers all the requirements of the record. It falls, as recorded, within the limits of southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320; though it is not the equivalent of any day in the month Âshâḍha belonging to that year.[30] It answers to the thirteenth solar day of the dark fortnight; as is expressly indicated in the record. And it answers to the specified day of the natural, not the intercalated, month; as is expressly required, partly by the absence, in the record, of any specification of the intercalated month, and partly by the general prohibition regarding intercalated months.

It is the result for Valabhî-Saṁvat 945 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 1264-65 = Śaka-Saṁvat 1186, treated as a northern year, and for that year alone. And it proves, therefore, that the true Gupta-Valabhî year was a northern year, and that correct results are to be obtained by treating the years of the era as Śaka years; that the running difference between the years of the Gupta-Valabhî and Śaka eras is 241 years; that, consequently, the epoch of the former era is **Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 0 = Śaka-Saṁvat**

[29] The doubt here is because of the interesting discovery that the dark fortnight of the southern Âshâḍha, and northern Śrâvaṇa, of Śaka-Saṁvat 1185, was a fortnight which, "except, perhaps, in some parts far off in the east of India," contained only thirteen solar days; see my general note on this subject, at page 81 ff. above. The full-moon *tithi* of Âshâḍha, northern and southern, was on Saturday, the 23rd June; and the following new-moon *tithi* of the southern Âshâḍha, and the northern Śrâvaṇa, was on Friday, the 6th July; which gives thirteen solar days for this dark fortnight. There was an expunction of two *tithis*, and no repetition of a *tithi* to make up for the loss. The authorities differ as to which were the two expunged *tithis*. One of them was early in the fortnight; and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not worked this out, because it does not directly bear upon the date under computation. The other was either the twelfth, or the thirteenth, or the fourteenth *tithi*; and upon this will depend the question whether the thirteenth *tithi*, if not itself expunged, was Wednesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July. Under any circumstances, the thirteenth and last solar day of this dark fortnight, was Friday, the 6th July.

[30] If it is treated as the equivalent of a date belonging to that year (and to southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186), then, of course, it represents the thirteenth *tithi* and solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha, preceding Âshâḍha.

241 = A.D. 319-20; and that the true and original reckoning of the era was preserved, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, up to, at any rate, A.D. 1264.

The Êraṇ Inscription of Gupta-Saṁvat 165.

I will notice next the Êraṇ pillar inscription of **Budhagupta**, in the Sâgar District of the Central Provinces; the date in which[31] runs — Śatê pañcha-shashṭy-adhikê varshâṇâṁ bhûpatau cha Budhaguptê | Âshâḍhamâsa-śukla-dvâdaśyâṁ Suragurôr=divasê || Saṁ. 100 60 5, — "in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (*is*) king; on the twelfth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha; on the day of Suraguru; (*or in figures*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 5."

This gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṁvat 165, current; the month Âshâḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the twelfth *tithi*; and the day of Suraguru, which,—Suraguru, 'the preceptor of the gods,' being another name of Bṛihaspati, the regent of the planet Jupiter,—is Bṛihaspativâra or Guruvâra, *i.e.* **Thursday.**

This date has been constantly the subject of calculation and controversy. Thus, in 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX., p. 15, note, Dr. F. E. Hall announced, on the authority of Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares, that, as applied to the epoch of the Vikrama era, it represented Thursday, the 7th June, A.D. 108, New Style.

Again, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 17f., Gen. Cunningham,—whose theory then was that the epoch is Gupta-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 194-(95),—announced, as the result, Thursday, the 24th June, A.D. 359. The basis of this calculation was Tuesday, the 16th March, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 194-95 = A.D. 359-60 = Śaka-Saṁvat 281; and the result was derived from the assumption, which may or may not be sustainable in this and any other particular instance, that the *tithi* fell on its theoretical normal place on the 101st solar day of the year. And, in the same place, he intimated that, with the epoch Gupta-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 318-(19), the result would be Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483. The basis of this latter calculation was Wednesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 318-19 = A.D. 483-84 = Śaka-Saṁvat 405; and the result was derived from the same assumption as regards the position of the *tithi*.

In 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 115ff., Gen. Cunningham,—who had then modified his theory so as to select as the epoch Gupta-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 166-(67),—announced that the result obtained by Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares, from the reckoning of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, was a Friday in A.D. 331; but that his own result, obtained from the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, was a Thursday in the same year. He did not then give any further details. But, from the fuller particulars given in his recapitulation of these statements in 1883, in his *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 55f., we learn that the dates intended were respectively Friday, the 4th June, and Thursday, the the 3rd June, A.D. 331; and that his own result was arrived at, in the same way, with the basis of Tuesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 331-32 = Śaka-Saṁvat 253, and with the same assumption as regards the position of the *tithi*. In the former reference, he repeated the same result of Friday (the 3rd June), A.D. 483, for the epoch Gupta-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 318-(19).

In 1882, in the Postscript to his paper on the "Dates on Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kâbul" which was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128ff., Sir E. Clive Bayley,—whose theory was that the epoch is Gupta-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 190-(91),—announced that the result was a Thursday in A.D. 355, and that it seemed to be Thursday, the 17th May, in that year. But he gave no indication of the way in which this result was obtained; beyond a general reference to Prinsep's Tables in Thomas' Edition of his *Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, pp. 180, 181. And, as a matter of fact, this result was altogether wrong.[32] The 17th May, A.D. 355, was a Wednesday, not a Thursday; and, as closely

[31] *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 19, p. 88ff., line 2f.

[32] This is not the only radical and essential error in Sir E. Clive Bayley's Postscript. In the first place, he takes the *saṁvatsara* of the Bhumarâ pillar inscription of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Śarvanâtha to be Mahâ-Mârgaśira, instead of Mahâ-Mâgha; a mistake, the importance of which will be obvious to any Sanskritist.

as can be ascertained by Gen. Cunningham's Tables, *it* represents Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 5. Sir E. Clive Bayley seems to have very soon become aware of the mistake; since, at the end of the copy of the Postscript which, with a copy of the principal article, reached me from him in May, 1883, there is added, in manuscript, the remark—"this date is erroneous; but the real date, as calculated by Professor Jacobi, comes out a Thursday." The real date of Âshâḍha śukla 12 of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 355-56 = Śaka-Saṁvat 277, is Thursday, the 8th June, A.D. 355; as obtained, theoretically, from Gen. Cunningham's Tables, and also, by actual calculation, by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, from Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables.

And in 1881, in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. X. p. 220, Dr. Oldenberg announced, from the Tables in Warren's *Kala-Sankalita*, the correct result; *viz.* that with the epoch of A.D. 319-(20), the equivalent English date is Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484.

Now, Dr. F. E. Hall's, Gen. Cunningham's, and Sir E. Clive Bayley's results, right or wrong, may be accepted without the slightest hesitation. I would only point out, in the first place, as regards Gen. Cunningham's result for the epoch of A.D. 166-67, that, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Ashâḍha kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 253 was not a Thursday, but really was Friday, the 4th June, A.D. 331; and secondly, as a general fact, that I find, from *Pañchâṅgs*, that in the ten years Śaka-Saṁvat 1799 to 1808 inclusive, the position of the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Âshâḍha varied from the 100th to the 102nd solar day in the year; and that, therefore, the results derivable from Gen. Cunningham's Tables being only theoretical and approximate, there is a chance of the week-day of Âshâḍha śukla 12 being a Thursday in any year in which Gen. Cunningham gives a Monday, a Tuesday, or a Wednesday, as the initial day.

The essential point with which we are concerned in the present inquiry, is, whether the week-day of Âshâḍha śukla 12 was a Thursday in Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 484-85 = Śaka-Saṁvat 406, treated of course as an expired year, which is the year in which it should be a Thursday, according to the epoch proved by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has made the necessary calculations, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, for this year; and, in order again to present at once all the possible surroundings of the date, also for the years Śaka-Saṁvat 405 and 407. His results are, for Śaka-Saṁvat 405, Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483; for Śaka-Saṁvat 406, **Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484**; and for Śaka-Saṁvat 407, Tuesday, the 11th June, A.D. 485. The process by which these results are obtained, is published in detail, for the second result, at page 116 ff. above; so that, if there is any error in the process, or in the application of it, that error may be detected and exposed.

The second result, **Thursday, the 21st June, A. D. 484**, is the only one that answers to the week-day mentioned in the record. And it answers, as is required, to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year. But it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Âshâḍha śukla 12 was the same *tithi*, and fell on the same solar day, the 21st June, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṁvat 406, and in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 540, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 541.

The Verâwal Inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927.

The third and last date, containing a week-day, that I have to comment on, is contained

And, in the second place, in criticising Gen. Cunningham's results, he has distorted them all by one year, through adding the Gupta years to A.D. 167-68 = Gupta-Saṁvat 0, instead of to A.D. 166-67, which was the epoch very clearly announced by Gen. Cunningham. It was only through this distortion, coupled with the substitution of Mahâ-Mârgaśira for Mahâ-Mâgha, that he arrived at the result that, in respect of the *saṁvatsaras* in this series of inscriptions, Gen. Cunningham was right in only one case out of five. Gen. Cunningham speaks everywhere of A.D. 167 as the first year of the Gupta era, and of A.D. 166-67 as the year 0; and with this, his own epoch, he was right,—so far as his theory and arrangement of the *saṁvatsaras* goes; and allowing for his alteration of Gupta-Saṁvat 163 into 173, which was endorsed by Sir E. Clive Bayley himself,—in all five instances, in so far as that the *saṁvatsaras* given by him seem to be really the ones that were current at the commencement of each Śaka year arrived at by him, wrongly, as the equivalent of a Gupta year; though not in every instance on the dates actually recorded.

in an inscription which has not as yet been published, but has been placed at my disposal by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, the discoverer of it. The inscription is on the pedestal of an old image of the god Kṛishṇa, under the name of Gôvardhana(dhara), which is now built into the wall of the modern temple of the goddess Harsaṭadêvî at Verâwal. The date, and some important words in the context, run[33] (l. 1) Śrîmad-Valabhî-sa[ṁ*]vat 927 varshê Phâlguna śu di 2 Saumê || Ady=êha śrî-Dêvapattanê . . . . (l. 4) śri-Gôvarddhana-mûrtti[ḥ*] . . . . (l. 5) kârâpitâ;—in which, unfortunately, there is some doubt as to the proper rendering of the first syllable of the word that gives the name of the week-day. The vowel *au* was undoubtedly formed; though, in the rubbing, the top-stroke is partially filled in, in consequence either of want of depth in the engraving, or of want of care in making the rubbing. And, the consonant presenting the appearance in the rubbing of being *bh*, the natural inclination is to read *Bhaumê*, "on Tuesday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, tells me that, in the original, the consonant is certainly *s*; and the appearance of *bh*, therefore, is due to an imperfection in the rubbing. The reading of the original, accordingly, is to be taken as *Saumê*. But this is not a real word; and it requires to be corrected into either *Sômê*, "on Monday"; *Bhaumê*, "on Tuesday;" or *Saumyê*, "on Wednesday." It is unfortunate that we should have to make any correction at all, in a point of such importance; especially when so very free a choice is open. But it has to be done. And the calculated results favour the supposition that the reading intended was *Sômê*, "on Monday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was of opinion that the intended reading was *Bhaumê*, "on Tuesday;" which, of course, might be supported by assuming carelessness on the part of the engraver, in letting his tool slip in such a way as to give the *bh* a more or less complete appearance of *s*. But, from the appearance of the rubbing, the reading *Sômê* is equally justifiable, on the assumption that the partial appearance of *bh* in the rubbing, instead of *s*, is due only to a fault in the rubbing, and that the mistake in forming *au* instead of *ô* was discovered before the stroke which turns *ô* into *au* was completed; this would account for this stroke being so shallow as to cause the blur which almost entirely conceals it in the rubbing. Adopting the reading or correction of *Sômê*, the translation will be—"the year 927 of the famous (city of) Valabhî; in (*this*) year; (the month) Phâlguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 2; on Monday; to-day; here, in the famous (city of) Dêvapattana . . . . (*this*) image of the holy Gôvardhana . . . . has been caused to be made."

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhî-Saṁvat 927, current; the month Phâlguna (February-March); the bright fortnight; the second solar day of the fortnight, and presumably, the second *tithi*; and Sômavâra, or **Monday**. And, *primâ facie*, from the results already established, the date should belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 1168, again, of course treated as an expired year; and the equivalent English date should fall in A. D. 1247. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, however, made, as before, for a year before and a year after the presumably correct year, as well as for that year itself, give the following results, in each case for both the second solar day and the second *tithi*, both by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables and by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; *viz.*, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1167, **Monday, the 19th February, A.D. 1246**; for Śaka-Saṁvat 1168, Saturday, the 9th February, A.D. 1247; and for Śaka-Saṁvat 1169, Wednesday, the 29th January, A.D. 1248. The result for Śaka-Saṁvat 1168, which is the year in which the week-day should presumably prove correct, does not answer at all. If we could understand that the reading intended was *Saumyê*, "on Wednesday," then the result for Śaka-Saṁvat 1169 might be accepted; subject only to the considerations that *Saumyavâra*, though perfectly allowable, is not often used as a synonym for *Budhavâra*, 'Wednesday'; and that the result is later by a year than what it ought to be. If, on the other hand, we accept *Sômê*, "on Monday," as the intended reading, then the result for Śaka-Saṁvat 1167 may be accepted, subject only to the consideration that it is earlier by a year than what it ought to be. And there seems, on the whole, no doubt that

[33] From Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's cloth-rubbing.

this is the proper result. It would be quite intelligible, if we could refer the date to a year commencing with Mârgaśirsha; for, then the date, belonging to Valabhî-Saṁvat 927, would fall quite regularly in Śaka-Saṁvat 1167, and in A.D. 1246. This, however, as I have stated above, is distinctly prevented by a perfectly conclusive obstacle. The only resource that remains, is to hold that, for some reason or other, this date, like the Kaira date of Dharasêna IV., of Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 330, was taken from a Gujarât almanac. This, again, would be perfectly intelligible, if we could only assume that the image, which must as usual be portable enough, was fashioned, together with the engraving of the inscription, at some place in Gujarât; and was then transported by a pilgrim to Verâwal. But the objection to this is, that the inscription distinctly records that the image was caused to be made at Dêvapattana; and Dêvapattana is well known as another name of Sômnâthpâṭaṇ, *i.e.* the modern Verâwal itself. It is however, difficult to understand how the corrupt Gujarât reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhî era can have been introduced at Verâwal in A.D. 1246, when, as we have already seen from the other Verâwal inscription, the true original reckoning was known there up to at least eighteen years later. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the supposition that the inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarât, who had brought a Gujarât almanac with him. But, be it what it may, I have to point out distinctly that the date is not a satisfactory one, since an important correction of some kind or another has to be made, in order to interpret it intelligibly at all; and that in no way does it give a conclusive result, like that of the other Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945.

THE LEGEND OF TULASI AS TOLD IN SOUTHERN INDIA BY THE ORTHODOX.

BY R. D. M.

The immortal gods were much distressed and disquieted on account of Jâlandhara's proceedings; for that powerful demon had threatened to displace Indra, king of the gods, from his celestial throne and occupy it himself. Now Jâlandhara had a most beautiful wife, Vṛindâ by name; the beauty of whose pure and spotless character even excelled by far that of her person. She was a most chaste and devoted wife and passionately attached to Jâlandhara, who returned her love as ardently as a faithful and affectionate husband could.

Now Jâlandhara had become invulnerable by all creatures, and by death himself, through the virtue of his wife's chastity and purity; and so, when he besieged Svarga, the abode of the gods, they hastily took council together as to what they should do and how they should overcome their mighty enemy. They besought the four-faced venerable grandfather of all creatures, Brahmâ, to favour them with his wise advice, and he told them that they would not be able either to conquer or to kill Jâlandhara as long as his wife Vṛindâ remained as pure as she then was.

It therefore became a most prominent subject of their thoughts, to find a way by which they could ruin Vṛindâ's character. But no common mortal or immortal was ever able to approach her with any evil intent in his heart; as the radiance of her purity, if he made the attempt, was able to instantly blind or strike him dead. No god dared to undertake the fearful task. Even Indra, who was notorious for his wily ways and base tricks shrank timidly from such a terrible undertaking. So after much deliberation, the gods agreed to petition Vishṇu, the most daring of them all and the bitterest enemy of the demons, to help them. He at first hesitated, but was induced to do their bidding on account of the pressing necessity; and so directing Indra and the other gods to engage in battle with Jâlandhara, he prepared to seduce Vṛindâ.

In this way it came to pass that the gods challenged Jâlandhara, who forthwith went out alone to meet all the millions of them in battle! The struggle lasted long, but Jâlandhara betrayed no signs of either weariness or discouragement. He was ever fresh, and his

heroic spirit never slackened; so that the gods began to fear that they would soon be defeated and lose their reputation and high position for ever!

Meanwhile **Vṛindâ** anxiously waited at home, to hear news of her beloved husband, fasting and praying for his welfare. Days and weeks passed by, but no news was received of him, which made her extremely anxious and no longer able to bear being kept in doubt. Many fearful forebodings haunted her mind; her tender heart had begun to fail her and her soul to faint, when on one bright morning **Jâlandhara** came home. His body was crimson with blood flowing from the wounds received in the battle, but his face as bright and joyous as that of a victor. **Vṛindâ** was overjoyed to see her husband come home safe and victorious, for his very appearance told her this, and she needed not words to be assured of it. She ran to meet him, while he was yet outside the palace, as he joyfully extended his arms to embrace her. She, on her part, kissed and lovingly caressed him. Before, however, she had spoken a word to express her joy at having him back, to her infinite horror, **Vishṇu**, who had treacherously defiled her personal purity by assuming the form of **Jâlandhara**, stood before her and revealed his own true self! Alas, for poor **Vṛindâ**! She knew, by this foul despoiling of her perfect purity, that her lord was overcome and slaughtered by the merciless gods and she was mad with rage and grief.

Meanwhile **Vishṇu**, greatly charmed with her beauty and her devotion to her lord, had fallen in love with her, and entreated her to pardon him and take him for her husband instead of Jâlandhara. He assured her that she would be his dearest love, and have an absolute sovereignty over himself and his domains. But **Vṛindâ** scornfully rejected the offer, and, in her just indignation, solemnly lifting up her right hand, pronounced an awful curse on him; saying that, as he had treacherously robbed her of her love, he should be robbed of his in his next existence on earth. **Vishṇu** still tried his best to pacify her anger, and renewed his entreaties; but all in vain. The devoted wife would not hear his prayers. Her love was dead, and her most precious gem—perfect purity—was lost; could she bear to live an hour more? Nothing could tempt her to depart from the right path. She determined to follow her husband through life unto death and purify herself in the fire, and come out of it pure as gold, attired in a glorious immortal body. She ordered a funeral pyre to be made and lighted immediately; and invoking God's blessing on her departed husband, and calling on the guardians of the eight regions of the universe to be witnesses of her faithfulness and undying love to her husband, with a firm footstep and calm countenance she mounted her last place of repose in the fearful flames, as cheerfully as if she were going to rest on her bridal bed. Thus the heroic **Vṛindâ** gained victory over evil, and joined her equally heroic husband in heaven, never again to be separated from him!

Vishṇu was now greatly ashamed of his base conduct, grieving remorsefully, and mourning for Vṛindâ, with whom he had passionately fallen in love. He threw himself down by the pyre, kissed the ground hallowed by her footsteps, took the ashes, from the still burning wood, and sought to find comfort by smearing his body with them. All the gods were grieved, to see **Vishṇu** so disconsolate and mournful. They tried to comfort him, but all in vain. He sat there for days shedding bitter tears of remorse and grief over Vṛindâ's death. His tears fell like a shower over the ashes of the lovely Vṛindâ; and in a few days a pretty little plant sprang out of them! It seemed to have all the beauty, grace and purity of **Vṛindâ**. At least, *he* thought so; and took the plant and pressed it tenderly to his heart, naming it **Tulasi**, and saying to it:—"thou art like her."[1]

The spot where Vṛindâ died, he named **Vṛindâvana**, *i.e.* 'the garden of Vṛindâ;' and ever since then any vessel or place where a *tulasi* plant grows is called a *vṛindâvana*. **Vishṇu** took the plant for his own, and loved it for **Vṛindâ's** sake; and now no flower or plant, be it ever so fragrant or beautiful, is so pleasing to him as the simple little *tulasi!* Even a small piece of one of its leaves, offered to him by a worshipper, is in his eyes greater than all the riches and most costly gifts of

[1] *Tula*, 'like or equal,' and *asi*, 'thou art.'

gods and kings together. This is why, on the twelfth day in the light fortnight of the month of Kârttika, the **marriage of Vishṇu and Tulasî** is celebrated throughout Southern India, by placing a metal image of Vishṇu, or a *śâlagrâma*, under the little plant, and solemnizing a marriage in the regular manner amidst glad songs and the chanting of holy texts.

Thus, though Vṛindâ is gone from him for ever, her memory is immortalized and tenderly cherished in his heart by **Vishṇu**, who dearly loves the **Tulasî** for **Vṛindâ's** sake.

THE MAURYA-PASSAGE IN THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROF. R. G. BHANDARKAR, PH.D.

In the first number of the new *Vienna Oriental Journal*, just received, there is an article by my honoured friend, Dr. Kielhorn, in which he brings forward some objections against the interpretation of the **Maurya-passage** in the **Mahâbhâshya** given by other scholars. As I am one of these last, and as Dr. Kielhorn invites criticism on his observations by saying he would "be glad to be corrected by others," and that his reason for writing on the subject is "to give others an opportunity of removing his difficulties," I will here endeavour, to the best of my ability, to answer the difficulties raised by him.

The first expression, to the translation of which my friend objects, is *yâs tv êtâḥ*. His objections in this, as well as in the other cases, are based on the supposition that the translations already given are opposed to the sense that the several expressions have in other parts of the Mahâbhâshya; and it will be my duty to show that my translation, at least, is not so opposed. Dr. Kielhorn says that (excepting, so far as his observation goes, a single passage) the pronoun *êtad* in such expressions as *ya êshaḥ*, *yad êtad*, *ya êtê*, &c., does not refer to something stated before; but expresses a thing well known, a thing to be met with generally in ordinary life. That it has the sense mentioned by him in the instances he quotes, is unquestionable. But this sense it derives from the fact that primarily, it means 'this'; *i.e.* it denotes 'proximity.' Now, the world in which one moves, and with which he is intimately acquainted, is from that point of view regarded by him as being 'near;' *i.e.* having proximity. Hence, everybody in that world is spoken of as 'this': (1) But this is not the only way in which things come to have nearness or proximity. They may become near because they are actually before one; or, in the case of a writer, (2) because he has just mentioned them, or (3) is going to mention them. Dr. Kielhorn has given instances from the Mahâbhâshya, in which *êtad* with *yad* has the first sense. I will give others in which it has the two other senses. Two of my instances have *idam* for *êtad*; which, however, makes no difference whatever.

(2). *a.* Vol. I. p. 10, l. 1. *Yé châpy êtê bhavatô'prayuktâ abhimatâḥ śabdâ* &c. The words alluded to here have been given by Patañjali before, at the beginning of the argument.

b. Vol. I. p. 31, last line. *Ya êsha bhavatâ varṇânâm arthavattâyâṁ hêtur upadishṭô'rthavantô varṇâ*, &c. This *hêtu* has been given before and is here repeated.

c. Vol. II. p. 86, l. 3. *Ya êtê saṁjñâyâṁ vidhîyanté têshu* &c. These have been mentioned just before.

d. Vol. II. p. 19, l. 19. *Yad êtat tṛintrachôr grahaṇam* &c. The sûtra in which the affixes here spoken of occur, has been quoted just before.

e. Vol. II. p. 326, l. 19, *Na vaisha yuktô vipratishêdhô yô'yam añô mayaṭaś cha*. The *vipratishêdha* has been given in the last but one Vârttika.

f. Vol. III. p. 238, l. 9. *Yat tv idaṁ vârttikakâraḥ paṭhati* &c. What is referred to by *idam* has been mentioned before, and is here repeated.

3. *a.* Vol. II. p. 139, l. 19. *Yé'pi hy êtê'ta uttaram pratyayâḥ śishyanta* &c. *Êtê* refers to the terminations that follow.

Here there are five instances in which *êtad* with *yad*, and two in which *idam* with *yad*, denote 'proximity' to the passage in which they occur. In six of these cases, the pronoun refers to things mentioned before; and in one, to things mentioned afterwards. And I dare say a good many more instances will be found, if a diligent search is made for them. I do not see why Patañjali should not, in the nature

of things, use *êtad* to denote this sort of proximity, and restrict himself to that conceived to exist in things well known to us. And the expression, or its several senses, are by no means peculiar to Patañjali, but are to be found in the language itself. The following instances occur to me at the present moment; and doubtless a long list can be made out if necessary :—

Yêyaṁ prêtê vichikitsâ manushyê,—*Kaṭha Up.* (3 or 1).

Ya êsha suptêshu jâgarti &c.—*Ibid.* (1)

Yô'yaṁ yôgas tvayâ prôktô,—*Bhagavadgîtâ*, Ch. 6, v. 33. (2).

Yad êtad anumaraṇaṁ nâma tad atinishphalam,—*Kâd.* (1)

Yô'yaṁ baddhô yudhi parikaras têna vô &c.—*Utt. R. ch.* Act V. (2).

Yênânêna jagatsu Khaṇḍaparaśur, &c.—*Virach.* Act II. (2).

Yaḥ punar ayam antê'parô vikalpa &c. *Śaṅkara. Bh.* Vol. I. (Bibl. Ind.) p. 434, l. 2 (2).

So that it does not appear to me that there is anything peculiar to Patañjali in this respect. He has used the expression under notice in those senses in which it is used elsewhere. Thus *yâs tv êtâḥ* in the Maurya passage, may, if the context require it, be taken to refer to some of the images already mentioned.

2. Now as to the word *samprati*. *Purâkalpa* means 'ancient time,' a time so remote that nobody has a definite conception of it, and *adyatvê*, as opposed to it, signifies 'modern times.' But this is not the sense we require in the present passage, according to my translation. For the Maurya family became extinct only about thirty-five years before Patañjali wrote, according to Prof. Goldstücker's view and mine; and consequently the time when it reigned cannot be spoken of as *purâkalpa*. The word *samprati* denotes 'now,' as opposed to a past time which is definite and not very remote; and this is exactly the sense required in the passage under discussion. Dr. Kielhorn, however, is led to think, from some of the instances quoted by him, that the past time, implied by the present which the word *samprati* denotes, must refer to the same thing as that the present condition of which is expressed by that word. But this is by no means necessary. For *nivâsa* (Vol. II. p. 314, l. 7) is spoken of by Patañjali as the place where one lives now; while *abhijana* is the place where his *ancestors* lived. Here the past time implied by the word *samprati* or '*now*,' is not the past of the man whose *present nivâsa* is spoken of; but refers to his ancestors. And even the sense attached to the word by Dr. Kielhorn does not go entirely against my interpretation of the passage. We shall only have to suppose that the images now under worship were the same as those sold by the Mauryas, and not *like* them, or belonging to the same class with them. But this view I have rejected, after considerable deliberation.

The third expression the sense of which Dr. Kielhorn discusses, is *prakalpitâḥ*. He thinks that *prakalpayati* means 'to fashion or make one thing out of another,' 'to produce a thing which did not exist before out of something else;' and that it is equivalent to *nirvartayati*. I feel no hesitation in saying that this sense does not appear to me to be at all appropriate, whether in the Mahâbhâshya or elsewhere. In the expressions in which the genitive is spoken of as *prakalpita*, is the genitive really produced? In grammar we speak of the *utpatti* or production of a termination, when it is applied to a base which did not possess it before, as the accusative is *utpanna* after the noun *kaṭa* and the termination *kta* after the root *kṛi* (Vol. I. p. 441, ll. 3, 4). Is the genitive so produced here; and if it is, why should Patañjali never use in the innumerable places where the phrase occurs, the word *utpâdayati*, as he does in these cases, or *nirvartayati*, instead of *prakalpayati*? And how are we to translate the phrase *anusvâraḥ sthânî yaṇam anunâsikaṁ prakalpayati* (Vol. I. p. 16)?; that an original *anusvâra* produces a *yaṇ to be anunâsika*? How can we produce a thing such as a pot *to be* red? The word *produce* or *utpatti* is out of place here; we can only say that an additional quality *anunâsikatva* is given to an existing thing *yaṇ*. Again, when Patañjali says that the general rule operates after having *prakalpita* the scope of the special rule (Vol. I. p. 463, l. 2; Vol. II. p. 127, l. 5), does he mean "after having *produced* the scope of the special rule?" Is not "after having devised, arranged, or assigned scope to the special rule," the proper translation? And, using the root in its primi-

tive or non-causal form, when Patañjali says *vyapadêśo na prakalpatê* (Vol. I. p. 61, l. 21), does he mean "the appellation or description is not produced"? Is not "the description does not fit," the proper sense here? When he says *sâmânyaviśêshau na prakalpêtê*, if what is *general* may become *particular*, and what is *particular*, *general*, he does not mean that *sâmânya* and *viśêsha* are not 'produced,' but that they do not 'fit each other,' the relation 'does not hold,' 'is not intelligible,' 'not proper'; (Vol. I. p. 172, l. 3). *Avakâśaḥ praklṛiptaḥ* (Vol. II. p. 297, l. 14) means the scope of the rules alluded to has been 'devised,' 'arranged' or 'determined,' not 'produced.' So also when *śigrahaṇam* is said to be *śêshaprakḷiptyartham* (Vol. III. p. 159, l. 1), the sense cannot be that *śi* is used in VI. 3, 43 for producing *śêsha*; for *śêsha* is not to be produced or transformed. The word occurs in the very next *sûtra*; and being a relative term equivato 'remainder' or 'residue,' it can have no sense if *śi*, with reference to which it is the residue, is not admitted in VI. 3, 43. So then *śêshaprakḷiptyartham* means 'for making *śêsha* fit in with, answer to, or correspond with something else,' for giving an intelligible sense to the word. Again, if Patañjali meant by *prakalpayati* the same thing as *nirvartayati*, why does he, fond as he is of the former word, not use it when he has occasion to speak of the production of a *ghaṭa* or a *kaṭa*, or of *ôdana*, but use *nirvartayati* or *karôti* only. Thus he speaks of the *nirvṛitti* of things which are made, not *prakḷipti*; makes a man say to a potter *kuru ghaṭam*, not *prakalpaya ghaṭam* (Vol. I. p. 7, ll. 2 and 3 from bottom), uses the expressions *ôdanaṁ nirvartayati* not *ôdanaṁ prakalpayati* (Vol. I. p. 332, l. 18), and *kaṭaṁ karôti*, *kaṭaṁ kuru*, *ghaṭaṁ kuru* several times (Vol. I. pp. 440 and 441; Vol. III. p. 56, l. 8), and not *kaṭaṁ prakalpayati*, &c. &c.

The central idea expressed by the root *kḷip* is that of a plan, system, arrangement, device, mutual fitness or consistency. The genitive is *prakalpita* by the ablative *in the place* of the nominative in virtue of Pâṇini's rule *tasmâd ity uttarasya*, *i.e.* it is devised, arranged for, led to by a logical necessity or conditions of propriety, and has thus to be *understood*. The original *anusvârô yaṇam anunâsikaṁ prakalpayati*, i.e. 'devises or arranges that the *yaṇ* which takes its place should be nasal.' The *anusvâra* is a reason why the substituted *yaṇ* should be nasalized. The general rule devises, arranges or plans out the scope of the special rule from the whole available region, and then operates (in the part that remains). Similarly in all the other instances given above, it will be seen that *fitness*, *propriety*, *devising* or *planning* is the sense involved. It will also be observed that that which is spoken of as the *prakalpaka* is, or involves, a reason or a principle which justifies, explains, or determines something else, and makes the *prakalpaka* fit in with or answer to the *prakalpita*; while that which is *nirvartaka* produces a thing that did not exist before, and possesses voluntary agency only. Thus then, in the passage under discussion, the images were devised, fitted, or made to answer by the Mauryas who wanted gold, *i.e.*, to answer or fit in with their desire for gold, just as *śêsha* answers to or fits in with *śi* in VI. 3, 43, or *viśêsha* with *sâmânya*, or the *vyapadêśa* (description or appellation) with the nature of the thing alluded to; the genitive with the previous ablative or the following locative, the *anunâsikatva* with the anusvâra and the province of the general rule with that of the special rule. In other words, they were used as means fit for the end, the attainment of gold.

MISCELLANEA.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EARLY DRAVIDIAN LITERATURE.

Some weeks ago I received the following announcement from an old native friend at Madras:— "I have to inform you that the large commentary of the *Tolkâppiyam* has been printed and published, the second section of which contains our cow-fight subject in full. The most ancient Tamil archæological learning has now come out after twenty-seven years' waiting. The book consists of nine sections, 851 pages."

It is now some thirty years since I made acquaintance with this work, one of the most ancient Tamiḻ compositions extant; but, being no Tamiḻ scholar, I could only do so at second-hand, the occasion for which was the following:—

Along the western frontier of the Southern Marâṭhâ Country and Northern Maisûr, frequen-

carved monumental stones may be observed near many villages. They are known as *virgals*, and record the death of some village hero, whose figure is carved in the lower compartment, often with some accompaniments indicative of the cause in which he fell.

These, in a large number of cases, are seen to be cattle; and the frequency with which they are repeated led me to the conclusion that a practice had prevailed there, like that of the cattle-lifting so common on the Borders between Scotland and England in the 14th to the 16th centuries. The examples, however, of such encounters are not confined to frontier villages of opposing States, but occur promiscuously. Now, as the exclusive constitution of an Indian village tends to isolate it from the cultivation of friendly relations with its neighbours, it seemed probable that the bolder spirits of one township might occasionally take advantage of a favourable opportunity to pounce upon the cattle of another, especially among the communities which I have elsewhere described as constituting the predatory classes.[1] These, in the districts to which I refer, are the Bêḍa and Marava Tribes. Conversing with my native instructor on the subject, I was struck with the coincidence between the cattle-raids described in the second section of the *Tolkâppiyam* and the sculptured effigies of the *virgals*.

As well as I can recollect, that section refers to the subject of clandestine marriage, as well as to that of cattle-lifting, the connection between which at first sight is not apparent. The former I passed over, as not then connected with my inquiries; but the latter, which appears to be more particularly described under the name of *pasuladigâram*, contains an animated account of the practice of cattle-lifting, which is said to be "the origin of all wars;" while the term for cattle, *pasu*, literally a cow, is said to represent not only kine, but all harmless creatures, and includes women, young unmarried persons of both sexes, children, &c. In a series of animated stanzas, the plan, progress, and results of the raid are vividly described under the title of *vechiturei*, from the badge, *vechi* (*Ixora Coccinia*), a plant worn by the leader and his men, followed by the pursuit, *karandei*, of the plunderers and the rescue of the spoil.

My object in calling attention to this composition, is, to suggest that a full translation will probably throw light on the ethnological condition of the early population of the south, particularly of that portion which I have designated as the predatory tribes. It further occurs to me that the mention in the same section of irregular marriages, may refer to the capture of the bride by violence, instead of acquiring her by the more civilized practice of courtship and purchase. Nowhere is this practice found in greater force at the present day, than in Australia.

According to Professor Huxley's arrangement of the varieties of the human race, "the indigenous population of Australia presents one of the best marked of all the types or principal forms of mankind." With them he associates "the so-called hill-tribes who inhabit the interior of the Dakkan in Hindustân, and the ancient Egyptians."[2] It need not, therefore, be a matter of surprise if similar habits, with regard to intestine plunder and marriages by violence, present themselves in their Hindu representatives. The Hindus recognise eight descriptions of marriages, two of which, the most ancient, are characterized as accomplished by force. That called *irâkkadan* is thus described,—"when bold men, becoming enamoured of a damsel adorned with large ornaments of gold, resolve to seize her by force; this is the marriage-rite peculiar to the broad and high-shouldered giants, who wander over the earth exhibiting their prowess." Still more applicable to the Australian mode is the *paiśâcha* union, in which "the possession of the persons of females is obtained, while under the protection of their non-consenting relations, by violence, and in a state of insensibility."[3] The term *paiśâcha* is applied to an ancient, and now obsolete, Drâviḍian dialect; and the name itself is used as one of opprobrium applicable to evil spirits, a relic of which is found in the demonolatry, or devil-worship as it is called, of the rudest aboriginal races of the south. May it not, therefore, have been the original generic name of the predatory tribes of the Indo-Australoid group?

These crude ideas, founded on some hasty detached notes made to assist the memory many years ago, are merely thrown out as incitements to those qualified by knowledge and opportunity to investigate the archaic study of Tamil, which has been so largely altered by later Âryan interference.

The author of the *Tolkâppiyam*, Tiranadumagni, is represented to have been the principal disciple of Agastya, deriving his name of Tolkâppiyanâr from his native place, which caused him to employ it as the title of his great work. But it is by no means improbable that the *Tolkâppiyam* is of older origin and is a remnant of an earlier Drâviḍian literature that flourished before the

[1] *Jour. Ethnological Society*, *N. S.* Vol. I. p. 112 (1869).
[2] *Jour. Ethnological Society*, *N. S.* Vol. II. p. 404 (1870); *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV. p. 26.
[3] Ellis, *Cural*, p. 160.

immigration of the Brâhmanical missionaries from the north.[4] In that case the *Tolkâppiyam*, and other contemporary archaic writings, would furnish a valuable mine of classical and ethnological lore. And my purpose in this communication is to express a hope that some of the *alumni* of the Madras University may be induced to explore its recesses, in the hope of throwing light on the normal literature, manners, customs, &c., of their own land; following the example of their distinguished countrymen in Bombay and Bengal.

Attention is not now called to this object for the first time. Fifteen years ago Mr. Gover, supported by the authority of several competent judges, pointed out how great is the mass of early Drâviḍian, especially Tamiḷ, literature upon which "total neglect has fallen. Overborne by Brâhmanic legend, hated by the Brâhmaṇs, it has not had a chance of obtaining the notice it so much deserves." * * * * "To raise these books in public estimation, to exhibit the true products of the Drâviḍian mind, would be a task worthy of the ripest scholar and the most enlightened Government. I would especially draw attention to the eighteen books that are said to have received the sanction of the Madura College, and are among the oldest specimens of Drâviḍian literature. Any student of Drâviḍian writings would be able to add a score of equally valuable books. If these were carefully edited they would form a body of Drâviḍian classics of the highest value."[5]

W. ELLIOT, F.R.S.

Wolfelee, 8th January 1887.

The Readers of this Journal will, ere now, have heard, with sorrow, of the recent death of Sir Walter Elliot. In publishing, with but melancholy pleasure, this his last contribution to these pages, the Editors wish to express their extreme regret at being no longer able to count him among their contributors, and their gratitude for the valuable papers sent by him from time to time, despite his great age and the physical infirmities which latterly were almost overwhelming.

J. F. FLEET.
R. C. TEMPLE.

THE DATE OF SAMKARACHARYA.

Referring to Mr. Fleet's note on this subject at page 41 f. above, it is of interest to note that the tradition prevalent in the "gracious teacher's" native land favours Mr. K. B. Pathak's date for Saṁkarâchârya (A.D. 788-820) rather than that proposed by Messrs. K. T. Telang and Fleet (*c.* A. D. 590-655).

"At the time of this successful war," so runs the *Kêralôtpatti*, "there was born as the son (or incarnation) of Mahâdêva (Śiva) a celebrated genius. It was he who was afterwards known as Saṁkarâchârya."

The *Kêralôtpatti* is full of glaring anachronisms, like, almost without exception, all[1] native histories; and the Perumâl in whose reign "this successful war" is said to have taken place is said to have been appointed ruler of Kêraḷa by Ânakundi-Kṛishṇarâya in A.D. 427."

Moreover, this same **Chêramân-Perumâl** is recorded, in the *Kêralôtpatti*, to have embraced Islam, and set out for Mecca!!

Here the confusion seems to be worse confounded; and a puppet Vijayanagar king of the sixteenth century A.D. is mixed up in the work with a king who set out for Mecca, and who is said to have landed at that place and had an interview with the Prophet himself on the very first day of the first year of the Hijrâ!!

But, though it at first sight appears hopeless to get at the truth, the tradition of the king setting out for Mecca does appear to rest on a historical basis. Arabs may generally be trusted to state facts; and it is important in the first place to notice that the author of the *Tàhafat-ul-Mujahidîn* (written in the latter half of the sixteenth century) notices this tradition, only to discredit the date assigned in it. He says[2]:— "Touching the exact time when this event occurred, there is no certain information; but there appears good ground for the supposition that it happened about two hundred years after the flight of the Prophet." And he continues:—"It is a fact, moreover, now well known to all, that the king was buried at Zaphar, instead of on the Arâbian Coast of the Red Sea, at which place his tomb can be seen by every one, and is indeed now flocked to on account of its virtues." And the king of whom this tale is told, is styled by the people of that part of the world **As-Sâmiri**; whilst the tradition of his disappearance is very common throughout the population generally of Malabar, whether Moslems or Pagans; although the latter would believe that he has been taken

[4] Caldwell's *Comp. Gram.*, Intro., p. 127; *Inter. Num. Or.* Vol. III. p. 1, and note 1, p. 2. According to Dr. Caldwell the derivation is Tam. *tol*, 'ancient,' and Sans. *kâvya*, 'a poem;' but a compound word, the constituents of which belong to languages so totally distinct, is hardly admissible.

[5] *Folk Songs of Southern India*, pp. xix. xx. Madras, 1871.

[1] I do not class the *Koṅgadêśa-Râjakal* with these; for it has always struck me that that work must have been compiled either by a European, or by a Native under European superintendence. Have the Editors any information on this point?

[2] Rowlandson's translation; London, 1883.

up into heaven,[3] and still continue to expect his descent; on which account they assemble at Cranganore and keep ready there wooden shoes and water, and on a certain night of the year burn lamps as a kind of festival in honour of his memory."

The tradition that he went to Mecca is as strong now as it was in the time when the *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidîn* was written; and it is certainly very curious in this connection that the Mahârâjâs of Travancore, on receiving the sword at their coronations, have even nowadays to declare[4]:—"I will keep this sword until the Uncle who has gone to Mecca returns." I inserted a query, asking if any of your readers could verify for me the fact, which I had on the authority of an Arab living on the outskirts of Zafhâr, the place mentioned in the *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidîn*; namely that Abdul Rahimân Sâmiri, a Hindu (Sâmiri = Samaritan = worshipper of the calf; *Korân*, S. 20) king of Malabar lies buried at that place, and that on his tombstone, still in existence, there is inscribed that he reached that place in A.H. 212, and died there A.H. 216. These dates correspond with the years A.D. 827-28 and 831-32.

I am not aware that any one has answered that query; either in this Journal, or elsewhere. And I myself have done my best to obtain exact information on the subject, both from the Resident at Aden, and from other sources; but so far without result.

If, therefore, my Arab's information is correct, it is pretty nearly certain that Chêramân-Perumal, "the Uncle" of the Mahârâjâs of Travancore, "who has gone to Mecca," vacated his throne some time about A.D. 827.

This date obtains additional probability from the fact that the **Kollam Era** of the Malayâlis commenced on the 25th August, A.D. 825. And it can be very easily understood how an important event like the vacating of his throne by a potentate like **Chêramân-Perumâl**, was selected to mark the commencement of the era. It may be further noted in this connection that the *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidîn*, and a number of Mâppilla manuscripts that I have seen, all say that Chêramân-Perumâl resided for some time at Shahr on the Arabian Coast, before moving on to Zafhâr where he died. This accounts naturally for the interval between the end of the year 825 A.D. and the year 827 A.D., when he is said to have reached Zafhâr.

It follows from the above that if "the gracious teacher" Saṁkarâchârya was, as Malayâli tradition asserts, a contemporary of Chêramân-Perumâl, his probable date was in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.; and this agrees with Mr. K. B. Pathak's view of the evidence cited by him.

W. LOGAN.

Easthill, Calicut, February 4th, 1887.

THE ARYAN SECTION AT THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS HELD AT VIENNA.

The Seventh International Congress of Orientalists which met at Vienna in the last days of September, 1886, was marked throughout by the numerical strength of the attendance, the high average of the papers read, and the hearty reception given to its members by the Government and public of the Austrian Capital.

The Congress held its first sitting on Monday, September 27th; and,—after opening speeches from its Patron, His Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke Regnier, the Minister of Public Instruction, Dr. Gautsch von Frankenthurm, and the Burgomaster of Vienna,—Dr. Uhlt, the President Baron von Kremer, lately Minister of Commerce, gave a spirited account of the growth of Oriental science in the past and of its present aims, dwelling especially upon its great importance for a country like Austro-Hungary, which is connected by so many links with the East.

Immediately after the opening sitting the Congress broke up into sections, which were as follows:—I. *a*. Arabic; I. *b*. Semitic; II. Aryan; III. African-Egyptian; IV. Central and Further Asian; and V. Malayo-Polynesian. In the following report we intend to give, as far as the abstracts of the papers and summaries of the discussions kindly sent us will allow, a complete record of the Aryan Section's work, restricting ourselves in respect to the rest of the Congress' proceedings to a notice of such communications, as may interest Indian readers.

After unanimously electing Prof. Von Roth, of Tübingen, as president, and Profs. Weber, of Berlin, and Lignana, of Rome, as vice-presidents, the Aryan Section listened first to Mr. G. A. Grierson, of the Bengal Civil Service, who laid before it a note by himself and Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, suggesting a systematic survey of the modern languages of India. This was supported by written communications from Messrs Barth, C.

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[3] Probably an allusion to the tradition embodied in the chronogram marking the event—*Svargasând'hapràpyam* means he went to heaven with his body;" the value of which is, in the Kali yuga chronology, 1, 268, 734 days, and which corresponds with 9th July 827 A.D.—on which date it is needless to point out the Prophet had not been born.

[4] Mateer's *Native Life in Travancore*, London, 1883; p. 121.

Bendall, Cowell, Oust, Max Müller, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Rost, Sayce and Senart.

Mr. Grierson's motion was followed by a highly interesting paper of **Prof. Cecil Bendall**, of the British Museum and University College, London, who exhibited a fragment of a commentary on the *Chándra-vyákaraṇa*, purchased by him in Nêpâl in 1884, and also facsimiles of an inscription from Bihâr in the Calcutta Museum, both in a character hitherto unnoticed. The prominent feature of this writing is a small triangular ornament (apex uppermost) at the top of each *mátrá*. Several letters, as Prof. Bendall pointed out from a diagram, which he had prepared from tracings, were of archaic shapes, not easily paralleled from other Indian alphabets. Other archaisms were the absence of a distinct symbol for *ṛi* medial, so that *kṛi* appeared exactly like *kra*. Prof. Bendall suggested that the alphabet represented one of the lost *lipis* referred to in the *Lalitavistara* as well as in Jain works. In the discussion which followed upon this important communication, Prof. E. Kuhn, of Munich, observed, that there exist some points of resemblance between the alphabet discovered by Prof. Bendall and the ink-written form of the Kambôja alphabet, as represented on Plate III. of Burnouf and Lassen's *Essai sur le Páli*. He refrained, however, from drawing any farther inferences, since he considered the similarity between those two alphabets merely due to the writing-material having been originally the same.

Dr. J. E. Pollak, late physician at the Teherân Court, announced the completion of a *German-Persian Dictionary*, now ready for the printer.

Prof. Georg Bühler, then called attention to some valuable scientific contributions, received from India: *viz.* a specimen of the *Atharvavéda-bháshya* by Shankar Pandurang Pandit, *Vámanáchárya's Liṅgánuśásana*, edited by Dr. P. Peterson, and a paper of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji on *two Chalukya Inscriptions*. With reference to the communication from Dr. Peterson, Dr. Kielhorn stated, that, though he could not for the present accept Dr. Peterson's views as to the identity of Vâmana, the author of the *Liṅgánuśásana* and Vâmana, the compiler of part of the *Káśiká-Vṛitti*, he was glad to have an opportunity of testifying to the high value of Dr. Peterson's work in connection with the search for Sanskrit MSS.

Dr. J. Jolly, of Würzburg, then laid before the Congress an account of his critical edition of the *Code of Manu*, which has since been published by Messrs. Trübner & Co. The text, as given in this new edition, is based principally on the hitherto unpublished early commentaries, whereas all existing editions give the text as represented in the comparatively modern commentary of **Kullûka**. Copious selections from six unpublished commentaries form the subject of a separate publication by Dr. Jolly; the first two *fasciculi* of which work have appeared in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, in 1885 and 1886, under the title of *Manuṭîkâsaṁgraha*.

Prof. Ramkrishna G. Bhandarkar, of Poona, next read a learned and exhaustive report, entitled "Principal Results of my last two years' studies in Sanskṛit Manuscripts and Literature, with particular reference to the Sacrificial Ritual and the Pañcharâtra System." The merits of Prof. Bhandarkar's work having been duly noticed by Dr. Bühler, the section proposed and passed, by acclamation, a vote of thanks to the political agent and chiefs of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and the Bombay Government, to whom the Congress was mainly indebted for the presence of so distinguished a representative of native Indian learning.

Lastly, **Prof. Weber**, of Berlin, reported on a Benares Edition (1885) of an extract from the *Khalavaktrachapêṭikâ*, "smack in the mouth of the wicked," under the synonymous title of *Durjanâsyachapêṭikâ*, and composed by the same author **Râjavallabha**. The date of this composition is now settled by the verses on the first page to be quite modern, *viz.* A.D. 1844, as was conjectured by Prof. Weber in his paper, "On two pamphlets in favour of the **Magas** or **Sâkadvîpîya-Brâhmaṇs**," in the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1880, p. 69. At the end of the extract the names of the same Paṇḍits (except one) are given in support of the truth of the context, and the names of nine more Paṇḍits are added, four of whom, according to a statement of Prof. Garbe's (who sent the little work to Prof. Weber) are still living in Benares. The author claims for the **Magas** superiority over the other members of the Brâhmaṇ caste, and it is a very curious fact, that he has found the full support for his claim of many learned men in the very capital of Brâhmaṇism. Prof. Weber believes that the Magas go back to an old mission of the **Mithra-cult**, the members of which, after their arrival in India (about the first two centuries A.D.), were incorporated into the Brâhmaṇ caste.[1]

At the end of the first sitting, **Prof. Ernst Windisch**, of Leipsic, very appropriately reminded the section of the hundredth anniversary of the birthday of the late **Horace Hayman Wilson**,

[1] See Prof. Weber's paper on the *Magavyakti* in the *Monatsberichte*, 1879, pp. 458, 466.

which had occurred on the day before (September 26th). After some touching remarks from the President, Prof. von Roth, on the personal character of that great pioneer of Indian philology in Europe, the members honoured his memory by rising from their seats.

Tuesday, September 28th.—The second sitting opened with a most valuable paper from Dr. R. Hoernle, who exhibited a very ancient Bakhâlî MS. scarcely later than 1,000 A.D., important both for the archaic form of the Śâradâ character, in which it is written, and its contents. It was discovered a few years ago in the Pañjâb, and expounds one of the ancient systems of Hindu arithmetic, remarkable for many of its technical features, as *e. g.* its peculiar use of the sign + for *minus*.

Prof. Lignana, of Rome, followed with a paper in Italian on those puzzling figures of Vêdic mythology, the *Navagvâh* and *Daśagvâh*. After a careful examination of the passages in the Ṛigvêda, from which light as to their real character might be gathered, Prof. Lignana traced some affinities between these mythological conceptions of the Vêdic Âryans and certain obscure Italian divinities, the names of which appear to be preserved only in the epigraphic remains of the Marsi and Volsci.

The next paper, read by Prof. P. Hunfalvy, of Budapest, treated of the origin of the Roumanian Language,—a much contested question, which was further discussed by Profs. Ludwig and Hasdeu.

Captain R. C. Temple then gave a short account of his edition of the late Dr. Fullon's *Dictionary of Hindustânî Proverbs*, explaining the method pursued in carrying out the work and reporting the progress made. Prof. Weber expressed his satisfaction at Captain Temple's publication, as being the first step towards the fulfilment of the wishes of the previous Congress.[*]

A short paper on the Sanskṛit names of precious stones, communicated by Dr. K. Glaser, of Trieste, as a specimen from his glossary of old Indian natural history terms, concluded the proceedings of this day's sitting.

Wednesday, Sept. 29.—In opening the third sitting the President announced the completion in print of Dr. Bühler's new *Translation of Manu*, which was about to be issued as one of the volumes of Prof. Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*.

Prof. E. Leumann, of Strassburg, next made some interesting remarks on the MS. of the *Aṅgavijjâ*, which Prof. Bhandarkar had brought over from India to lay before the Congress. Prof. Leumann pointed out that the MS. is of very high interest, as it probably belongs to a group of Jain texts altogether different from the canonical texts, represented by the *Aṅgas*, *Upâṅgas*, etc. The *Aṅgavijjâ* seems to range in age with the *Aṅgas*, and to refer to the previous sacred literature (called *Pûrvas* or *Puvvas*) by the words standing at the head of each chapter: viz. *ahâpuvvaṁ khalu*, etc., which Prof. Leumann takes for *yathâ-pûrvaṁ khalu*, etc. As nothing is more desirable than some new light thrown on these old Pûrva texts, which have been lost for centuries, the importance of a text like the *Aṅgavijjâ*, is sufficiently evident. The MS. in question is, however, not complete, and gives, perhaps, only the last third of the whole *Aṅgavijjâ*.

Prof. H. Jacobi, of Kiel, followed with an extremely suggestive paper on Jainism and the worship of Kṛishṇa, a somewhat full abstract of which is sure to meet with ready acceptance on the part of our readers. Prof. Jacobi pointed out that Buddha and Mahâvîra may be looked upon as founders of monastical orders, caring little for the religious needs of the laity. But, as an order of monks cannot exist without a lay community devoted to them, it afterwards became a necessity to provide for laymen a creed and cult suitable to their moral and religious condition. This necessity must have made itself still more felt when the order spread beyond the country of its origin. Now, the chief propagation of Jainism seems to have taken place about the middle of the third century B. C. under Âryamahâgiri and Suhastin, the latter of whom converted Kunâla, the grandson of Aśôka; because the list of *thêras* in the *Kalpasûtra* ascribes more disciples, *gaṇas*, *kulas*, and *śâkhâs* to these *thêras* than to any others; and from the names of some *kulas* and *śâkhâs* we may conclude, that the new creed had then spread over the valley of the Ganges and beyond as far as Surâshṭra. In this tract of country there flourished, as stated by Megasthenês, the worship of Kṛishṇa, which was, at that time, scarcely touched by Brâhmanical theology; and in order to make converts in great numbers, the Jain monks had not only, as they were wont to do, to tolerate the popular belief, but even to blend it with their own creed. According to the Jains, Kṛishṇa was a relation of Arishṭanêmi, the 22nd Tîrthakara; and in the history of that prophet is related the whole Legend of Kṛishṇa, differing in some details only from that which is given in Brâhmanical sources.

[*] See Proceedings of the Sixth Congress at Leyden, Vol. I. pp. 169, 206.

Again in the *Antakriddasâ* the conversion and beatification of the wives, etc., of Krishṇa is narrated in the typical style of the *Aṅgas*; and it is also stated there, that Krishṇa, after his death, had to undergo severe punishment in hell, but is, in a very distant future, to become a Tîrthakara called Amama. All this shows that the Jains, though fully admitting the divine dignity of Krishṇa, made him appear as decidedly inferior to their own saints, but used his legend as the keystone, on which to build their phantastical cosmogony; for they have invented after the model of the Legend of Krishṇa 9 *Vasudêvas*, 9 *Vâsudêvas*, and 9 *Prativâsudêvas*, which make up, together with the 24 *Tîrthakaras* and 12 *Chakravartins*, the 63 great personages of their cosmogony, the *Trishashṭiśalâkapurusha*. As the worship of Krishṇa did not prevail in Bihâr, the land in which Buddhism and Jainism took their origin, the influence exercised by the Krishṇa Legend upon the development of Jain mythology, proves the spread of that creed in countries where Krishṇa was worshipped as a national hero. It proves, besides, that converts to Jainism continued then, just as in modern times, to worship the gods whom they had worshipped before their conversion.—In the discussion which followed, Mr. Grierson drew the writer's attention to the fact that in Eastern Hindustân, the popular division of Jains was into Vaishṇavas and non-Vaishṇavas. The former worshipped Krishṇa, while the latter did not, and each division claimed itself as orthodox, and stigmatised the other as heretical. Prof. Weber stated, as his opinion, that the Jain creed has grown up under the influence of the heroic stage of the Krishṇa Legend and worship, which the Jain priests were obliged to amalgamate with their own tenets, in order to win the people over: while the origin of the Krishṇa myth, especially in relation to the name Vâsudêva, is still involved in obscurity. Prof. Weber also directed attention to the fact, that Pâṇini (iv. 3, 98) mentions worshippers both of Vâsudêva and Arjuna.[3]

Next followed a very learned paper, by Mr. G. A. Grierson, on the Mediæval Vernacular Literature of Hindustân, with special reference to Tulsî Dâs. The author first desired to draw attention to the enormous mass of Hindî Literature which exists at the present time, much of it at least three hundred years old, and all of it unedited. To this end he exhibited a list, which he had compiled, of over nine hundred authors, with more or less details concerning their works. This mere list covered more than two thousand manuscript pages! The subjects dealt with by these authors included commentaries on grammatical works, and histories with dates: and owing to a custom which Hindî writers had of dating their works and naming their patrons, many MSS., which would otherwise be of small value, would be found useful by the historical student. After briefly noticing the earlier vernacular poets down to *Chand Bardâî*, Mr. Grierson stated that the first solid ground we come upon, is the great upheaval caused by the rise of the Vaishṇava sects at the end of the fourteenth century. Thereafter we can be pretty certain as to the steps of our research. The author then gave a history of the Vernacular Literature of Hindustân during the 15th and 16th centuries. He dealt specially with Malik Muhammad Jâyasî, author of the *Padmâvatî*, Sûr Dâs, and Tulsî Dâs. The *Padmâvatî* he showed to be founded on the historical facts of the Siege of Chitaur by Alâu'ddîn Khiljî in the 13th century, but Malik Muhammad had changed the hero's name, and had also borrowed largely from the *Story of Udayana* and the *Ratnâvalî*. With regard to Sûr Dâs, Mr. Grierson was able to prove, that the current accounts were legendary, and to give for the first time the poet's autobiography. The influence of Tulsî Dâs over the daily life of the masses of India was very great, as he had saved Hindustân from the Tântrik obscenities of Saivism. A complete list of this poet's works, and a description of his style was then given. The modern editions of his works were declared to be very corrupt, and a critical edition to be most desirable. After the reading of the paper, photographs of autograph pages of the *Râmâyaṇa*, and of a deed of arbitration in Tulsî Dâs's own handwriting, were exhibited.

Mr. Grierson's note, which has been already mentioned, suggesting a survey of the various dialects of India, was then again brought forward, and a resolution was proposed by Prof. Bühler, and seconded by Prof. Weber, urging on the Government of British India the propriety of commencing this most important work. It was stated that in India at this moment many specialists could be found, who would give voluntary assistance. The officials employed by Government to search for Sanskrit Manuscripts could, at the same time, search for equally important works in the Mediæval Vernaculars. The resolution was carried by acclamation and signed by all the scholars present.

The sitting fittingly terminated with a further contribution to the Literature of Jainism, an *Étude sur le Mythe de Vrishabha, le premier*

[3] See *Indische Studien*, Vol. II. p. 416.

Tîrthaṅkara des Jainas, by M. L. de Milloué, of Lyons.

Thursday, September 30th.—Captain R. C. Temple opened the proceedings by a short reference to the *Hir Rânjhâ* of Wâris Shâh Shâh, expressing a hope that it might be some day made available to European scholars in a properly worked out edition, as it was acknowledged by the natives of Pañjâb to be the best specimen of their language in existence.

After a short paper on phonetics by Prof. Grandjean, the President, Prof. Von Roth, gave an ingenious explanation of several difficult passages in the Vêdâs which had hitherto puzzled interpreters and translators. He showed by a large number of convincing examples, that it was a common license of the Vêdic language, to express grammatical relations, which are the same in a group of nouns, by affixing the corresponding case-ending to only one of them, and leaving the rest in the form of simple stems. The fact that this expedient for avoiding a lengthy repetition of identical case-endings had not been noticed by grammarians, Native or European, has to account for many vagaries of ancient and modern exegesis.

Prof. H. Schuchardt communicated Prof. Ascoli's regret at his not having been able to comply with the resolution passed at the Berlin Congress, which had entrusted to him and Prof. J. Schmidt the task of framing a uniform system of phonetic transliteration of the Sanskrit and Zend languages. That this statement was received with a feeling almost of relief is highly characteristic of the state of stagnation into which the cause of transliteration has been lately allowed to lapse, owing to too numerous attempts at settling that difficult question without due regard to practical convenience. Profs. Von Roth and Weber accordingly asked the Section to cancel the commission it had given at the Berlin Congress to the above-named scholars.

Dr. G. Bühler laid before the Section a specimen of Mr. J. F. Fleet's forthcoming volume on the *Gupta Inscriptions*, and a copy of the plates to accompany them. He pointed out the great merits of the work, as well as its high importance for the epigraphy and history of India, and gave expression to his deep regret that the Government of India had felt compelled by financial considerations to order the abolition of the post of epigraphist, so worthily filled by Mr. J. F. Fleet. Captain R. C. Temple concurred in the views expressed, and strongly insisted on the necessity of the continuance of the epigraphic researches. With reference to the remarks of Dr. Bühler and Capt. Temple, a motion was proposed by Dr. Kielhorn, and seconded by Prof. Weber and Prof. C. Bendall, to the effect: "That this Section begs strongly to recommend to the notice of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India the importance to students of Oriental History and Philology, both European and Indian, of such an office as that of the Epigraphist to the Government of India, and that it earnestly hopes for its speedy revival. In passing this resolution the Section trusts that the excellent results obtained and the high merits displayed by Mr. Fleet, while holding the post, will not be overlooked." This resolution was carried by acclamation, and the memorial was signed by all the members present

Dr. M. A. Stein, of Budapest, read a paper on the ancient topography of the Hindu Kûsh region and the Pâmir, and some fresh light was thrown on those interesting localities by a more thorough examination of a difficult passage in the *Avesta*. Dr. Stein identified the Paropanisus of the classic geographers, the modern Hindu-Kûsh, with the Upairi-saêna of the *Avesta*. The local traditions about the Hindu-Kûsh, as recorded by ancient and modern travellers, still preserve the legend, alluded to in its Zend name, which literally means "higher than eagles (can fly)."

Prof. E. Kuhn, of Munich, then treated of the Hindu Kûsh dialects, which, in his opinion, form together with the Kasmiri and the Gipsy Languages a separate group within the body of Indo-Âryan languages. Two sub-divisions of these dialects can be distinguished by some phonetical peculiarities; and a table giving the numerals from one to twenty of the different dialects, enabled Prof. Kuhn to show the various grades of relationship between them. Having mentioned some words remarkable for their antiquity, the writer proceeded to state that the Gipsy language is not related in particular to any one of these dialects, but is rather to be considered as the result of the mixing up of several dialects. He expressed, however, his belief, that further information on the Kasmiri Language is required before a more thorough philological treatment of these dialects can be attempted. In the discussion which followed upon this interesting address, full justice was done to the scientific merits of Prof. Kuhn's research by Mr. Grierson, and Profs. Hunfalvy and Burkhardt. Mr. C. G. Leland, of the United States of America, also specially praised it, because instead of hunting the *ignis fatuus* of a single Indian tongue as the origin of the Gipsy language, Prof. Kuhn declared that the latter was probably a combination of elements from many sources.

The last but not least interesting event of this day's sitting was a paper, by Mr. Leland himself, on the origin of the Gipsy Language. After relating some singular information he had received some years ago from a Hindu in London as to the existence of a vagabond tribe in Northern India who called themselves **Rôm** and their language **Rômani**, Mr. Leland stated, as the result of the studies which he and the late Prof. Palmer had since devoted to the subject, his full belief in the Hindu's story: *viz.* that there exists in India a tribe of wanderers, born Hindus, who from some peculiar incident have received, in addition to the name of **Rôm**, that of **Tirâbalûs** or **Syrians**, though they are really nothing of the kind. They speak a language very much in common with that of the Gipsies of Europe, whom they resemble in all other respects. The grave objection, that the most diligent independent inquiries in India have failed to reach these Tirâbalûs or **Rôms**, was met by Mr. Leland with a reference to a very singular language, known as **Shelta** and spoken extensively by English tramps and vagabonds, which had until a few years ago remained entirely unnoticed in England. Mr. Leland did not, however, pretend to say that the **Rôms** of India are the one stock from which all the European Gipsies came. He thought it very likely that the **Jaṭṭs** combined with many kinds of Indian wanderers in the great Western migration and that after these came successive waves, one of which may have been of **Ḍômas**, another of **Banjârâs**, and so forth; but that the Rôm as the master-vagabond and the most accomplished in the art of living on the roads should have eventually leavened the whole lump, was also very likely. Mr. Leland concluded his address with an urgent appeal to all interested in the Gipsy tongue for more extensive collections of words from its rapidly decaying dialects.

Mr. Leland's suggestive remarks provoked a lively discussion, especially on the part of members resident in India. Mr. M. Macauliffe, B.C.S., said that he thought there were grounds for believing that the Gipsies were the Indian **Naṭs**, who practise jugglery, and are, perhaps, the most migratory in their habits of all Indian tribes. He had met a gang of Naṭs at the Fair of Sakhî Sarwar in the Pañjâb. They said they had come from Southern India, and in reply to his enquiries where they would be on the occasion of the next yearly fair, they said that they travelled everywhere, regardless of religion and nationality. Though professing to have come from Southern India, there is very little doubt that they knew no home. Their speech appeared to be a mixture of Indian dialects, and their habits forbade their dwelling long in any one locality. In their visits to Afghânistân and Persia, they would no doubt adopt Afghân and Persian words, and in their sojournings further to the West, they would adopt the vocables of the countries through which they passed, the basis of their speech remaining the same, *viz.* an Indian conglomerate. Mr. Leland's researches showed that a large number of Gipsy words were Indian; and several Persian. These would, of course, have been brought to Europe by Indian tribes which probably followed Musalmân troops, ever the liberal patrons of Oriental acrobats and jugglers, and might have accompanied the Turks into the South-East of Europe in their invasions. The Hârnis are another very adventurous tribe, and are quite capable of extending their migrations to Europe. They, too, were like to have been patronized by the Turkish armies, even to a far larger extent than the Naṭs, and could easily have found their way to the West. But whereas among the Naṭs the men are the jugglers and acrobats, among the Hârnis physical feats of skill are performed by the women. Several parts of the performance resemble the Pyrrhic dance of the ancient Greeks. The women, like the Gipsies, are not remarkable for their chastity; but it is doubtful whether they ever pretended to tell fortunes; and theft is not generally associated with their names. Another probable origin of the Gipsies is the race of Indian Ḍôms. These, too, are a very migratory unsettled people, who in respect of fortune-telling, child-stealing, thieving and wandering, bear a great analogy to the Gipsies. It seems, however, so far doubtful whether their Hindu prejudices and a certain timidity of nature would have allowed of their migration to Europe, in sufficient numbers to establish such large ubiquitous gangs of Gipsies as are to be found at present in the West. On the whole, so far as his present information and experience of Indian tribes went, Mr. Macauliffe considered the Naṭs had a good claim to be considered the ancestors of the European Gipsies. The enquiry was interesting, and, as Mr. Leland said, some one acquainted with India, who possesses sufficient leisure, may be able to lead it to a certain and satisfactory result.

Captain R. C. Temple, joining in the discussion, remarked that it was very dangerous to attempt to prove the origin of a tribe simply on philological evidence, or on the strength of any name it might bear and give itself. He also deprecated the loose way in which European students mixed up the various races and castes in India, as in the case of the Jâts, or Jaṭṭs, a term

that varied enormously in its application, according to the part of India in which it was used.

Mr. Grierson asked leave to make a few remarks, as one who had given some attention to the subject of Rômani, and who had studied the matter in India. He would remark in the first place, that he thought it was a dangerous practice to base theories as to the origin of the Gipsies entirely on peculiarities of their language. No doubt the language-test was a very strong one, but before any certainty could be arrived at, assistance must be sought from other sciences, notably from anthropology and history. Regarding the question of language, which was the only one on which he could speak with any authority, he would say, that hitherto he had not been able to satisfy himself entirely, but at present, so far as his inquiries went, they seemed to him to point out, that the language now spoken by the Gipsies was originally more nearly connected with **Mâgadhî** rather than with **Sâurasênî Prâkṛit**. These opinions he begged to put forward with the utmost diffidence, more especially as the reasons on which they were founded, were too complex to be detailed on the present occasion. Regarding the secret languages of the Naṭs and other criminal tribes of India, he was able to say that they were not independent languages, but rather slang, founded on already existing vernaculars. Thus these Naṭs call a rupee a *bajaiyâ* or "ringer," which is perfectly good Hindî, much as English thieves of the present day call Newgate Prison "the Stone Jug."

Dr. Robert Cust remarked that his knowledge of the agricultural classes of the Pañjâb did not warrant him in supporting Mr. Leland's idea of there being a tribe who spoke Rômani as their vernacular. Possibly tribes might be found who spoke artificial jargons, but Mr. Leland alluded to national vernaculars

Prof. Kuhn wished to state, that, although part of the Jaṭṭs had been mixed up with the Gipsies, they had not, in his opinion, exercised any considerable influence on the constitution of the Gipsy Language.

Friday, Oct. 1st.—The proceedings of the fifth sitting were opened by **Dr. R. Rost**, of the India Office, who submitted the first three sheets of the classified catalogue of the **Sanskṛit MSS.** in the India Office Library. Dr. Rost stated that the catalogue would be issued in *fasciculi*, each comprising a section by itself, and that the first or Vêdic *fasciculus* compiled by **Dr. Eggeling**, would appear next year.

M. E. Guimet laid before the Section a paper by Mr. **Senatti-Raja**, entitled *Vestiges des anciens Dravidiens*.

Dr. W. Cartellieri, of Vienna, in a very able paper on Subandhu and Bâṇa, called the attention of the Section to the close resemblance between several passages in the *Harshacharita* and *Kâdambarî* of Bâṇa, and some parts of the *Vâsavadattâ* of Subandhu. A minute comparison demonstrated that Bâṇa borrowed long passages from Subandhu, either copying word by word, or enlarging and modifying the style with an intention to surpass his predecessor's famous work by even greater literary skill. By Dr. Cartellieri's discovery, the identity of Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ* with the *Vâsavadattâ* which is eulogized by Bâṇa in his introduction to the *Harshacharita*, has been raised to a certainty. **Dr. Kielhorn** showed the importance of Dr. Cartellieri's paper by pointing out that Bâṇa's date being known, it would now be safe to use the various data and allusions furnished by Subandhu's work more confidently for literary and other purposes.

Prof. Fr. Müller, of Vienna, read a short paper, treating of a difficult Avestic passage, *Yazna* xxix. 1. 2. Starting from an apparent fault of the metre in the second line of the first verse, Prof. Müller proposed to read *zemô* instead of *remô* and *âhushyâ* instead of *âhishyâ* of the MSS. He translated this line as follows, "wrath and violence, *drought of the soil*, and robbery, have assailed me (the soul of the cattle)." The change of *r* into *z* was accounted for by a reference to the similarity of these characters in the Pahlavî writing. Prof. Müller further observed, that *Ahura*, mentioned besides *Ratu* in verse 2, was here evidently meant to convey the idea of *Ahû* (Worldly Ruler), which word is the more common complement of *Ratu* (Spiritual Lord) in well-known formulas. **Dr. Stein** pointed out that the apparent necessity of correcting that time-honoured Gâthic text for the metre's sake could be obviated by admitting the *saṁdhi* between *remô* and *âhishyâ*. He further objected to the proposed change of the last-named word into (*â*) *hushyâ* by referring to the stem *hisku*, which shows that the form (*â*) *hishyâ* could just as well convey the meaning, "drought," assumed by Prof. Müller.

Mr. M. Macauliffe presented a lithographed copy of a recently discovered *Janam Sâkhî*, or Life of Bâbâ Nânak, the Founder of the Sikh Religion, and referred to the existing information on Sikhism. When the Government of India commissioned the late Dr. Trumpp to translate the *Granth* or Sacred Volume of the Sikhs, he, in the course of his researches in the library of the India Office in London, discovered a MS. copy of the life of Nânak and translated it. The Sikhs, on seeing his translation, requested the Pañjâb Government to procure for them a facsimile of the original, and

this was accordingly done. The fame of the *Janam Sâkhî* lead to further inquiries in the same direction in India, and two other works of a similar import were discovered. Dr. Trumpp's *Janam Sâkhî* was not complete, nor was the one found by Mr. Macauliffe, but happily the *lacunæ* of both were different, so that, what was wanting in one, could be supplied by the other. This Mr. Macauliffe has done, and the work he has lithographed, is a complete reproduction of the earliest life of Bâbâ Nânak. Mr. Macauliffe has also punctuated the volume throughout, using the diacritical marks of European languages. He has furthermore separated the prose from the poetry, and has given to each line of the latter separate space. Strange as it may seem, this is the first time that any of the sacred books of the Sikhs has been thus presented to the public; and those who are familiar with the condition in which Eastern MSS. are found, will appreciate the manner in which the *Janam Sâkhî* laid before the Congress has been lithographed. The ordinary lives of Bâbâ Nânak read by his followers, are in no way trustworthy. They are overloaded with absurdities and puerile mythological details. The *Sâkhî* now reproduced is by no means free from exaggerations; but on the whole it may be taken as the safest account of the life of that simple-minded peasant and founder of the Sikh religion. The speaker then referred to the facilities with which religious teachers in the East were deified by their followers; sixty years after his demise Nânak was deemed a god by his enthusiastic followers! The late Keshab Chandar Sen is now deified by several Indians, and the late Dayananda Saraswati was declared by earnest disciples to be, even during his lifetime, an incarnation of the Creator, books being even published to establish that conclusion. To Dr. Trumpp belongs the merit of being the first European who really understood the Sikh religion and traced it to its Buddhistic foundation; but his work can be considered only a preliminary to what remains to be done towards the exposition of Sikhism. In the first place, Dr. Trumpp translated only some out of the 31 *Râgs* or metrical sections of the *Granth*, which itself contains only the writings of the first five Gurûs. Secondly, Dr. Trumpp's translation is not written in idiomatic language, and for this and other reasons can never be a work suited for popular study. Thirdly, his interpretations of the portions he has translated, are not accepted by learned men among the Sikhs. Mr. Macauliffe hoped, therefore,—should life and health be spared him—not to translate the Sikh sacred writings, which are exceedingly voluminous and tedious; but to give lives of the Sikh Gurûs, with translations of characteristic passages from their writings, and thus introduce what may be considered a curious and not unimportant chapter in the history of universal religion. Mr Macauliffe's interesting communication was received with hearty applause by the assembled members.

The last paper read in this day's sitting was by Dr. Hanusz, of Vienna, on the dialect spoken in the Armenian colony of Kuty, Galizia.

Saturday, October 2.—The Aryan Section concluded its proceedings in a short sitting, which preceded the closing meeting of the Congress, held at noon of the same day.

Dr. M. Winternitz, of Vienna, read an essay, in which he traced the numerous affinities between the *Śrâddha* ritual, of the Indians, as contained in the *Gṛihya* and *Dharma-Sûtras*, and the funeral cults of other Indo-European peoples. These affinities he treated as proofs of his supposition, that the common origin of these cults is to be looked for in funeral rites of the age of Indo-European unity. In the course of his interesting paper, the author also gave a detailed account of the *Ashṭakâ* rites, based chiefly on the *Vishṇu-smṛiti*, the *Gṛihyasûtras* of Baudhâyana, Âpastamba, Hiraṇyakêśin, and the *Mânavagṛihyasûtra*, and concluded by showing their identity with the annual sacrifices to the *manes* of the early Indo-Europeans.

Prof. Weber reported, that Prof. Romeo Seligmann, of Vienna, has finished his translation of Abû Mansûr Muwaffak's *Liber fundamentorum pharmacologiæ*, published by him in 1859 with extensive and highly valuable *prolegomena*. Prof. Weber enlarged on the importance of this excellent work, both for the history of the language (being one of the oldest specimens of Persian), and the history of the medical science of the Hindus.

Papers having been read by Prof. Hasdeu, on the Turkish elements in the Roumanian, and by Prof. Straszewski, on the growth of philosophical ideas in India and China, Prof. Bhandarkar recited his complimentary Sanskṛit poem to the Section.

A vote of thanks to the presidents, proposed by Prof. Lüdwig, and carried by acclamation, fittingly terminated the last of the Section's sittings.

SOME REMARKS ON THE SUHRILLEKHA OR FRIENDLY COMMUNICATION OF NAGARJUNA-BODHISATVA TO KING SHATOPOHANNA.

BY THE REV. S. BEAL.

WHATEVER Nâgârjuna's speculative views were, he seems to have held fast to the groundwork of Buddha's moral doctrine. Of the twenty-four works in the Chinese Tripiṭaka ascribed to him, the *Êka-ślôka-śâstra* (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1212) has been translated by Dr. Edkins; and I have partly translated the *Prâṇyamûla-śâstra* (No. 1179). Of the others, so far as I know, there have been no accounts given; except a notice by Dr. Müller[1] respecting a work (No 1440) called *Ârya-Nâgârjuna-Bôdhisattva-Suhrillêkha,* or "the friendly letter of Nâgârjuna-Bôdhisattva." I now purpose to speak of this letter, in which,—addressed to his old patron (*Dânapati*) *Shi-yen-teh-kia,* whose regal title was *Sha-to-po-han-na,*[2]—there are found many admirable precepts, in keeping with the original teaching of Buddhism.

I-tsing in his summary of the letter says,—"It may be regarded as an elegant composition, the object of which is to encourage and exhort to earnest diligence, and to point out the true middle path of right behaviour in relationship with friends and kindred. The leading thoughts are these" (he adds):—"First, the writer exhorts the king to faith in the three honourable ones (Buddha, *Dharma,* and the *Saṁgha*): to nourish and cherish father and mother: to hold by the moral precepts, and to avoid the society of those who practice evil and are immersed in the pleasures of life: to free himself from the bonds of family complications: to meditate rightly on impermanence; to search into the character of the future life, whether that life be under the form of a wandering spirit (*prêta*), or in the higher grades, as a man or *dêva*; or in the lowest condition, as born in hell; and thus to seek deliverance (from such conditions) with all the heart. He then exhorts to the practice of the three species of Wisdom (the *Trividyâ*), and illustrates the character of the eight branches of the holy way of Buddha (the eight-fold path). He urges the king to learn the four true methods of salvation (The four *Truths* ?) and to aim at the perfect condition of love and purity, like that of Avalôkitêśvara and Amitâbha."

Such is the summary of the letter given us by I-tsing; and he adds that this letter is learned by heart by children in India, as the "1000-letter classic" is in China.

There are three translations of the "Friendly Writing" found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. They are numbered 1464, 1440, and 1441, respectively, in Mr. B. Nanjio's *Catalogue.*

The first was done by Guṇavarman, a native of Cophene or Kubhâ, said to have been the younger son of the king of that country. He came to China A.D. 431. His translation bears the title "*Lung-shu-pu-sa-wei-shan-to-kia-wang-shwö-fa-yau-kie*; that is, "Nâgârjuna-Bôdhisattva delivers some choice religious verses for the sake of king Jantaka."

The second translation was made, according to the copy in the India Office (No. 1440), by the same Shaman Guṇavarman; but, according to the authority cited on p. 23 of my *Abstract of Four Lectures,* it was done by the Shaman Saṁghavarman, A.D. 434. Mr. Nanjio, I observe, also attributes it to this latter translator;[3] so that we may suppose the India Office copy is wrong. The title of the translation is *Kiun-fa-chu-wang-yau-kie*; that is, "choice verses, exhorting the king."

The third translation is by I-tsing, who worked as a translator in China about A.D. 700. This copy is called *Lung-shu-pu-sa-kiun-kiai-wang-sung*: that is, "verses by Nâgârjuna-Bôdhisattva, exhorting and warning the king." He tells us that these verses were composed by *Lung-shu, i.e.* Nâgârjuna, and were sent to Southern India to a friend of his, a certain king of the *Shing-tu* country. It would seem as if this king was a native of Sindh, who had established his authority in South India. Târânâtha[4] calls him Udayana or Antivâhana, and adds that his

[1] See "*The Times,*" Sept. 20, 1883; printed with additional notes in the Transactions of the Pâli Text Society, 1883.

[2] I-tsing, *Nan-hai,* &c. K. IV. p. 5 b.

[3] *Catalogue,* No. 1440.

[4] Schiefner, pp. 73, 303.

name as a child was **Jêtaka**, and he tells us that Nâgârjuna had known him as a boy in the state called '**Salamana**' (or '**Alamana**' ?) Where this is, I can offer no opinion; but it seems probable that it was one of those countries in which Kumârajîva[5] says he (*i.e.* Nâgârjuna) passed his younger days, "travelling alone through all countries; and acquiring the worldly arts, such as astronomy, geography and the power of magic." It may have been, and probably was, some district where foreign intercourse had brought these arts to the front, and in no part was this the case more than in the neighbourhood of the mouths of the Indus.

It would seem from the introductory lines of the letter, that the king, whoever he was, had in his early days been versed in the knowledge of other teachers besides Buddha. The expression used is a singular one. The letter says—"The king, although he was formerly versed in the teaching of many masters, now, in addition, hearing the words of Buddha, will add to the excellency of the knowledge he has reached." Here we seem to have a hint that, as a boy, the king in question, *Shi-yen-teh-kia* or *Sha-to-po-han-na*, was not a follower of Buddha, or had not been trained as a Buddhist. It is true that Mr. Kasawara, as reported by Dr. Müller,[6] translates this passage differently; thus—"Although thou, O King, hast already been acquainted with the law of suchness (*tathâtvam*), yet hear further the words of Buddha, so that thou mayest increase thy understanding and excellence." But the expression *ju-ju* is explained by Saṁghavarman to mean "all the Buddhas," or rather "all those who have come as Teachers or prophets;" hence a common name for Buddha himself is *Chin-ju* "the *true one*, who has thus come," in distinction from all others. I take it, therefore, that by using the expressions above quoted, Nâgârjuna was hinting at his patron's conversion to Buddhism; and that, as the Prince had been his *Dânapati* in the land of 'Alamana,' so also he had become a convert to the doctrine taught by his protégé.

I have only one remark more on this point; and that relates to the name of the king as given by Guṇavarman. He is very distinct on this matter, as the title of his translation shews: he calls him *Shan-to-kia*, which can only be restored to **Jantaka**. I do not think that this is a form of **Jêtaka**, the king's early name; for it would be out of reason to apply to the king the name borne in childhood. I confess I have a strong leaning to derive this name **Jantaka** from the place-name **Ujjanta**[7] in **Saurâshṭra**; not only because it was a seat of learning, but especially on account of its rock-hewn *saṅghârâma*. Moreover, as it was a sacred spot among the Jains, it seems possible that this king,—who came from *Shing-tu*, and was called a believer in other teachers than Buddha, and who himself excavated a rock-hewn temple for Nâgârjuna,—might have taken his name from this celebrated district. We should thus have the two names, **Sindhuka** and **Jantaka**, both derived from localities, *viz.* the Sindh river (Indus) and Ujjanta. But I leave this to more competent judges.

The **translation** of the *Suhṛillêkha* by **Guṇavarman** comprises 442 lines, seven symbols in each line. As a specimen of the character of the advice given to the king, I add a translation of about 100 lines. The whole may be revised and edited at a future time:—

"*The Choice Law-verses of Nâgârjuna-Bôdhi-sattva, written for the sake of Jantakarâja.—Translated by the Doctor of the Law, Guṇavarman, of the Sung dynasty, A.D.* 431."

"King **Jantaka** should assuredly know
"That the sorrows resulting from birth and death, numerous as they are,
"Are all the result of the overshadowing influences resulting from ignorance.
"And now, for the king's profit, I desire to excite (*some religious feeling*).
"Just as the artist, who draws a figure of Buddha,

[5] *Life of Lung-shu*, by Kumârajîva.

[6] *Jour. of the Pâli Text Soc.* 1883;—"*The Times*," Sept. 22, 1883.

[7 i.e. the Girnâr Hill, close to the town of Junâgaḍh.—Its name is a corruption of the Sanskrit *giri-nagara* "the city of or on the hill," which, in the Early Gupta period and before it, was the name of the ancient town now represented by the modern Junâgaḍh. In the same period, the name of the mountain was Ûrjayata. Judging from the extracts from the *Girnâra-Mâhâtmya* given in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 155 ff., this appears in mediæval times as Ujjayanta. But the Chinese form *Yuh-chen-to* (Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 269) seems to shew that a Prâkṛit form Ujjanta (or Ujjayanta) was in use in fairly early times.—J. F. F.]

"Moves thereby the wise to thoughtful reverence and consideration, beholding it;
"So I, relying on the true law, spoken by Tathâgata,
"(*Write these words*) that the *Mahârâja* may accept them with deep faith.
"For, although thou hast before heard thy Teacher's words (the words of thy *Muni*),
"Yet, listening to me thou shalt receive increased benefit;
"Even as the flower-lake, beautiful in its purity,
"Is yet lit up to greater beauty by the brightness of the moonbeams.
"Buddha declares that we ought carefully to practise the six reflections,
"To wit; reflection on the three gems (*Buddha*, *Dharma*, *Saṁgha*), on charity, on morality, and thoughts about the *Dêvas*;
"That we ought to prepare ourselves in the practice of the ten rules of virtue, and in purifying the three organs (thought, word, deed);
"That we ought to put away from us wine, which leads to confusion of thought and a wicked life.
"That we ought to regard the present life, and its possessions, as speedily decaying.
"That we ought diligently to work in and cultivate the field of religious charity.
"Charity is a stronghold, without compare;
"It is indeed the very best friend and companion.
"He declares, moreover, that we ought with diligence to practise the pure rules of moral conduct, and reject all false and corrupt (*principles*);
"Then all our most cherished vows shall be attained;
"Just as the great earth produces all kinds of fruit,
"So moral conduct brings forth all that is really good.
"He declares that we ought to practise patience, and equanimity, and drive from us anger and resentment.
"This, Buddha declares to be the highest rule of life.
"So, also, with perseverance and meditation and wisdom,—
"Supplied with these six rules, we overleap (*the realm*) of birth and death.
"If a man who is a layman, reverences his father and mother,
"This, also, is called a most excellent field of religious merit;
"In the present world it secures us high repute;
"And in the future world it brings an incalculable reward.
"But murder, theft, adultery, false ways, and drunken profligacy,
"Luxurious seats and perfumed odours,
"Dancing and music, gluttonous eating,—
"Discard these things, as altogether evil.
"But, if you only for a while practice the rules of moral conduct,
"Then you must receive the joys of heaven and progress towards *nirvâṇa*.
"Stingy ways, jealous and covetous desires. and all false dealing,
"Deceitful words, hypocrisy and idle ways,—
"All these, as opposed to virtue and religion,
"The great king ought to reject and put away.
"Beauty and outward rank, and the five desires of sense,
"Are all unstable as the bubble-foam;
"Rely not, then, on such weak things as these.
"Easy remissness, and all idleness, produce incessant sorrow;
"If you wish to grow in every virtue and attain "sweet-dew" (immortality)
"Then put away such things, as hurtful poison.
"Being able to exercise perseverance and diligence,
"You shall appear like any autumn moon without a cloud.
"Or as beautiful as Nanda or the Añgulimalya,[*]
"Or as Kshama and all the other sages and saints.
"Tathâgata says there are three kinds of speech,—
"Thoughtful speech, true speech, and false speech,
"The first is like the flower; the second, like the honey;

[*] But how is he a type of beauty?

"But false and wicked speech is like the polluting dirt.
"We ought, then, to practise the two former kinds,
"And put away from us all vain and false words.
"The four rules of increase, from wisdom to get wisdom,
"The king ought carefully to weigh and consider.
"He ought to practise the way of getting knowledge from knowledge,
"And of getting rid of error by the knowledge of error.
"It is difficult to distinguish the four kinds of change belonging to the *ampala*-fruit;[9]
"So also is it in this matter;
"With deep wisdom, then, should the matter be considered;
"And carefully should the true and the good and the virtuous be adopted as our best friend."

The letter thus proceeds to deal with the temptations arising from lust and impurity; and it exhorts the king to avoid these things, and to seek deliverance in the practice of religion. The whole exhortation is admirably conceived; and, in my opinion, from its wide circulation both in North and South India (for copies were brought from both), it must have produced salutary effects in controlling the licentious tendencies both of the people and of their rulers.

In connection with **Nâgârjuna**, I should like to add that there is a record found in I-Tsing that Nâgârjuna compiled the substance of the *Vidyâdharapiṭaka*, and that his disciple Nanda learnt by heart the contents of the *piṭaka* (which was afterwards lost). Only 12,000 stanzas were thus preserved, from memory, by Nanda. I would wish to compare this with the account given by Prof. Max Müller (*India; What can it teach us?* p. 357) about the Vidyâdhara-Chakravartins and Vararuchi-Kâtyâyana; this last named person, we are told by Târânâtha (*Schiefner*, p. 73), lived at the court of king **Udayana** as *Purôhita*, and his brother some time later became minister of **Sâtavâhana**; and then comes the story of the Vidyâdhara-tales being lost, except one of 100,000 ślôkas.

This singular agreement seems to shew that the Buddhist and Brâhmaṇical legends were mixed up, and different names were given to the same person.

But the fact that these stories were originally written down, in the *Paiśâchî* dialect, by **Guṇâḍhya** (? Nâgârjuna) would indicate that they were derived from a foreign source.

A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE MAURYA-PASSAGE IN THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROF. R. G. BHANDARKAR, PH.D.

In connection with my previous note on the **Maurya-Passage in the Mahâbhâshya**, at page 156ff. above, I find that I have three more passages to quote, of the use of *êtad* or *idam*, with *yad;* and it also appears to me desirable to put on record the full original passage, which is the subject of discussion, in order that the readers of this Journal may have it for easy reference in understanding the point that is at issue.

The original passage, which is Patañjali's comment on Pâṇini, V. 3, 99 runs:—

Apaṇya ity uchyatê tatrêdaṁ na sidhyati Śivaḥ Skandô Viśâkha iti. Kiṁ kâraṇam. Mauryair hiraṇyârthibhir archâḥ prakalpitâḥ. Bhavêt tâsu na syâd. Yâs tv êtâḥ samprati pûjârthâs tâsu bhavishyati.

And the following are my additional instances in which *êtad* or *idam*, with *yad*, refers to things occurring before or to be-mentioned afterwards:—

Vol. II. p. 111, l. 18. Yê'py êta ita uttaraṁ pratyayâḥ śishyanta &c.

Vol. III. p. 277, l. 7. Ayuktô'yaṁ vipratishêdhô yô'yaṁ guṇasyêttvôttvayôś cha.

Vol. III. p. 385, l. 2. Yêyaṁ sapâdasaptâdhyâyyanukrântaitasyâm ayam &c.

I have stated in my previous note that I have rejected, after considerable deliberation, the view that the images spoken of in the

[9] Ripe outside; unripe inside; unripe outside; ripe inside.

passage as under worship *now*, were the same as those sold by the Mauryas. As, however, the revered Dr. Böhtlingk seems, if I understand him right, to favour that view in his *Ein Versuch zur Beilegung, &c.*, I must give my reasons. They are these:—If the images, Śiva, Skanda, and Viśâkha, were the same as those sold or "introduced" by the Mauryas, Patañjali would have indicated the same by some expression in the sentence *Mauryair hiraṇyârthibhir, &c.* The pronoun *tâsu* in the next sentence, and *êtâḥ* in the one that follows it, will both have to be taken as referring to the same images. The same images cannot be spoken of as 'those' and 'these'; and to remove this inconsistency, we shall have to understand *tâsu* as equivalent to *tadânîm* so as to bring out the sense, that the rule about the dropping of *ka* was not applicable to these images at the time when they were sold or introduced by the Mauryas. But the demonstrative *tad* cannot by itself be so understood. According to Dr. Böhtlingk's way of looking at the matter, the passage has no grammatical point at all; the object of Patañjali being simply to cast a reflection on the Mauryas. This is not proper. Patañjali always makes out a grammatical point; and the point made out according to the view under discussion, as it appeared to me when I rejected it, is, that, in framing the names of idols under worship, we have not to look to the fact that they were sold before they were used for worship. But this point is almost evident, and is more appropriately made out, if necessary, by speaking of ordinary manufacturers as selling images which are afterwards used for worship. The point, according to the view which I have accepted, is this;—*paṇya* has two senses, "something that has the possibility of being sold," and "something that is exposed for sale." The idols, Śiva, &c.. which are under worship now possess the possibility of being sold, because idols under worship were sold by the Mauryas. But, though they possess the possibility of being sold, they are not actually exposed for sale. Pâṇini's rule applies to idols of the latter description, and not of the former. The distinction between the two senses of the word *paṇya* and its grammatical effect, cannot be illustrated, except by taking instances of the sale of idols under actual worship; and since ordinary manufacturers do not do that, Patañjali, knowing that the Mauryas had done it, makes use of the fact for the purposes of his grammatical exposition. The word *êtâḥ* is not superfluous in my translation, as Dr. Böhtlingk thinks; for, it is used for pointing out the idols under discussion, Śiva, Skanda, Viśâkha, as contrasted with the idols sold by the Mauryas. All this I have explained at length in my second Reply to Dr. Peterson on the Date of Patañjali; and especially in my Sanskrit comment on the passage. It will be seen that, even according to my view the passage shows that Patañjali flourished but a short time after the Mauryas. For he remembers rather an unimportant incident with regard to the princes of that dynasty; and the word *samprati*, as I have already observed, indicates 'present time' as contrasted, not with a remote past time—*adyatvê* is the word which has that sense—but with a past time fairly near to the person who uses the word.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 170.—ASNI INSCRIPTION OF MAHIPALA.—(VIKRAMA)-SAMVAT 974.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, was brought to my notice in August, 1886, by Mr. F. S. Growse, B.C.S. It is on one of the faces of a square sandstone pillar, measuring about 1′ 8″ square and 7′ 9″ long, that was found at Asnî, a village about ten miles north of Fatehpur-Haswa, the chief town of the Fatehpur-Haswa District in the North-West Provinces. About eighteen or nineteen years ago, the pillar was brought in to Fatehpur-Haswa by Mr. J. W. Power, B.C.S., then Collector of the District; and was placed in the garden of a private house ordinarily occupied by the Collector. Recently, Mr. Growse has had it finished off with a capital and pedestal; and has set it up in the Municipal garden attached to the Town Hall, so as to protect it from injury by further removal. I edit the inscription from ink-impressions and a photograph, sent to me by Mr. Growse.

The **writing,** which covers a space of about 1′ 8″ square, is in a state of very good preservation; except at the ends of some of the lines, where parts of the letters are lost by the edge of the stone breaking away.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¾″. The **characters** are those of the northern Dêvanâgarî alphabet, of the period to which the inscription refers itself. They include forms of the **decimal figures** for 0, 4, 5, 7, and 9. In *saṁvat,* line 6, and *yâvat,* line 11, the final *t* is expressed by the ordinary *ta,* with a single mark of punctuation after it; not with the *virâma,* or by a final form of the consonant. The engraving is bold, and regular.—The **language** is Sanskṛit, full of inaccuracies; and the inscription is in prose throughout. The word *aśuklapakshya,* 'belonging to the dark fortnight,' in line 6, introduces the rare expression *aśukla,* instead of *kṛishṇa* or *bahula.* It is true that it is arrived at by a correction of the original text. But that correction is forced on us by the very clear reading of *va,* for *vadya* or *bahula,* in line 7; and, in confirmation I would also state that, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that, in the month Mâgha in question, in Vikrama-Saṁvat 974 as an expired year, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight did end on the seventh solar day; whereas the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight ended on the sixth solar day. At page 46 above, I have already drawn attention to the probable use of the similar word *aśuddha,* in the Bhâṇḍûp grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 948. And the word *aśukla* itself occurs also in line 24 of Mr. Rice's spurious Muḍyanûr grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 261, published in this Journal, *ante,* Vol. XV. p. 172ff.—In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for notice are (1) the insertion of a superfluous nasal, in *saṁmvatsara,* line 5, and *saṁmvdi* and *saptamyâṁm,* line 6; (2) the use of *v* for *b,* in *vrâhmaṇa,* line 9; and perhaps in *va,* line 7; and (3) the confusion between the sibilants, *e.g.* in *satêsu, navashu,* and *adhikêśu,* for *śatêshu, navasu,* and *adhikêshu,* line 5.

The **inscription** mentions first a paramount sovereign named **Mahishapâladêva** (line 2), and then his successor, the paramount sovereign **Mahîpâladêva** (l. 3). The connection between the two is expressed by the term *pâdânudhyâta,* which does not of necessity denote the relation of a son to his father, but is frequently applied in that sense; and it is probably so used here; otherwise the relationship would, most likely, have been distinctly specified. The record refers itself to the reign of **Mahîpâla;** and, allowing for its inaccuracies, the purport of it seems to be that, for the worship of the god Yôgasvâmin, a certain *chaitya* or 'temple,' at which the inscription was set up, belonging to all the Brâhmaṇs practising the *yôga* and all the ascetics of the locality, with a couple of flower-gardens, was to be preserved day by day, month by month, and year by year, by Yoggâka, the son of Śivaprasâda; and that, whenever there should be a special occasion, five hundred *drammas* should be given out of the hereditary tax belonging to the king's household. The inscription ends by recording the name of the writer of it, the *Kâraṇika* Suvarṇabhaṭṭa.

The **date,** which is expressed in both words and decimal figures, as also is the fixed donation of *drammas,* is the year 974, the month Mâgha, the dark fortnight, and the seventh lunar *tithi* and solar day. And the chief importance of the record lies in its giving this date, with the name of the paramount sovereign **Mahîpâla.** Its bearing on an important literary question, is explained by me in my following note on the date of the poet **Râjaśêkhara.**

TEXT.[1]

1 Ôm[2] Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâj[â*]dhirâja-paramêśvara-śr[î]-
2 Mahishapâlad[ê*]va - pâd - ânudhyâtparama[3]bhaṭṭâraka - mahâ-
3 râjâdhirâja - paramêśvara - śrî - Mahîp[â*]ladêva - p[â]-
4 pâ[4]dân[âṁ*] mahi(hî)-pravarddhamâna[5]-kalyâṇa-vijâ(ja)ya-râjya-

[1] From Mr. Growse's ink-impressions, and a photograph.
[2] This word is expressed by a symbol, not in letters.
[3] Read *ânudhyâta-parama.*
[4] This *pâ* is repeated by mistake.
[5] We might be tempted to read *padân[â*]m-ahi(bhi)-pravarddhamâna.* But we have *Bhôjadêva-mahî-pravarddhamâna-kalyâṇa-vijaya-râjyê,* in line 1 f. of the Dêôgaḍh inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 919 and Śaka-Saṁvat 784 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 100, and Pl. xxxiii. No. 3); and *Dêvapâladêva-charaṇânâṁ mahî-pravarddhamâna-kalyâṇa-vijaya-râjyê,* in line 6 of the 'Harsaudâ' inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1275 (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 111).

Asni Inscription of Mahipala.—The Year 974.

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S. SCALE .34 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Enlarged from a negative sent by Mr. Growse.

5 saṁmvatsara-satêsu[6] navashu(su) chatu[ḥ*]-saptaty-adhikêsu(shu) Mâ-

6 gha-mâsa-śûklapakshya[7]-saptamyâmm[8]=êvaṁ saṁmvat 974 Mâgha-

7 va di 7 śrî-Yôgasvâminô(naḥ) pujyâ[9]-saṁskâr-ârthê śrî-Si(śi)vapra-

8 sâdâḥ pâdâtimahâvalatasêva[10] suta-Yoggâkêna yôga[11]-

9 [sa*]masta-vrâ(brâ)hmâṇa-sthâna-samasta-p[r*]vrajitâ êshâ maluka-

10 ya[12]-chaityâ[13] lavdha(bdha)-puspa(shpa)-chatu[ḥ*]sara-dvayaṁ divasânudivasa-mâsâ-

11 numâsa-va[r*]shânuvarsha-chandrârkâ yâvat pâlanîyâ ya-

12 di kshaṇaṁ bhavati tadâ-tadâ maulakarâ râjakulasya dramm[âḥ]

13 śatâni pañcha dra 500 dâtavyâ[ḥ*] [॥ *] Likhitaṁ kâraṇika-

14 Suvarṇṇabhaṭṭêṇa(na) ॥

THE DATE OF THE POET RAJASEKHARA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

The question of the date of the poet Râjaśêkhara has been last treated of by Mr. Vaman Shivram Apte, in his *Râjaśêkhara; His Life and Writings*, published in 1886, at almost the commencement of which we find the paragraph—"Different scholars have proposed "different dates for Râjaśêkhara. H. H. Wilson "places him at the end of the 11th or beginning "of the 12th century;[1] Professor Bhandarkar "places him about the 10th century;[2] Mr. J. F. "Fleet assigns his pupil to the middle of the "8th. century;[3] Dr. Peterson and Pandit "Durgaprasada have accepted the same date;[4] "Mr. A. Borooah consigns him to the 7th "century;[5] while Prof. Max Müller relegates "him to the 14th."[6]

What the above reference to myself means, I do not quite understand; and any intelligent perusal of my paper on the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant of the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla, dated Harsha-Saṁvat 155, will shew that I have *not* suggested that this person was the pupil of Râjaśêkhara, and have not made any reference to the poet at all; having not even commented on Gen. Cunningham's suggestion,[7] that in this Mahêndrapâla we may probably find the patron of the poet; or on Dr. F. E. Hall's suggestion,[8] that the poet may possibly be identified with the composer of the Bilharî inscription of Yuvarâja, of the family of the Kalachuris of Tripura, the date of which, if any was recorded, is unfortunately lost.

For this silence, I had very good reasons. In the first place, I could see no possible grounds for identifying the feudatory *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla with either of the paramount sovereigns who were respectively the patron and the pupil of the poet. And, in the second place, my friend Dr. Peterson was then specially engaged in the inquiry; and, having given him an outline of the facts regarding the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla, I left him to work them out. A reference will shew that, though, in his *Subhâshitâvali*, Introd. p. 101, in writing "king Mahêndrapâla, to whom Râja-"śêkhara himself refers as a pupil of his own,

---

[6] Read *rajyê saṁvatsara-śatêshu.*

[7] Read *mas-śuklapakshya*, as indicated by the abbreviation *va*, for *vadya* or *bahula*, in line 7.

[8] Read *saptamyâm.*

[9] Read *pûjâ.*

[10] It is not apparent what emendations should be made here.

[11] This *ga* is almost entirely broken away; but the small remnant of it is a sufficient indication.

[12] The meaning of this word is not apparent, unless it is the name of the *chaitya*.

[13] The dictionaries give *chaitya* as only a masculine and neuter base.

[1] *Hindu Theatre*, Vol. II. p. 362.

[2] *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1882-83, p. 44.

[3] "See the article in the April number of the *Indian Antiquary* on Mahêndrapâla's grant;" *i.e. ante*, Vol. XV. p. 105 ff.

[4] The *Subhâshitâvali* of Vallabhadêva (1886), p. 101 of the Introduction.

[5] *Bhavabhûti and his Place in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 17.

[6] *India; What can it teach us?* p. 326.

[7] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 85.

[8] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 321.

"was reigning in 761 A.D.," he has adopted the date (Harsha-Saṁvat 155 = A.D. 761-62) of the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant as finally settled by me, and therefore has evidently made the identification in question, yet he distinctly does *not* give it on my authority. It will also be seen that Dr. Peterson's date for Râjaśêkhara rests more on "the fact that Kshîrasvâmin, "who wrote a commentary on the *Amarakôsha*, "and who was the teacher of Jayasiṁha of "Kaśmîr (A.D. 750), quotes a verse from "the *Vṛiddhaśâlabhañjikâ*" of Râjaśêkhara. This, however, involves the assumption that the date of Jayasiṁha of Kaśmîr,—or more correctly Jayâpîḍa,—really was A.D. 750; a fact which remains to be proved, and will be disproved if the poet is concerned in the question.

An examination of Mr. V. Sh. Apte's pamphlet will shew that the real explanation of his gratuitous attribution of the above view to me, is his desire to find a peg on which to hang some remarks about the date of the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant, and to refute my "attempt" (see his p. 8) to decipher it as giving the year 155, in numerical symbols, and my reference of it to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606 or 607. It is unnecessary to follow him through all his remarks on this point; since they are based on false premises; and, though he takes upon himself (p. 8), in respect of the signs used in the date, to "think they look like figures," instead of being numerical symbols, yet I cannot find that he expresses any definite opinion as to the supposed real meaning of them, and the era to which they refer. It is sufficient to point out that, as he says (p. 8), he is plainly only "a tyro in the art of deciphering:" and that, when he has made even the slightest advance on the "present state of his antiquarian knowledge" (p. 7, note), he will understand why the signs of the date are numerical symbols, not decimal figures, and why they can only be referred to the Harsha era. His views on this point would not have been worth noticing at all; but that almost every page of the first part of his pamphlet shews that, for some special object of attack, best known to him, he has gratuitously raised a complication in connection with the poet, which, so far as I am concerned, is only the phantom of his own imagination.

All this, however, has nothing to do with the date of **Râjaśêkhara.**

But, on this latter point, I have now some remarks to make, based on the **Asnî inscription** of Vikrama-Saṁvat 974, published at p. 173ff. above, which was brought to my notice about eight months ago by Mr. F. S. Growse, B.C.S. It is only want of leisure that has prevented my disposing of it long ere now.

As pointed out by Mr. V. Sh. Apte (p 2f.) the earliest possible limit for **Râjaśêkhara** is determined by a passage in the Introduction to his *Bâlarâmâyaṇa*. "On being asked by the "Assistant Manager, 'Why do you not describe "the poet?' the Manager says—'Why; has not "the fortune-teller described him? He,—who, "in former times, was Vâlmîki; who afterwards "assumed on earth the form of Bhartṛimeṇṭha; "and who again appeared in the person of "Bhavabhûti,—is, at the present day, Râjaśê-"khara.'" This shews, at any rate, that **Râja-"śêkhara** belongs to a later period than "**Bhavabhûti.** And, as (p. 3) "Dr. Bhandar-"kar, in the Preface to his edition of the "*Mâlatî-Mâdhava*, has shewn that Bhavabhûti "flourished in the last part of the seventh "century," it follows that "our poet must have "flourished after the end of the seventh cen-"tury." And Mr. V. Sh. Apte concludes (p. 4) that, allowing not less than a hundred years to have elapsed before Bhavabhûti's fame could be so well established that Râjaśêkhara would think it an honour to claim to be an incarnation of him, **Râjaśêkhara** "could not "have lived earlier than the end of the eighth "century A.D."

On the other hand, the latest possible limit is fixed, in a more definite manner, by the fact (p. 5f.) that, as discovered by Dr. Peterson,* **Râjaśêkhara** is quoted in the third *âśvâsa* of the *Yaśastilaka* of **Sômadêva,** the date of which, as given by Sômadêva himself, is Śaka-Saṁvat 881, or A.D. 959-60.

These are sound enough grounds; of which the latter is established by an actual date, and the former, though only argumentative, is unobjectionable; and they will not be upset by

* *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle* for 1883-84.

what I have to say. But even the limits thus established leave the rather long period of a century and a half, within which Mr. V. Sh. Apte is not able to find anything to settle the poet's date more definitely.

We have, however, now to notice a passage, originally commented on by Prof. H. H. Wilson, in his account of the *Bâlabhârata* or *Prachanḍa-Pâṇḍava* of Râjaśêkhara, in the *Hindu Theatre*, Vol. II. p. 361f., which has always been recognised as containing facts which would determine the period of the poet, if only the identity of the other persons mentioned could be established.

The passage occurs in the Introduction to the play. And the text, as given by Mr. V. Sh. Apte (p. 9) runs—

Tatra cha

Namita-Murala-maulih pâkalô Mêkalânâṁ
rana-kalita-Kaliṅgah kêli-taṭ Kêral-êndôḥ I
ajani jita-Kulûtaḥ Kuntalânâṁ kuṭhâraḥ
haṭha-hṛita-Ramaṭha-śrîḥ śrî-**Mahîpâla-dêvaḥ** II

Têna cha Raghu-vaṁśa-muktâmaṇinâ **Âryâvarta**-mahârâjâdhirâjêna śrî-**Nirbhayanarêndra**-nandanên=âdhikṛitâḥ sabhâsadaḥ sarvân=êsha vô Guṇâkaraḥ sa-praśrayaṁ vijñâpayati, &c.,—"and, in that (*lineage of Raghu*), there was born the glorious **Mahîpâladêva**, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the Muralas; who has caused the Mêkalas to suppurate; who has driven the Kaliṅgas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of (*the king who is*) the moon of the Kêralas; who has conquered the Kulûtas; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas; and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramaṭhas. And, to all the members of (*this*) assembly, presided over by him, the pearl-jewel of the lineage of Raghu, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* of **Âryâvarta**, the son of the glorious **Nirbhayanarêndra**, this your (*humble servant*), Guṇâkara,[10] with modesty makes a request."

From this we learn that the play was acted before an assemblage of guests, invited by a king of the lineage of Raghu, whose name was **Mahîpâla**; who was the son of a king whose *biruda* or title was **Nirbhayanarêndra**, *lit.* 'the fearless king'; and who was the paramount sovereign of **Âryâvarta**, *i.e.* of **Northern India**, above the Vindhya range.

Again, a passage quoted by Mr. V. Sh. Apte (p. 20) from the colophon of the *Karpûramañjarî* runs,—iti śrîman-Mahârâshṭra-chûḍâmaṇinâ **Mahêndrapâl-ôpâdhyâyêna Râjaśêkharêṇa** bâla-kavinâ kavirajêna virachitê nâṭaka-viśêshê Karpûramañjarî-nâmakê saṭṭakê chaturthaṁ javanikântaraṁ samâptam,—"thus ends the fourth scene in the drama named *Karpûramañjarî*, a kind of play. composed by the young poet, the court-poet, **Râjaśêkhara**, the ornament of the famous (country of) Mahârâshṭra,[11] (*and*) the spiritual teacher of **Mahêndrapâla**." From which we obtain the name of his pupil, **Mahêndrapâla**.

And in other places (pp. 12, 13, 18), **Râjaśêkhara** calls himself the son of a *Mahâmantrin* or 'high minister;' the *Guru* or *Upâdhyâya*, 'the spiritual preceptor or teacher,' of **Nirbhaya or Nirbhayarâja**; and[12] the *Guru* of **Mahêndrapâla**, the crest-jewel of the family of Raghu.

These passages give us three kings; first, one whose own name is not given, but who is mentioned under the *birudas* of Nirbhaya, **Nirbhayanarêndra**, and Nirbhayarâja; secondly, his son **Mahîpâla**, a paramount sovereign of Northern India, at whose court, or by whose command, the *Bâlabhârata* was played; and thirdly, **Mahêndrapâla**, whose connection with Nirbhayanarêndra and Mahîpâla is not explained, but who, since Râjaśêkhara was the *Upâdhyâya* of both him and Nirbhayanarêndra, may reasonably be assumed, to be either another son or a grandson of Nirbhayanarêndra.

Mr. V. Sh. Apte, however, following a suggestion thrown out quite tentatively by Prof. H. H. Wilson, makes the curious mistake of identifying **Mahêndrapâla** with **Mahîpâla**, and thus of speaking of "Mahîpâla or Mahêndrapala" (p. 10) and "Mahêndrapâla or Mahîpâla" (p. 18).

But the two names are so perfectly distinct in their meaning, that they cannot possibly indicate one and the same person.

Now, from another passage quoted by Mr. V. Sh. Apte (p. 11, note) we learn that the town at which the *Bâlabhârata* was performed,

[10] *i.e.* the *Sûtradhâra*, or other stage official, who is speaking.

[11] Other passages also shew that, by birth, Râjaśêkhara belonged to a Southern India family.

[12] *Subhâshitâvali*, Introd. p. 108.

by **Mahîpâla's** orders, was the "great city" of **Mahôdaya**; which, again, by a passage in the *Bâlarâmâyaṇa*, quoted in the same place, is identified with **Kânyakubja**, Kanyâkubja, or **Kanauj**.

What we require, therefore, in connection with the poet Râjaśêkhara, is an epigraphical record, dated within the limits specified on p. 176 above, and as near as possible to the later of them, which shall give us the name of a king, either Nirbhayanarêndra, or Mahîpâla, or Mahêndrapâla, and shall come from such a part of the country as shall be consistent with the fact of that king's capital being Kanauj.

The Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant, of course, is issued from a place named Mahôdaya, which, in that case, may or may not be Kanauj. But we are entirely barred from identifying the *Mahârâja* Mahêndrapâla of it with the pupil of Râjaśêkhara, by the fact that he was only a feudatory *Mahârâja*, and not either the son or a brother of a paramount sovereign. I would only add, in connection with him, that we may possibly find out hereafter that he was an ancestor of Râjaśêkhara's Nirbhayanarêndra, Mahîpâla, and Mahêndrapâla.

In the **Asnî inscription,** however, we have just the paramount sovereign, **Mahîpâla,** who is wanted; with just the date, Vikrama-Saṁvat 974, or **A.D. 917-18,** that is required; and the inscription comes from a locality that must have been in the kingdom of **Kanauj,** being only about ninety miles to the south-east of that city.

I feel no hesitation, therefore, in now claiming that this **Mahîpâla** is the Mahîpâla of the Introduction to *Bâlabhârata*; and his father, **Mahishapâla,** the **Nirbhayanarêndra** of the same passage; and that this inscription gives as close an approximation as we are likely to attain for some time to come, for the date of the poet **Râjaśêkhara,** *viz.* about **the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.**

And, in concluding these remarks, I would again point out the extreme desirability of rediscovering and editing the large **inscription in the Gwâlior territory,** referred to by Dr. F. E. Hall in his paper on the "Vestiges of Three Royal Lines of Kanyakubja,"[13] which gives us the dates of (? Vikrama-Saṁvat) 960, 964, and 1005, and mentions, apparently, at least two Mahêndrapâlas.

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

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6.—The text of Panini's Sutras, as given in the Kasika-Vritti, compared with the text known to Katyayana and Patanjali.

Considering the almost unrivalled position which Pâṇini's *Ashṭâdhyâyî* holds in Indian literature, it may be interesting to inquire, what alterations, if any, the text of that work has undergone, and to collect those rules which can be shown to be additions to the original text, or the wording of which has in any way been altered, since the rules were first enunciated by Pâṇini. To contribute towards the solution of this question, I intend in the present note to show, so far as this may be possible, to what extent the text of the Sûtras which is given in the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*, the oldest extant commentary, differs from the text that was known to Kâtyâyana and Patañjali. In attempting to do this, I shall be mainly guided by the remarks that have been appended to certain Sûtras by Kaiyaṭa, Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa, and Haradatta, and I shall have only few occasions to go beyond, or to differ from, what has been already stated by those commentators.

But before entering upon the question with which I am more immediately concerned here, I cannot help drawing attention to the fact, that the text of Pâṇini's rules has neither in the editions of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* nor in that of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*—however valuable those editions may be otherwise—received that critical care and attention, which it undoubtedly deserves. For years I have been content to regard the printed text of the Sûtras, allowing for some misprints, as trustworthy beyond doubt. It is only lately that I have become somewhat suspicious, and having compared such MSS. as were within reach, I have come to the conclusion, that in the case of a considerable

[13] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 1 ff.

number of rules the printed text differs, more or less, from the text which is furnished by the best MSS., and that wrong readings have in succession crept from one edition into another. A few examples may show this:

P. III. 1, 109 all the printed texts have एतिस्तुशास्वृ°. Here three old and valuable MSS. of the *Kâśikâ*, and an old MS. of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Bhandarkar, have एतिस्तुशास्वृ°; the MSS. of the Mahâbhâshya GAaK, which here as elsewhere give only the beginning of the rule, have एतिस्तुशासु°, and in the Mahâbhâshya Vol. II. p. 2, where the rule is quoted, the MSS. aK have °शासुवृ°. From this there can be no doubt, that the right reading is °शासुवृ°. (°*śâsu-vṛi*°, not, as in P. VII. 4, 2, °*śâsu-ṛi*°).

P. III. 2, 21 all the printed texts have दिवाविभानिशा°, and all accordingly have निशाकरः in the commentaries. In this case the MSS. of the Mahâbhâshya are of no value, because they only give the commencement of the rule दिवाविभा°; nor is the rule quoted anywhere in the Mahâbhâshya. But all the three MSS. of the *Kâśikâ* omit निशा from the rule and निशाकरः from the commentary, and the MS. of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* has निशा added *secundâ manu* in the margin. Accordingly there can in my opinion be no doubt, that Pâṇini has not taught the formation of the word निशाकर. Judging from the quotations in Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, दिवाकर, which *is* taught by Pâṇini, is an old word, occurring twice in the Atharvavêda, but निशाकर is *not*.

P. IV. 1, 62 all the printed texts have सख्यशिश्वीति°. This rule is neither treated of nor quoted in the Mahâbhâshya. The three MSS. of the *Kâśikâ* and the MS. of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* have सख्यशिश्वी, without इति[1], and so reads Chandra.

P. IV. 3, 119 all the printed texts have °पादपादञ्. This rule is neither treated of nor quoted in the Mahâbhâshya. The three MSS. of the *Kâśikâ*, both in the rule and in the commentary, and the MS. of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* have °वातपादञ्, and Chandra has the rule नाम्नि वातपादञ्.

P. V. 4, 68 all the printed texts have समासान्ताः. The MSS. of the Mahâbhâshya GaK and originally A, as well as the three MSS. of the *Kâśikâ*, both in the rule and in the commentary, and the MS. of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* read समासान्तः, which singular form is supported by Mahâbhâshya, Vol. II. p. 438, lines 23 and 25, and p. 443, l. 15, and is no doubt correct.

Not taking into account rules such as these, to which I might add a fairly large number of other rules for which the MSS. furnish a better text than the one printed, the Sûtras of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*, which can be shown to differ from the Sûtras as known to either Kâtyâyana or Patañjali, may be treated of under four heads. 1. Excepting as regards the observation of the rules of *Saṁdhi*, the wording of the text has remained unchanged, but several consecutive words, which originally were *one* rule, have been separated so as to form *two* or even *three* rules. The technical name for this proceeding is *Yôga-vibhâga*, 'the splitting-up of a rule (into two or more rules).' 2. One or more words have been added to the original text of a rule. 3. The wording of rules has been altered otherwise than by the addition of one or more words. 4. Whole rules have been added to the original text of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*. The particulars under each of these four heads are as follows:—

1. Yôga-vibhâga.

P. I. 1, 17 उञः[2] and 18 ऊँ originally formed the one rule उञ ऊँ, and the splitting up of that rule into two was first suggested by

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[1] I may perhaps draw attention here—as to a real gem of ingenious interpretation—to the manner, in which this word इति of the above rule has been explained by the author of the *Siddhântakaumudî* (New Bombay Ed. No. 517). It is well known (although nothing is said about it in our Dictionaries), that at any rate in works of the Indian middle ages इति sometimes conveys the sense of प्रकार or इत्यादि 'words like this,' 'this and similar words.' When Hêmachandra in his *Śabdânuśâsana* says पाणिगृहीतीति that term means, and is by Hêmachandra himself explained to mean,—पाणिगृहीतीप्रकाराः 'words like पाणिगृहीती' 'पाणिगृहीती and similar words'; and when in his *Liṅgânuśâsana* he says अपत्यमिति, he himself tells us that he means अपत्यादयः. This use being well known to Bhaṭṭôjidîkshita, that scholar connects the word इति of the above rule of Pâṇini's with, and in construing the rule, wishes us to place it *after*, भाषायाम्, and he then explains भाषायामिति to mean भाषादौ, *i.e.*, भाषायां छन्दसि च. Comment appears superfluous.

[2] This word, taken by itself, does not fit into Pâṇini's text, because it is in the Genitive case.

Kâtyâyana (Vol. I. p. 72). Pâṇini's one rule would allow only ॐ इति or (according to P. I. 1, 14) उ इति, while from Kâtyâyana's two rules we also obtain विति.

P. I. 4, 58 प्रादयः and 59 उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे originally formed the one rule प्रादय उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे, which has been split in two by Kâtyâyana (Vol. I. p. 341). To quote an example given by Kaiyaṭa, Pâṇini's one rule would not allow us to account (by P. VI. 2, 2) for the accent of *prá'chârya*, because here *pra* would not be termed *Nipâta*. Kaiyaṭa, who knew the *Kâśikâ*, has the remark--यदा प्रागेव प्रादय इति योगो विभज्यते तदा प्रयोजनकथनाय वार्त्तिकम्। यदा तु प्रादय उपसर्गाः क्रियायोग इत्येको योगः पठ्यते तदा योगविभागः कर्तव्यत्वेन चोद्यते.

P. II. 1, 11 विभाषा and 12 अपपरिबहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या originally formed the one rule विभाषापपरिबहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या. The division of that rule into two has been suggested by Patañjali (Vol. I. p. 380), to make it quite clear that विभाषा, as an *Adhikâra*, is valid also in the following rules P. II. 1, 13, etc.; for, as Kaiyaṭa observes, अन्यथैहैवास्योपयोग आशङ्क्येत योगविभागे त्वधिकारो गम्यते.

P. IV. 3, 117 संज्ञायाम् and 118 कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् originally formed the one rule संज्ञायां कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ्. The division of that rule has been suggested by Kâtyâyana (Vol. II. p 317), to enable us to account by the rule संज्ञायाम् for the words *mâkshika, sâragha*, etc. (p. 316). Kaiyaṭa appends the note—संज्ञायां कुलालादिभ्यो वुञिति सूत्रं विभक्तमित्यर्थः.

P. V. 1, 57 तदस्य परिमाणम् and 58 संख्यायाः संज्ञासंघसूत्राध्ययनेषु originally formed the one rule तदस्य परिमाणं संज्ञासंघसूत्राध्ययनेषु, so quoted in Vol. II. p. 343, l. 13. The division of that rule has not been actually proposed by either Kâtyâyana or Patañjali, but it may justly be argued that Kâtyâyana's Vârt. 6 in Vol. II. p. 353 would have been superfluous, if to him the words तदस्य परिमाणम् had been a separate rule; and Kaiyaṭa and Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa are therefore in my opinion quite right, when they say, the former तदस्य परिमाणमिति योगविभागः कर्तव्य इत्युक्तं भवति, and the latter (in the *Laghuśabdêndusêkhara*) उक्तरेण योगविभागो ऽत्र भाष्ये ध्वनितः. I need hardly add, that the very general rule तदस्य परिमाणम् allows us to account for a number of words, which otherwise could not have been explained by Pâṇini's rules.

P. VI. 1, 32 ह्वः संप्रसारणम् and 33 अभ्यस्तस्य च originally formed the one rule ह्वः संप्रसारणमभ्यस्तस्य च. That rule has been split in two by Kâtyâyana (Vol. III. p. 29), in order to account by ह्वः संप्रसारणं (णौ च संश्चङोः) for the forms जुहावयिषति and अजूहवत्.

P. VI. 1,164 तद्धितस्य and 165 कितः originally formed the one rule तद्धितस्य कितः, so quoted in Vol. III. p. 116, l. 13. The division of that rule has been suggested by Patañjali (Vol. II. p. 253, l. 22), who by तद्धितस्य (च्चितः) wishes to account for the accent of words like *Kauñjâyanâ'ḥ*. But for this new rule such words, being formed with the suffix ष्फञ् (P. IV. 1, 98), would be *âdyudâtta* by P. VI. 1, 197, a rule which here would supersede the rule P. VI. 1, 163.

P. VII. 3, 117 इदुद्भ्याम्, 118 औत्, and 119 अच्च घेः originally formed the one rule इदुद्भ्यामौदच्च घेः, so quoted in Vol. I. p. 116, l. 9, and Vol. II. p. 404, l. 15. Kâtyâyana, after having in Vol. III. p. 342, l. 10 divided that rule into the two rules इदुद्भ्याम् and औदच्च घेः, in l. 14 proposes to divide the latter rule again into the two rules औत् and अच्च घेः, but in l. 22 he himself shows this second division to be unnecessary. (Compare also the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* on P. VII. 3, 119). Pâṇini's one rule would only permit the Locative cases कृतौ, धेनौ etc., not कृत्याम्, धेन्वाम्, etc.

The above are, in my opinion, all rules, in the case of which *Yôga-vibhâga* can with certainty be proved to have taken place. It is true, that according to Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa the two rules P. VI. 2, 107 उदराश्वेषुषु and 108 क्षेपे also, originally were one rule, apparently because उदराश्वेषुषु क्षेपे has been so quoted in Vol. III. p. 121, l. 14 and p. 133, l. 17; but I should not now venture to conclude from the fact that two or more rules are quoted together, that they must necessarily have been regarded as only one rule, unless indeed such conclusion could be supported by other arguments. No less than eleven times we find in the Mahâbhâshya the quotation अतो दीर्घो यञि सुपि च (P. VII. 3, 101 and 102), and yet P. VII. 3, 101 and 102 undoubtedly are two separate rules, of which the former has been quoted by itself four times, and the latter twice. Similarly P. VI. 2, 143 and 144 have been quoted together eight times, although they are separate

rules; and the same might be said of other rules. Besides, the verse in Vol. III. p. 121, l. 13 appears to me to prove that P. VI. 2, 105 क्षेपे, even before the time of Patañjali, was regarded as a separate rule.

2. One or more words added to the original text of a rule.

P. I. 3, 29 समो गम्यृच्छिप्रच्छिस्वरत्यर्तिश्रुविदिभ्यः originally was only समो गम्यृच्छिभ्याम्. The verbs विदिप्रच्छिस्वरति and अर्तिश्रु have been added from Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas (Vol. I. p. 282). दृश, which also is given by Kâtyâyana, is mentioned in the *Kâśikâ* only in the commentary, whereas Chandra has made it part of the rule. Kaiyaṭa appends to the Vârttikas on P. I. 3, 29 the remark—समो गम्यृच्छिभ्यामित्येतावत्सूत्रमिति वार्त्तिकमारब्धम्.

P. III. 1, 95 कृत्याः प्राङ् ण्वुलः originally was only कृत्याः. The addition of the words प्राङ् ण्वुलः has been suggested by Kâtyâyana in his Vârt. 1 on Pâṇini's rule, but shown to be in reality superfluous in Vârt. 2 (Vol. II. p. 81). On the Vârt. 1 Kaiyaṭa has the note—कृत्या इत्येतावत्सूत्रमित्याह कृत्यसंज्ञायामिति.

P. III. 1, 118 प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेश्छन्दसि originally was only प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेः. The word छन्दसि has been added by Kâtyâyana (Vol. II. p. 87).

P. III, 1,126 आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमश्च. Here लपि has in my opinion been inserted from Kâtyâyana's Vârt. 3 on P. III. 1, 124 (Vol. II. p. 88). दभि, which is mentioned in the same Vârttika, is in the *Kâśikâ* given in the commentary on P. III. 1, 126.

P. III. 3, 122 अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च originally did not contain the words आधार and आवाय, which have been inserted from Kâtyâyana's Vârttika on the preceding rule (Vol. II. p. 155). The word अवहार, which is mentioned in the same Vârttika, is in the *Kâśikâ* given in the commentary on P. III. 3, 122. In the Mahâbhâshya, Vol. II. p. 146, l. 20, where the rule has been quoted, the MSS. give it as read in the *Kâśikâ*, excepting that the MS. K omits from it आधार. Kaiyaṭa on P. III. 3, 121 has the remark—अध्यायसूत्र आधारावायशब्दौ वार्त्तिके दर्शनादभियुक्तैः प्रक्षिप्तौ.

P. IV. 1, 15, which in the *Kâśikâ* ends °करख्युनाम्, originally was ending °करपः. The term ख्युन् has been added from Kâtyâyana's Vârt. 6 (Vol. II. p. 209), and it occurs also in a Vârttika of the Saunâgas (Vol. II. p. 105, l. 8; p. 209, l. 8; and p. 238, l. 11; quoted without ख्युन् in the *Kâśikâ* towards the end of the commentary on P. IV. 1, 15) as well as in the corresponding rule of Chandra's grammar. The original ending of the rule may be seen from Patañjali's words कञ्करपो यञ्भेति on P. IV. 1,16: and Kaiyaṭa has the note—सूत्रे ख्युनः पाठोऽनार्षः.

P. IV. 2, 2 लाक्षारोचनाशकलकर्दमाट्ठक् originally did not contain the words शकल and कर्दम, which have been inserted from Kâtyâyana's first Vârttika (Vol. II. p. 271) on the rule. Here again Kaiyaṭa has the note—शकलकर्दमयोः सूत्रे पाठोऽनार्षः. [Incidentally I may add here that the statement शकलकर्दमाभ्यामपीष्यते, which occurs in the *Kâśikâ* on P. IV. 2, 2, is based on Chandra's rule शकलकर्दमाद्वा].

P. IV. 2, 21 सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम्. The word संज्ञायाम् has been added in accordance with Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas on the rule, but has been declared superfluous by Patañjali (Vol. II. p. 275). Kaiyaṭa appends the note—संज्ञाग्रहणं सूत्रेऽनार्षमिति वार्त्तिकमारब्धम्.

P. IV. 2, 43 ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् originally did not contain the word सहाय, which has been taken from Patañjali's note on the rule (Vol. II. p. 279). गज, which also has been mentioned by Patañjali and which Chandra has in the rule, is given in the *Kâśikâ* in the commentary.

P. IV. 4, 17 विभाषा विवधवीवधात् originally was only विभाषा विवधात्. वीवध has been added from Patañjali's note on the rule (Vol. II. p. 329), and is also given by Chandra. Haradatta has the note—वीवधशब्दो वार्त्तिके दर्शनात्सूत्रे प्रक्षिप्तः.

P. V. 2, 101 प्रज्ञाश्रद्धार्चावृत्तिभ्यो णः originally did not contain the word वृत्ति, which has been added from Patañjali's note 3 on the rule (Vol. II. p. 396) and has also been given by Chandra. Here again Haradatta has the note—सूत्रे वृत्तिशब्दो वार्त्तिके दर्शनात्प्रक्षिप्तः.

P. V. 4, 50 अभूततद्भावे कृभ्वस्तियोगे संपद्यकर्तरि च्विः originally did not contain the word अभूततद्भावे, which has been added in accordance with Kâtyâyana's first Vârttika on the rule (Vol. II. p. 436). Kaiyaṭa has the note—अभूततद्भावग्रहणं वार्त्तिके दृष्ट्वान्यैः सूत्रे प्रक्षिप्तम्.

P. VI. 3, 6 आत्मनश्च पूरणे originally was only आत्मनश्च, and the addition of पूरणे is Kâtyâyana's (Vol. III. p. 143). Such evidently is the

opinion of Bhaṭṭôjîdîkshita (*Siddhânta-Kaumudî*, new Bombay Ed. No. 963), which I now accept as correct. Haradatta, misled by the fact that the Vârttika आत्मनश्च पूरणे in the MSS. of the Mahâbhâshya has been put under P. VI. 3, 5, and by Patañjali's explanation आत्मनश्च पूरण उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम्, instead of आत्मनश्च पूरण इति वक्तव्यम्, takes the whole आत्मनश्च पूरणे to be an addition to Pâṇini's original text (वार्त्तिकमेवेदं सूत्ररूपेण पठितम्); but the words आत्मनश्च are necessary for the following rule P. VI. 3, 7, and Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa (in the *Uddyôta* and *Laghuśabdênduśêkhara*) has not, in my opinion, been successful in proving that we can do without those words (अनात्मनश्च पूरण इति विशिष्टं वार्त्तिकमित्यत्रत्वभाष्यस्वरसादायाति वैयाकरणाख्यायामित्यत्र परस्य चेति चेन परशब्दमतिद्वान्द्विनयात्मशब्दस्यैव ग्रहणं तदुभयं चैकसूत्रमित्याहुः).

P. VI. 3, 40 स्वाङ्गाच्चेतोऽमानिनि originally was only स्वाङ्गाच्चेतः, and अमानिनि has been added from Kâtyâyana's Vârttika स्वाङ्गाच्चेतोऽमानिनि (Vol. III. p. 156; compare also Vol. II. p. 193, l. 2 and Vol. III. p. 157, l. 11). Kaiyaṭa has the note—स्वाङ्गाच्चेत इत्येतावत्सूत्रमिति मत्वा वार्त्तिकारम्भः.

P. VI. 3, 83 प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु originally was only प्रकृत्याशिषि, to which अगोवत्सहलेषु has been added in accordance with the suggestions of Kâtyâyana and Patañjali. For Kâtyâyana has amended Pâṇini's original rule by adding to it अगवादिषु, and Patañjali in explaining the Vârttika has given the example सगवे सवत्साय सहलाय (Vol. III. p. 171). Kaiyaṭa has the note—अगोवत्सहलेष्विति भाष्यवार्त्तिकदर्शनात्सूत्रे केनचित्प्रक्षिप्तम्.

P. VI. 4, 100 घसिभसोर्हलि च. Kâtyâyana's Vârttika on the rule (Vol. III. p. 213) shows that the rule originally did not contain the particle च, which has been added for the very purpose of making the rule, in accordance with Kâtyâyana's suggestion, more widely applicable. In Vol. III. p. 213, l. 19 some MSS. of the Mahâbhâshya read the rule without, others with च. Kaiyaṭa appends the note—अन्यत्रापीति वचनाद्वार्त्तिककारश्चकारं न पपाठेति लक्ष्यते.

P. VIII. 1, 67 पूजनात्पूजितमनुदात्तं काष्ठादिभ्यः originally did not contain the word काष्ठादिभ्यः, which has been added in accordance with the suggestion of Kâtyâyana (Vol. III. p. 379). Kaiyaṭa has the note—काष्ठादिभ्य इति सूत्रे वार्त्तिकदर्शनात्कैश्चित्प्रक्षिप्तम्.

P. VIII. 3, 118 सदिस्वञ्जोः [such is the reading of the MSS. of the *Kâśikâ*] परस्य लिटि originally was only सदेः परस्य लिटि. स्वञ्जि which is given also by Chandra, has been added from Kâtyâyana's Vârttika on the rule (Vol. III. p. 451).

P. VIII. 1, 73 नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् and 74 विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् originally were 73 नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे and 74 सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचने. The new division of the two rules and the addition of बहुवचनम् are suggested by Patañjali (Vol. III. pages 383 and 384), but at the same time Patañjali himself adds that the word सामान्यवचनं or, according to others, विशेषवचने may be omitted from the rules. Kaiyaṭa on 73 remarks—नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरण इति सूत्रं पठितं ततः सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचन इति द्वितीयम्, and on 74—बहुवचनग्रहणमपाणिनीयमिति.

Finally, it may appear doubtful, if the rule P. VIII. 2, 12 from the beginning did contain the word कक्षीवत्, because the formation of that word has been specially taught in Vârt. 7 on P. VI. 1, 37 (Vol. III. p. 33). The opinions of native scholars are divided on this point, for, while Kaiyaṭa (on P. VI. 1, 37) rejects the Vârttika as superfluous (आसन्दीवदष्ठीवदित्यत्र कक्षीवच्छब्दस्य निपातनाद्वार्त्तिकं नारब्धव्यम्), Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa reports that others consider the word कक्षीवत् to be spurious in P. VIII. 2, 12 (एतद्भाष्यप्रामाण्यात्तत्र, *i.e.* in P. VIII. 2, 12, कक्षीवच्छब्दपाठोऽनार्ष इत्यन्ये).

3. The wording of rules altered otherwise than by the addition of one or more words.

P. V. 3, 5 एतदोऽश्. Patañjali's remarks on this rule (Vol. II. p. 403) show that the reading known to him was एतदोऽन्. Patañjali considers the न् superfluous, and by doing so suggests the reading एतदोऽः. Kaiyaṭa has the note—इह केचिदशं पठन्ति केचिदनम्.

P. VI. 1, 115 प्रकृत्यान्तःपादमव्यपरे. Kâtyâyana's reading of this rule was नान्तःपादमव्यपरे (Vol. III. p. 86). But from Vol. III. p. 89, lines 7 and 18, p. 91, l. 8, and other passages in the Mahâbhâshya it appears, that the reading प्रकृत्या, instead of न, was known already to Patañjali. In the *Kâśikâ* we have the note—केचिदिदं सूत्रं नान्तःपादमव्यपर इति पठन्ति.

P. VI. 1, 124 इन्द्रे च नित्यम्, and 125 प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि. Patañjali's reading of these two rules was 124 इन्द्रे च, and 125 प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् (Vol. III. p. 87, l. 24); but on p. 89, l. 18 he declares the word नित्यम् to be altogether superfluous, and in Vol. I. p. 66 and Vol. III. p. 53 he cites the rule 125 without नित्यम्. Kaiyata (on Vol. III. p. 87, l. 24) has the note—इन्द्रे चेति ये सूत्रं पठन्ति प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यमिति तु द्वितीयं तन्मतेनैष प्रश्नः.

P. VI. 1, 137 संपर्युपेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे, and 138 समवाये च. In the place of these two rules Patañjali has had only the one rule संपरिभ्यां भूषणसमवाययोः करोतौ, which is so quoted in Vol. III. p. 216, l. 1, and the first word संपरिभ्यां of which has been explained by Patañjali in Vol. III. p. 93, l. 13. (Compare the similar explanation of सुड्भ्याम् in P. VII. 1, 68, in Vol. III. p. 262, l. 21.)

P. VI. 1, 150 विष्किरः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा originally was विष्किरः शकुनौ वा, a wording of the rule which was not approved of by Kâtyâyana (Vol. III. p. 95). In his opinion, विष्किरः शकुनौ वा would mean, that 'after वि, कॄ takes the augment सुट्,—optionally, when one wishes to denote a bird,' whereas the real meaning of the rule is assumed to be that 'after वि, कॄ may take सुट् in case one wishes to denote a bird'; in other words, the bird may be called विकिर or विष्किर, while in the case of any other meaning the only right form would be विकिर. (Differently Goldstücker, *Pâṇini*, p. 125). Of the commentators, Kaiyata has the note—विष्किरः शकुनौ वेति सूत्रपाठमाश्रित्य वार्त्तिकारम्भः; Haradatta —यथा तु भाष्यं तथा विष्किरः शकुनौ वेत्येतावत्सूत्रम् and Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa—विष्किरः शकुनिर्विकिरो वेत्यनार्षः पाठ इति भावः.

P. VI. 4, 56 ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात् originally was ल्यपि लघुपूर्वस्य. The substitution of the Ablative for the Genitive case has been suggested by Kâtyâyana (Vol. III. p. 204). In the Mahâbhâshya the rule has been quoted in its original form in Vol. III. p 288, lines 4 and 11, and in its altered form p. 191, l. 12, and p. 212, lines 1 and 14. Kaiyaṭa has the remark—केचिदाचार्येण ल्यपि लघुपूर्वस्येति षष्ठ्यन्तमध्यापिता अन्ये तु लघुपूर्वादिति पञ्चम्यन्तम्.

P. VII. 1, 25 अड्डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः originally was अद् डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः. The addition to अद् of the Anubandha ड् has been suggested by Kâtyâyana (Vol. III. p. 250). Compare also Vol. I. p. 87, lines 17 and 18, and Vol. III. p. 48.

P. VII. 3, 75 ष्ठिवुक्लम्याचमां [such is the reading of the MSS. of the *Kâśikâ*] शिति originally was ष्ठिवुक्लमुचमां शिति. The alteration of the wording of the rule has been suggested by Kâtyâyana (Vol. III. p. 334). In Vol. III. p. 333. l. 15, where the rule is quoted, the best MSS. of the Mahâbhâshya give the altered form of it, which has been adopted also by Chandra. Kaiyaṭa has the note—ष्ठिवुक्लमुचमां शितीति सूत्रपाठादाह...अथवासूत्रे तन्त्रमाङ् न तु यथोपेयिवानि. त्यत्रोपश्लेषोऽतन्त्रमिति प्रदर्शनाय वार्त्तिकारम्भः.

P. VII. 3, 77 इषुगमियमां छः originally was इषगमियमां छः, as may be inferred from Kâtyâyana's Vârttika on the rule (Vol. III. p. 334). इषु° is the reading also of Chandra. The *Kâśikâ* has the remark—य इषिमुदितं नाधीयते तेऽचीत्यनुव. र्तयन्ति, and Kaiyaṭa appends the note—इषुगमीति पाठोऽनार्ष इत्याहेषेश्छत्वमहलीति.

P. VIII. 4, 28 उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् originally was उपसर्गादनोत्परः, as may be seen from Patañjali's remarks on the rule. The reading उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् has been suggested by Patañjali (Vol. III. p. 460).

4. Whole rules added to the original text of the Ashṭâdhyâyî.

P. IV. 1, 166 वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् is really a Vârttika of Kâtyâyana's on IV. 1, 163, and P. IV. 1, 167 यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् is based on the Vârttika जीवद्वंश्यं च कुत्सितम् on IV. 1, 162 (Vol. II. p. 265). As regards, however, the explanation of the two rules in the Mahâbhâshya and in the *Kâśikâ*, there is the difference, that in the former they are considered obligatory, while in the latter, by supplying वा from IV. 1, 165, they are made optional. Owing to the employment of the Genitive cases वृद्धस्य and यूनः, neither rule fits into the text of Pâṇini's *Ashṭâdhyâyî*. On Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas Kaiyata has the remarks—सूत्रेषु तु केचिद्वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वार्त्तिकदर्शनात्प्रक्षिप्तम्, and यूनश्च कुत्सायामिति सूत्रमनार्षमिति वचनम्.

P. IV. 2, 8 कलेर्ढक् is really part of Kâtyâyana's Vârttika on the preceding rule IV. 2, 7 (Vol. II. p. 273).

P. IV. 3, 132 कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् and 133 आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च are really two Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana, which in the Mahâbhâshya are placed under P. IV. 3, 131 (Vol. II. p. 320).

On 132 Kaiyaṭa has the note—अपाणिनीयः सूत्रेषु पाठः. Regarding 133 the opinions of the commentators differ; according to Kaiyaṭa the rule is an original Sûtra, but Haradatta rightly remarks—पूर्वं च सूत्रमिदं च वार्त्तिके दर्शनात्सूत्रेषु प्रक्षिप्तम्, and on the margin of the MS. a of the Mahâbhâshya we have the note—इदमपि वार्त्तिके दृष्ट्वा सूत्रेषु प्रक्षिप्तम्.

P. V. 1, 36 द्वित्रिपूर्वादण्च is really a Vârttika of Kâtyâyana's on the preceding rule. (Vol. II. p. 350). By Chandra the wording of that Vârttika has been altered to द्वित्र्यादेरण्च. Kaiyaṭa has the note—द्वित्रिपूर्वादण्चेति सूत्रेष्वनार्षः पाठ इति वार्त्तिकारम्भः.

P. VI. 1, 62 अचि शीर्षः is really a Vârttika of Kâtyâyana's on the preceding rule (Vol. III. p. 41). Here, too, Kaiyaṭa has the note—वार्त्तिकं दृष्ट्वा कैश्चित्सूत्रेषु प्रक्षिप्तम्.

P. VI. 1, 100 नित्यमाम्रेडिते डाचि is really a Vârttika of Kâtyâyana's on P. VI. 1, 99 (Vol. III. p. 77). Kaiyaṭa again has the note—वार्त्तिकदर्शनात्सूत्रे कैश्चित्प्रक्षिप्तम्.

P. VI. 1, 136 अडभ्यासव्यवायेऽपि teaches the same as, and is clearly based on, Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas 5 and 6, अड्व्यवाय उपसंख्यानम् and अभ्यासव्यवाये च, on P. VI. 1, 135 (Vol. III. p. 92). Kaiyaṭa has the note—अडभ्यासव्यवायेऽपीति सूत्रस्यापाठे वार्त्तिकप्रवृत्तिः, and Nâgôjîbhaṭṭa adds—अनार्षः सूत्रे पाठः.

Finally, P. VI. 1, 156 कारस्करो वृक्षः has been taken from Patañjali's notes on P. VI. 1, 157 (Vol. III. p. 96). Here the *Kâśikâ* itself has the remark—केचिदिदं सूत्रं नाधीयते पारस्करप्रभृतिष्वेव कारस्करो वृक्ष इति पठन्ति.

The result of this inquiry then is as follows:—The text of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, which is given in the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*, differs in the case of 58 rules (excluding here the somewhat doubtful case of P. VIII. 2, 12) from the text which was known to Kâtyâyana or Patañjali. 10 of those 58 rules are altogether fresh additions to the original text (by which I mean here the text known to Kâtyâyana or Patañjali). 17 rules were from the beginning part of the text, but in the original text those 17 rules did not form 17, but were only 8 separate rules. 19 rules, which also belong to the original text, have each had one or more words added to them. The wording of 10 original rules has been changed otherwise than by the addition of one or more words, and one rule has been altered in addition to being split up into two rules (P. VI. 1, 137 and 138). Altogether the text given in the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* (and that of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* in the editions) contains 20 more Sûtras than the original text.

The origin of the changes, which the text has undergone, can in most cases be traced in the Mahâbhâshya. Out of 8 cases of *Yôgavibhâga*, 5 have been suggested by Kâtyâyana and 2 by Patañjali. In the case of 19 rules, which have received additions, the words added have in 13 rules been taken from the Vârttikas, in 4 rules from Patañjali's notes, and in one rule jointly from Kâtyâyana's and Patañjali's remarks; in the case of one rule the word added has not been actually taken from a Vârttika, but the addition has been made to comply with a suggestion of Kâtyâyana's. In the case of 12 rules, which have been otherwise changed, the changes can in 5 rules be traced to Kâtyâyana's and in one rule to Patañjali's suggestions. Of the 10 rules, which have been added to the original text, 7 are Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana, 2 are based on Vârttikas, and one is a note of Patañjali's.

Have the rules of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* since the time of the composition of the Mahâbhâshya undergone any changes besides those which have been indicated in the preceding, and in particular, is there any reason to suppose that other new rules have been added to the original text? After the careful study which I have given to the Mahâbhâshya and the literature connected with it, I feel no hesitation in answering this question in the negative. Besides the 1,713 rules, which are actually treated of by Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, nearly 600 rules are fully and about 350 other rules partly quoted in the Mahâbhâshya. And as a large number of other rules is absolutely necessary for the proper understanding of those rules for which we have the direct testimony of Patañjali, and for the formation of words used by that scholar in the course of his arguments—I refer to the numerous quotations at the foot of the pages in my edition—we may rest satisfied that our text of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, or rather the text of the best MSS., does not in any material point differ from the text which was known to Patañjali.

THE OGRESS QUEEN.

A Kasmiri Story.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

People tell of a king who had seven wives that were all childless. When he married the first he thought that she would certainly bare him a son. He hoped the same of the second, the third and the others; but no son was born to gladden his days, and to sit on the throne after him. This was a terrible, overwhelming grief to him.

One day he was walking in a neighbouring wood and bemoaning his lot, when he saw a most beautiful fairy.

"Where are you going?" she asked.

"I am very miserable," he replied. "Although I have seven wives, I have no son to call my own, and to make my heir. I came to this wood to-day hoping to meet some holy man, who would intercede for me."

"And do you expect to find such a person in this lonely place?" she asked laughing. "Only I live here. But I can help you. What will you give me, if I grant you the desires of your heart?"

"Give me a son, and you shall have half of my country."

"I will take none of your gold or your country. Marry me, and you shall have a son and heir."

The king agreed, took the fairy to his palace, and very quickly made her his eighth wife. A short while afterwards all the other wives of the king became pregnant. However, the king's joy was not for long. The beautiful fairy whom he had married was none other than a *rákshasí* (ogress), who had appeared to his Majesty as a fairy, in order to deceive him and work mischief in the palace. Every night when the rest of the royal household were fast asleep she arose and going to the stables and outhouses ate an elephant, or two or three horses, or some sheep, or a camel; and then having satisfied her blood-thirsty appetite returned to her room, and came forth in the morning, as if nothing had happened. At first the king's servants feared to inform him of these things; but when they found that animals were being taken every night, they were obliged to go to him. Strict orders were at once given for the protection of the palace-buildings and guards were appointed to every room, but it was all in vain. Day by day the animals disappeared and nobody could tell how.

One night while the king was pacing his room, puzzled to know what to do, the supposed fairy, his wife, said :—

"What will you give me if I discover the thief?"

"Anything—everything," the king replied.

"Very well; rest, and by the morning I will show you the cause of these things."

His Majesty was soon sound asleep, and the wicked queen left the room. She went to the sheep-pens, and taking one of the sheep killed it, and filled an earthen vessel with its blood. Then she returned to the palace, and went to the several rooms of the other wives of the king and stained their mouths and clothes with the blood that she had brought. Afterwards she went and lay down in the room, while the king was still sleeping. As soon as the day dawned she woke him and said to him :—

"I find that your other wives have taken and eaten the animals. They are not human beings. They are *rákshasís*. If you wish to preserve your life, you will beware of them. Go and see if I am not speaking the truth."

The king did so, and when he saw the blood-stained mouths and garments of his other wives, he was terribly enraged. He ordered that their eyes should be put out, and that they should be thrown into a big, dry well, which was outside the city; and this was done.

The very next day one of them gave birth to a son, who was eaten by them for food. The day after that another had a son, and he was likewise eaten. On the third day another wife was confined; on the fourth day another; on the fifth day another; and on the sixth day another: each of a son, who was eaten up in his turn. The seventh wife, whose time had not arrived, did not eat her portions of the other wives' children, but kept them till her own son was born, when she begged them not to kill him, and to take the portions which they had given her instead. Thus the child was spared, and through him in the future the lives of the seven queens were miraculously preserved.

The baby grew and became a strong and beautiful boy. When he was six years old the seven women thought they would try to show him a little of the outer world. But how were they to do this? The well was deep and its sides were perpendicular! At last they thought of standing on each other's heads; and the one who stood on the top of all took the boy and put him on the bank at the well's mouth. Away the little fellow ran to the palace, entered the king's kitchen and begged for some food. He got a lot of scraps, of which he ate a little and carried the rest to the well for his mother and the king's other wives.

This continued for some time, when one morning the cook asked him to stay and prepare some dishes for the king, saying, that his mother had just died and he was obliged to go and arrange for the cremation of the body. The boy promised to do his best and the cook left. That day the king was especially pleased with his meals. Everything was rightly cooked, nicely flavoured, and well served-up. In the evening the cook returned. The king sent for him and complimenting him on the exceedingly good food he had prepared, ordered him always to cook as well in the future. The cook honestly confessed that he had been absent the greater part of the day owing to his mother's death, and that a boy, whom he had hired for the occasion, had cooked the food. When he heard this the king was much surprised, and commanded the cook to give the boy regular employment in the kitchen. Thenceforth there was a great difference in the way the king's meals were served up; and his Majesty was more and more pleased with the boy, and constantly gave him presents. All these presents and all the food that the boy could gather he took daily to the well for his mother and the king's other wives.

On the way to the well every day he had to pass a holy *faqîr*, who always blessed him and asked for alms, and generally received something. In this way some years elapsed and the boy had developed into a still more beautiful youth, when by chance one day the wicked queen saw him. Struck with his beauty she asked him who he was and whence he came. Nothing doubting and not knowing the real character of the queen, he told her everything about himself and his mother, and the other women. From that hour the queen plotted against his life. She feigned sickness, and calling in a *ḥakîm* (physician) bribed him to persuade the king that she was very ill and that nothing, except the milk of a lioness, would cure her.

"My beloved, what is this I hear?" said the king when he went to see his wife in the evening. "The *ḥakîm* says that you are ill, and that the milk of a lioness is required. But how can we get it? Who is there that will dare to attempt this?"

"The lad who serves here as cook. He is brave and faithful, and will do anything for you out of gratitude for all that you have done for him. Besides him I know of no other, whom you could send."

"I will send for him and see."

The lad readily promised, and next day started on his perilous journey. On the way he passed his friend the *faqîr*, who said to him, "Whither are you going?" He told him of the king's order, and how desirous he was of pleasing his Majesty, who had been so kind to him.

"Don't go," said the *faqîr*. "Who are you to dare to presume to do such a thing?"

But the lad was resolute and valued not his life in the matter. Then said the *faqîr*,—

"If you will not be dissuaded, follow my advice, and you will succeed and be preserved. When you meet a lioness aim an arrow at one of her teats. The arrow will strike her and the lioness will speak and ask you why you shot her. Then you must say that you did not intend to kill her, but simply thought that she would be glad if she could feed her cubs more quickly than before, and therefore pierced a hole in her teats, through which the milk would flow easily. You must also say that you pitied her cubs, who looked very weak and sickly, as though they required more nourishment."

Then, blessing him, the *faqîr* sent him on his journey. Thus encouraged the lad walked on with a glad heart. He soon saw a lioness with cubs, aimed an arrow at one of her teats, and struck it. When the lioness angrily asked him to explain his action he replied as the *faqîr* had instructed him, and added that the queen was seriously ill and was in need of lioness' milk."

"The queen!" said the lioness.[1] "Do not you know that she is a *rûkshasî*? Keep her at a distance, lest she kill and eat you!"

"I fear no harm," said the lad. "Her Majesty entertains no enmity against me."

"Very well, I will certainly give you some of my milk, but beware of the queen. Look here," said the lioness taking him to an immense block of rock, that had separated from the hill, "I will let a drop of my milk fall on this rock."

She did so, and the rock fell into a million pieces!

"You see the power of my milk. Well, if the queen were to drink the whole of what I have just given you, it would not have the slightest effect on her! She is a *rûkshasî* and cannot be harmed by such things as this. However, if you will not believe me, go and see for yourself."

The lad returned and gave the milk to the king, who took it to his wife; and she drank the whole of it and professed to have been cured. The king was much pleased with the boy, and advanced him to a higher position among the servants of the palace: but the queen was determined to have him killed, and debated in her mind as to how she could accomplish this without offending the king. After some days she again pretended to be ill, and calling the king said to him, "I am getting ill again, but do not be anxious about me. My father, who lives in the jungle, whence the lioness' milk was brought, has a special medicine, that, I think, would cure me, if you will please send for it. The lad that fetched the milk might go." Accordingly the lad went. The way led past the *fakîr*, who again said to him, "Whither are you going?" and the lad told him.

"Don't go," said he. "This man is a *rûkshasa*, and will certainly kill you."

But the lad was determined as before.

"You *will* go then. Then go, but attend to my advice. When you see the *rûkshasa*, call him 'grandfather.' He will ask you to scratch his back, which you must do—and do it very roughly."

"The lad promised, and went on. The jungle was big and dense, and he thought that he would never reach the *rûkshasa's* house. At last he saw him and cried out, "O my grandfather, I, your daughter's son, have come to say that my mother is ill and cannot recover till she takes some medicine, which she says you have, and has sent me for it."

"All right," replied the *rûkshasa*. "I will give it you, but first come and scratch my back. It's itching terribly."

The *rûkshasa* had lied, for his back did not itch. He only wanted to see whether the lad was the true son of a *rûkshasa* or not. When the lad dug his nails into the old *rûkshasa's* flesh, as though he wanted to scratch off some of it, the *rûkshasa* bade him desist, and giving him the medicine let him depart. On reaching the palace the lad gave the medicine to the king, who at once took it to his wife; and she was cured. The king was more than ever pleased with the lad and gave him large presents, and in other ways favoured him.

The wicked queen was now put to her wits' end to know what to do with such a lad. He had escaped from the claws of the lioness and from the clutches of her father,—the gods only knew how! What could she do to him? Finally she determined to send him to her mother, a wretched old *rûkshasî* that lived in a house in the wood not far from her father's place.

"He will not come back any more," said the wicked queen to herself, and so she said to the king, "I have a very valuable comb at home, and I should like to have it brought here, if you will please send the boy for it. Let me know when he starts, and I will give him a letter for my mother."

The king complied, and the lad started, as usual passing by the *faqîr's* place, and telling him where he was going. He, also, showed him the letter that the queen had given him.

"Let me read its contents," said the *faqîr*, and when he had read them he said, "Are you deliberately going to be killed? This letter is an order for your death. Listen to it—'The bearer of this letter is my bitter enemy I shall not be able to accomplish anything as long as he is alive. Slay him as soon as he reaches you, and let me not hear of him any more.'"

[1] Concerning talking animals, cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 412-413.

The boy trembled as he heard these terrible words, but he would not break his promise to the king, and was resolved to fulfil His Majesty's wishes, though it should cost him his life. So the *faqîr* destroyed the queen's letter and wrote another after this manner:—"This is my son. When he reaches you attend to his needs and show him all kindness." Giving it to the lad, he said, "Call the woman grandmother; and fear nothing."

The lad walked on and on till he reached the *râkshasî's* house, where he called the *râkshasî* 'grandmother,' as the *faqîr* had advised him, and gave her the letter. On reading it she clasped the lad in her arms, and kissed him, and enquired much about her daughter and her royal husband. Every attention was shown him, and every delicious thing that the old *râkshasî* could think of, was provided for him. She also gave him many things, amongst others the following:—A jar of soap, which when dropped on the ground became a great and lofty mountain; a jar full of needles, which if let fall became a hill bristling with large needles; a jar full of water, which if poured out became an expanse of water as large as a sea. She also showed him the following things and explained their meaning:—Seven fine cocks, a spinning-wheel, a pigeon, a starling, and some medicine.

"These seven cocks," she said, "contain the lives of your seven uncles, who are away for a few days. Only as long as the cocks live can your uncles hope to live. No power can hurt them as long as the seven cocks are safe and sound. The spinning-wheel contains my life. If it is broken, I, too, shall be broken and must die; but otherwise I shall live on for ever. The pigeon contains your grandfather's life, and the starling your mother's. As long as these live nothing can harm your grandfather or your mother. And the medicine has this quality: it can give sight to the blind."[2]

The lad thanked the old *râkshasî* for all that she had given him and shown him, and lay down to sleep. In the morning, when the *râkshasî* went to bathe in the river, the lad took the seven cocks and the pigeon and killed them and dashed the spinning-wheel on the ground, so that it was broken to pieces. Immediately the old *râkshasa* and the *rakshasî* and their seven sons perished. Then having secured the starling in a cage he took it and the precious medicine for restoring the sight, and started for the king's palace. He stopped on the way to give the eye-medicine to his mother and the other women who were still in the well, and their sight immediately returned. They all clambered out of the well, and accompanied the lad to the palace, where he asked them to wait in one of the rooms, while he went and prepared the king for their coming.

"O king," he said; "I have many secrets to reveal. I pray you to hear me. Your wife is a *râkshasî*, and plots against my life, knowing that I am the son of one of the wives, whom at her instigation you caused to be deprived of their sight and thrown into a well. She fears that somehow I shall become heir to the throne, and therefore wishes my speedy death. I have slain her father and mother and seven brothers, and now I shall slay her. Her life is in this starling."

Saying this he suffocated the bird, and the wicked queen immediately died.

"Now come with me," said the boy, "and behold, O king, your true wives. There were seven sons born to your house, but six of them were slain to satisfy the cravings of hunger. I only am left alive."

"Oh! what have I done?" cried the king. "I have been deceived." And he wept bitterly.

Henceforth the king's only son governed the country and by virtue of the charmed jars that the *râkshasî* had given him was able to conquer all the surrounding countries. And the old king spent the rest of his days with his seven wives in peace and happiness.[3]

[2] For description of Life-Index, cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 404-405.

[3] Cf. "The Son of Seven Mothers," in *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 98.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. VIII.—Rânî Jhajhanî.

There lived in a certain country, a very rich merchant, who was blessed with seven sons. Now all these sons were married and had settled down in life, with the exception of the youngest, who was a very mischievously inclined

young man, and loved to indulge in wild pranks, much to the annoyance of every one connected with him. His chief delight was in teasing and worrying his sisters-in-law, who, however, dared not complain against him for fear of incurring the displeasure of their husbands' parents, who loved their youngest son very fondly. For this reason they were so tired of him that they were always wishing he would marry and turn into a sober, steady young man, like his elder brothers.

One day, as he was indulging in his wild pranks and playing his tricks upon his sisters-in-law rather too freely, one of them cried out impatiently :—

"I wish this young rogue were married, for I am sure he would be ashamed of behaving himself like this in the presence of a wife."

"Married !" said another sneeringly. "I should like to know how *he* could get married! There is not a girl in the universe that he considers fit to be his wife, for has he not rejected offers from the parents of the prettiest girls that ever the sun shone upon? It may be that he aspires to the hand of **Rânî Jhajhanî**, the paragon of beauty."

Now this Rânî Jhajhanî was a **fairy princess**, the fame of whose beauty had travelled far and wide, and who was always held up as a pattern of all the feminine graces. This was the first time, however, that the young man had heard of her, and he was seized with an ardent desire to find her out and marry her, if only to spite his sisters-in-law.

He accordingly went to his parents and begged hard of them to be allowed to go in search of the fairy Rânî Jhajhanî, saying that he would die for love of her if they thwarted his wishes in the matter. His father did his best to dissuade him from going on such a wild-goose chase, since, being a fairy, she was inaccessible to a mortal; but the young man was firm, and would not listen to reason, and soon succeeded in obtaining the consent of his parents **to go in search of his fairy love.**

Accordingly, one fine day, he took leave of all his friends and relations and set out on his perilous adventure. For several days he travelled on and on, without stopping, till at last his horse died under him from sheer fatigue. Nothing daunted, however, he continued his journey on foot till he was foot-sore and weary. At last he reached a stream of fresh water, on the banks of which he sat down to rest himself. No sooner had he done so than there appeared before him, to his great surprise, **an old man** of a venerable and holy aspect. The lad threw himself on his knees before the saint and begged for his blessing with tears in his eyes. The holy man had pity on him and said kindly :—

"Tell me, young man, how I can be of service to you?"

The youth told him how he was bent upon obtaining the hand of Rânî Jhajhanî in marriage, and how, with that view, he had been wandering for months without getting the least clue as to the whereabouts of the lovely lady, and finished by begging of the saint to put him in the way of finding her out.

"What !" said the old man in surprise. "*You* aspire to the hand of Rânî Jhajhanî! It is utterly impossible for a mortal, such as you, to reach her palace. Look there, do you see those mountains far away on the horizon? They are very large and high, and you will have to cross them one by one before you reach the Rânî's palace. But this is quite impossible, for you must know that these are not mountains in reality, but **giants guarding the fairy princess**, whom you seek to marry, and they will devour you the instant you venture within their reach. So take an old man's advice, return to your parents, and give up all thoughts of obtaining a fairy for your wife."

But the young man was too brave to be deterred by such dangers, and said :—

"For the sake of Rânî Jhajhanî I am ready to fight even these formidable giants, only show me the way to her palace and I shall remain ever grateful to you."

"Very well then," said the holy man, "since you are bent on your ruin, I cannot help you. Come with me and I will **lead you a part of the way**, for I dare not traverse all of it."

The young man followed him till they came to a narrow passage, at the end of which lay stretched the first of the giants guarding the fairy. The sage left him there and at parting once more advised him to give up his mad exploit, but the youth was firm, and the sage therefore parted from him in great sorrow.

As soon as the old man had departed the youth began to look about him and found to

his great delight that the giant was fast asleep. Seeing a number of horses grazing near, he caught one of them, and after killing it, dressed it nicely with some delicious spices which he had with him, lighted a large fire, and roasted it whole. He then carried the savoury mess to the great giant, and placed it before him. The giant who by this time had finished his nap, only growled with rage at finding himself unable to do justice to the substantial meal set before him; for, as the young man found, he was firmly rooted to the ground owing to his nails and hair having grown into the earth on account of his great age! The youth was overjoyed at this, for here was an opportunity of ingratiating himself into his good graces. He had only to use his knife and his scissors and set the unwieldy being free to gain his gratitude for ever; so he at once set to work and extricated the monster from his uncomfortable position. As soon as he was free, however, he thus spoke to his deliverer:—

"Young man, were it not for the service you have rendered me, I would have devoured you this instant for daring to come here, but as it is, I forgive you. Tell me now how I can reward you for your kindness to me."

"I require no other reward from you," said the young man, "than to be allowed to pass by you, in order to reach the palace of Rânî Jhajhanî."

The giant was wild with rage at what he thought the impudence of the young man in wishing to reach the Rânî's palace. He stamped his feet and raved, and would have devoured him there and then, had not the sense of gratitude he was labouring under, triumphed over his desire to kill him; and so he said:—

"Young man, I not only forgive you your impudence and let you go hence in safety, but to mark my sense of the debt I owe you for freeing me from my bonds, I give you this signet ring. On your way to Rânî Jhajhanî's palace, you will encounter six other giants like me, but they will all allow you to pass by unmolested if you show them this ring."

The young man thanked him very much, and taking the signet ring from him once more set out on his journey. He soon reached the place where the second giant was lying and serving him as he had done the first, he showed him the ring, at sight of which the monster stepped aside and let him pass by. He thus went on passing one giant after another till he came to the last. When he had freed him also like the rest, and feasted him, the giant expressed to him his gratitude more warmly than the others had done, and asked him to let him know how he could reward him. Upon this the young man said:—

"I want nothing of you, except that you lead me to Rânî Jhajhanî's palace, for I am dying to see her."

"I regret," replied the giant, "that I cannot lead you there in person, but I give you this flower. If you smell it the right way you will turn into a parrot, and if you smell it the other way, you will be able to resume your own shape. Put it to your nose now and as soon as you are a parrot, fly straight on till you see the roof of a palace. Perch upon that roof, for it will be the roof of Rânî Jhajhani's palace."

Thanking the giant warmly for his great kindness, the young man smelt the flower, and in the form of a parrot flew straight on, till he reached the Rânî's palace. As he sat perched upon the roof he perceived through a chink in it that the giant king, whose daughter Rânî Jhajhanî was, was with her at the time. So he waited till he saw him take up a stick that lay by, touch his daughter gently with it, and throwing her into a trance, walk out of the palace, leaving the fair Rânî alone.

When the giant was gone a safe distance, the parrot flew into the apartment in which the lady lay, and smelling the flower the wrong way, resumed his original shape. He then took up the stick that lay by, and touched the lady gently with it, just as he had seen the giant do, when to his great joy, she woke from her trance, and began to look at him with her beautiful eyes,—so beautiful that for a time he was quite dazzled by their brilliancy! The lady on her part also, seemed greatly astonished to see the youth, having never set eyes on any human being before. But she soon got over her surprise and expressed herself greatly delighted at seeing him. Each found the other so agreeable that they conversed on till dusk, when the lady suddenly recollected that it was time for the giant, her father, to return to the palace. She thereupon requested the youth to throw her into a trance again by the aid of the magic wand. Before complying with her re-

quest, however, he begged of her to ascertain from her father whether he was mortal, and if so whether he knew in what manner he would come by his death. The lady promised to obtain the information for him, and the youth, throwing her into a trance, assumed the shape of a parrot once more, went out of the palace and rested for the night in a niche in the roof.

Hardly had the young man left the room when the giant entered it, touched the fairy with the magic wand and brought her to her senses. The two then sat down to their dinner together, and in course of it the lady inquired of her father in a casual way whether he was mortal and whether she had cause ever to fear his death.

"My daughter," he replied, "you need never have any fear of my dying. Nobody can kill me so long as **the parrot on yonder island** lives, for it **holds the key of my life.**"

"What parrot, father? and what island?" asked the lady innocently, not knowing that her late visitor was on the roof, in the shape of a parrot, hearing every word they uttered.

"Far, far away in the sea," replied the giant, "there is a small island, on which is a **golden cage** hung high up in the air. In that cage is the parrot with whose life mine is connected. As soon as some one shall wring its neck and kill it, I am dead. But I am sure no one can ever do so. In the first place, no one would be able to get to the island; and secondly the cage is hung too high for any one to reach it. So I am quite certain that no one will ever cause my death. Some human beings that have been by accident thrown upon the shores of that island from time to time, have been **transformed by me into stones,** and stones they will remain until a few drops of **water from a well** there is sprinkled on them."

The young man, who had been hearing all this, waited till daybreak, and as soon as it was light, spread his wings and flew away into the sea. After a very long journey he reached the island and to his great joy, saw the golden cage hung up there just as the giant had said. He flew up to it, and opening the door, caught the parrot by its neck.

The giant, at the same moment, felt a tightness at his throat and ran with all speed towards the sea into which he plunged headlong. The young man waited till he saw the giant come wading through the waters, towards the island, and as soon as his antagonist touched the shore, he wrung the poor parrot's neck and killed it. And lo! the same instant the huge giant fell down dead, and lay, stretching his immense length over half the island.

The young man now once again resumed human shape and drawing some water out of the well that was hard by, sprinkled it little by little on the stones he found lying in different parts of the island; and they soon began to be transformed into human beings, and to rise up one by one, and walk about.

They could scarcely realise where they were, so long had they been lying there lifeless as stones; but their deliverer soon brought them to a sense of their true position and they all felt very grateful towards him. They then walked, all together, to the sea-shore, where to their great joy they found their ships lying at anchor. So grateful did they feel towards the young man, that they all offered to place their ships at his disposal and to take him to his native country; and each and all pressed upon him rich presents, for most of them were either rich merchants, or great princes. But he would accept of nothing from them. He would be amply repaid, he told them, if only they prepared him a document setting forth all the services he had rendered them, and put their signatures to it. This they did with great pleasure, and presented the document to him with many expressions of gratitude. After this they all went on board their ships and sailed away.

The youth then smelt the magic flower and assuming the shape of a parrot, flew with all speed towards the Rânî's palace. When he arrived into her presence he found her lamenting her father's death, of which she had come to know by certain indications around her. He soothed her as best he could, and held out hopes that her father might yet return, for he wished to keep her ignorant of the fact that he himself was his destroyer. But she was convinced that her father was dead, and was inconsolable for a long time. A few days after this, finding her a little calmer, he declared his love for her and begged her to accompany him to his native country. To this she readily consented, and the two started together on

their journey, having first transformed themselves into **parrots** by the aid of the magic flower, and soon arrived within the precincts of the city in which the youth's father, the old merchant, lived. Finding themselves safe there, Rânî Jhajhanî and her lover resumed their original shapes. The latter then purchased a horse for himself, and a magnificent palanquin for the Rânî, and hired a number of attendants to wait upon her. Then with a view to preparing his father for the reception of the renowned Rânî Jhajhanî with all fitting pomp, he left the fairy in a fine mango-grove by the side of a river, and proceeded alone towards his father's residence.

Whilst he was away, the Rânî amused herself by talking to such women as happened to pass by the place where her palanquin was set down, for everything around her was new to her and afforded her delight.

Just then a **poor potter woman** happened to go by, and seeing such a beautiful lady in the palanquin, stopped out of curiosity to look at her. Rânî Jhajhanî beckoned her to come near, and entered into conversation with her, in the course of which she told her who she was, and what had brought her to that strange city. Now the jewels and rich clothes that the fairy queen wore excited the cupidity of the potter woman and she resolved to possess herself of them by some means. She thereupon suggested that the Rânî should bathe in the cool waters of a well that was situated some yards away, and, the fairy consenting, they went up to it together. After the Rânî had had her bath, the potter woman told her that a strange whim had taken possession of her, namely that they should **change dresses** to see how each looked in the other's costume. The unsuspecting Rânî agreed to this and the dresses were interchanged. After wearing the potter woman's clothes the Rânî leant over the brink of the well, and looked into it, to see her reflection in the waters. The potter woman taking advantage of this opportunity, seized her by the legs and **threw her head-first into the well.** This done, she quickly drew the veil of the fairy's dress over her face, walked up to the palanquin, and got into it unperceived by any one.

The bearers, thinking her to be their mistress, asked no questions, and she remained undisturbed in the palanquin, until the young merchant returned with his parents, attended by a long train of musicians, to fetch his bride home. But what was his dismay, on opening the doors of the palanquin, to find **a strange woman** lying inside in place of the beauteous fairy he had left in it a few hours before! He was struck dumb at being confronted by such a fright, for be it mentioned, the potter woman was one of the ugliest of her sex, and having lost one of her eyes was known in her village by the nick-name of **Kânî Kôbâî,** (*i.e.*, One-eyed Kôbâî). When he had recovered from his astonishment he asked her who she was and what she was doing there in place of the fairy Rânî. At this Kânî Kôbâî began to sob aloud, and replied that she was no other than the **fairy queen herself,** who had been thus transformed into an ugly one-eyed creature by a wicked magician that had visited her in his absence. The youth being of a credulous disposition believed her story, and quietly took her home, having previously countermanded all the grand preparations made for the reception of his fairy bride. He did, however, suspect some treachery, and sounded the attendants; but could learn nothing from them as to what had happened. So he consigned Kânî Kôbâî to a secluded part of his house, where he left her to herself, and shutting himself up in his own apartments remained there brooding over his misfortune. Everybody laughed at him for having gone so far to bring home such an ugly wife, and his sisters-in-law took every occasion to tease him about it. He could not, however, see his way to getting rid of her, for he feared that after all she might be his own Rânî Jhajhanî miraculously transformed into an ugly woman. After some time, finding his grief unbearable, he walked up to the place where he had left Rânî Jhajhanî and thoroughly examined every spot to see if he could find any traces of her. On looking down into the well, however, he saw a **beautiful ball of choice flowers,** floating on the surface. He soon drew it out carried it home with him, and laid it carefully by the side of his bed. When he rose the next morning he was surprised to see the flowers as fresh and beautiful as before. In short, so fascinated was he with them by this time that he could not rest a minute without seeing and smelling them.

One day while he was away on some business, Kânî Kôbâî entered the room and tearing the ball of flowers to pieces threw it away. Great was the sorrow of the youth when he returned to see his favourite flowers gone. He questioned the servants about them, but could get nothing out of them. After a few days, however, happening to go out into the garden he saw the petals of some flowers lying under his window. He was so charmed with their fragrance that he ordered a chair to be placed on the spot, and sat there gazing rapturously at them. In a short time, however, he was surprised to find a sweet-scented herb growing out of the petals. He liked it so that he would sit there for days together inhaling the fragrance of it. Kânî Kôbâî watched this, and growing as jealous of the fragrant herb as she had been of the ball of flowers, she one day tore it up by the roots and boiled it in a quantity of water. She then took the mess to the farthest end of the garden, and poured it into a deep hole dug in the ground.

When the young man found the herb also gone he was beside himself with grief and wandered about in the garden every day in the hope of finding at least a fragment of the plant he loved so well, when one day his attention was attracted by a magnificent mango-tree which he saw growing at one end of it, and so much was he charmed with the beauty of it that he was loath to leave the spot where it grew. So he got a summer-house built for him under its shade and his chief delight was to sit there enjoying the refreshing odour of its blossoms. In a few days' time the tree bore a fine crop of fruit, which ripened into extraordinarily large and beautiful mangoes. So the old merchant had them distributed amongst all his friends and servants, who all declared that they had never tasted such mangoes before. One evening, however, after the tree had been stripped of nearly all its fruit, while the poor heart-broken youth was sitting under its shade, one of the gardeners approached him and said, that, though each and all of his brother-servants had a mango or two given them, he was the only one who had not had his share. Upon this his young master ordered him to go up the tree and take as many as he could find there. The gardener climbed the tree and after a great deal of search succeeded in finding only one mango, which, however, was so large and beautiful that on coming down he showed it to his master with great delight.

"This mango is the best of all that this tree has borne, my good man," said his master, "take it home and I am sure you and your wife will enjoy it greatly."

The man went home and gave the beautiful ripe fruit to his wife who proceeded to cut it. Just, however, as she laid the knife on it a child's voice from within was heard to say:—

"Be careful, mamma, or you'll hurt me."

The woman shrieked with terror at this extraordinary occurrence, and threw down the mango. But her husband took it up and cut it open with great care, when lo! a pretty little girl popped out of it, and stood before them. The gardener and his wife were overjoyed at seeing her, and felt sure, that as they had not been blessed with any children, Îśwar had in this miraculous manner given them a child to gladden their hearts in their old age.

Fearing lest somebody else should claim her, the old people lodged her in a secluded part of their house and brought her up as their own daughter. The girl grew so rapidly that in a few months' time she was a full-grown woman, the light and joy of the poor occupants of the cottage, who made much of her.

Now it happened that ever since the day the merchant's son gave the mango to the gardener, the gardener's cottage had such fascination for him that he left his favourite seat under the mango tree and began roaming round the humble abode. He was at a loss to understand what it was that attracted him, till one day he happened to see a beautiful young lady very much like his own Rânî Jhajhanî at one of the windows. She drew her head in just as their eyes met, and the young man, after waiting for some time in the hope that she would return once more to the window, sent for the gardener and questioned him narrowly as to who the fair lady was and what had brought her to his house.

"She is my own daughter, Mahârâj!" he said, joining his hands together in supplication.

"You were never known to have any children, my man, and how come you to have a daughter now?" said his master, "you have nothing to fear from me. Only tell me who she is and where she has come from."

Then the poor man told his master how he had found her in the mango he himself had given him, and how he had brought her up as his own child, and concluded by begging him not to take her away. So the youth expressed a desire to see the lady, and the gardener accordingly took him into the cottage and presented him to her. No sooner had he seen her than he cried out:—

"My own Jhajhanî! Where were you all this time away from me? I have been so miserable and unhappy without you."

But she turned away from him and said coldly:—

"Go and ask your beloved Kânî Kôbâî, and she will tell you."

The youth was so startled at these words that he could not speak for some minutes; but at last he recovered himself and said:—

"For mercy's sake tell me how Kânî Kôbâî came to be in your place, for I know nothing about it."

Now the maiden had heard all about the youth's disappointment at finding Kânî Kôbâî in place of his beautiful fairy bride from the gardener and his wife, and how he had been passing a miserable life ever since. So her heart melted towards him and she related to him how Kânî Kôbâî had persuaded her to exchange clothes with her, and thrown her into a well; how she was soon after changed into the ball of flowers, which he had found and taken home; how Kânî Kôbâi had torn it to pieces, and how a precious herb had grown out of the petals; how that herb, too, was boiled into a mess by Kânî Kôbâî and poured into a deep hole, and how, on that spot the mango-tree had grown, on which his gardener had found the mango that contained her. The youth flew into a rage at this narration of his fairy bride's wrongs, and running up to the house seized Kânî Kôbâî by the hair and dragged her before Rânî Jhajhanî. The two then extracted from her a confession of her guilt, and the young merchant immediately had her driven away with great disgrace.

Soon afterwards the young lover succeeded in persuading Rânî Jhajhanî to marry him, and the wedding was celebrated with great pomp, and they lived very happily ever afterwards. Nor were the gardener and his wife forgotten. The young merchant bestowed upon them a handsome pension for life and gave them a nice new house to live in, next to his own, where they spent the rest of their lives in great comfort and happiness.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

XVII.—Light Makes Prosperity.

There is a Tamil proverb *dîpam lakshmîkaram*, meaning, "light makes prosperity," and the following story is related to explain it:—

In the town of Gôvindapâṭhî there lived a merchant named Paśupati Śeṭṭi, who had a son and a daughter. The son's name was Vinîta and the daughter's Garvî, and while still playmates they made a mutual vow, that in case they ever had children that could be married together, they would certainly see that this was done. Garvî grew up to marry a very rich merchant, and gave birth in due course to three daughters, the last of whom was named Suguṇî. Vinîta, too, had three sons. Before, however, this brother and sister could fulfil their vow an event happened which threw a gloom over all their expectations.

Paśupati Śeṭṭi died, and his creditors—for he had many—grew troublesome. All his property had to be sold to clear his debts, and in a month or two after his father's death Vinîta was reduced to the condition of a penniless pauper. But being a sensible person he patiently bore up against his calamity, and tried his best to live an honest life on what little was left to him.

His sister Garvî, was, as has been already said, married into a rich family, and when she saw the penniless condition of her brother the engagements she had entered into with him began to trouble her. To give or not to give her daughters in marriage to the sons of her brother! This was the question that occupied her thoughts for several months, till at last she determined within herself never to give poor husbands to her children. Fortunately for her two young merchants of respectable family

offered themselves to her two eldest daughters, she gladly accepted them and had the weddings celebrated. The last daughter, Suguṇî, alone remained unmarried.

Vinîta was sorely troubled in his heart at this disappointment, as he never thought that his sister would thus look down upon his poverty; but, being very sensible, he never interfered and never said a word. The vow of his childhood was, however, known to every one, and some came to sympathise with him; while others spoke in a criticising tone to Garvî for having broken her promise, because her brother had become poor through unforeseen circumstances. Their remarks fell on the ears of Suguṇî, who was as yet unmarried, and also was a very learned and sensible girl. She found her uncle Vinîta extremely courteous and respectful, and his sons all persons of virtue and good nature. The thought that her mother should have forgotten all these excellent and rare qualities in the presence of fleeting mammon (*asthiraiśvarya*) vexed her heart very greatly. So, though it is considered most disrespectful for a girl in Hindu society to fix upon a boy as her husband, she approached her mother and thus addressed her :—

"Mother, I have heard all the story about your vow to your brother to marry us—myself and my sisters—to his sons, our cousins. But I am ashamed to see that you have unwarrantably broken it in the case of my sisters. I cannot bear with such shame. I cannot marry any one in the world except one of my three cousins. You must make up your mind to give me your consent."

Garvî was astonished to hear her youngest daughter talk thus to her.

"You wish to marry a beggar?" said she, "We will never agree to it, and if you persist we will give you away to your penniless pauper, but we will never see your face again."

But Suguṇî persisted. So her marriage with the youngest son of Vinîta was arranged. He had never spoken a word about it to his sister, but he had waited to make matches for his children till all his sister's daughters had been given away, and when he heard that Suguṇî was determined to marry his youngest son, he was very pleased. He soon fixed upon two girls from a poor family for his other sons, and celebrated the three weddings as became his position.

Suguṇî was as noble in her conduct as in her love for her poor cousin. She was never proud or insolent on account of having come from a rich family. Nor did she every disregard her husband, or his brothers, or father.

Now Vinîta and his sons used to go out in the mornings to gather dried leaves which his three daughters-in-law stitched into plates (*patrâvaḷî*), which the male members of the family sold in the *bâzâr* for about four *paṇams* each.[1] Sometimes these leaf-plates would go for more, sometimes for less : but whatever money the father-in-law brought home his daughters-in-law used for the day's expense. The youngest of them was Suguṇî, who spent the money most judiciously and fed her father-in-law and his sons sumptuously. Whatever remained she partook of with her two poor sisters-in-law, and lived most contentedly. And the family respected Suguṇî as a paragon of virtue, and had a very great regard for her. Her parents, as they had threatened, never returned to see how their last, and of course once beloved, child was doing in her husband's home. Thus passed a couple of years.

One day the king of the town was taking an oil bath, and pulling a ring off his finger, left it in a niche in the open courtyard. A *garuḍa* (Brâhmaṇî kite) was at that moment describing circles in the air and, mistaking the glittering rubies in the ring for flesh, pounced upon it and flew away. Finding it to be no flesh he dropped it in the house of Suguṇî's husband. She happened to be alone working in the courtyard, while her sisters-in-law and the others were in different parts of the house. So she took up the sparkling ring and hid it in her lap.

Soon afterwards she heard a proclamation made in the street that the king had lost a valuable ring, and that any person who could trace it and give it back to him should obtain a great reward. Suguṇî called her hrsband and his brothers and thus addressed them :—

"My lord and brothers, kindly excuse me for having the king's ring. Exactly at mid-day a *garuḍa* dropped it in our courtyard and here it is. We must all go to the king, and

[1] A *paṇam* is generally worth two *ânâs*.

there, before you three, I shall deliver up the ring, explaining how I got it. When His Majesty desires me to name my reward I shall do so, and beg of you never to contradict or gainsay my desires, if they appear very humble in your opinion."

The brothers agreed, and they all started to the palace. They had a very great respect for Sugunî, and expected a good result from this visit to the king.

The palace was reached, and the ring was given back to the king with the explanation. His Majesty was charmed at the modesty and truthfulness of Sugunî, and asked her to name her reward.

"My most gracious Sovereign! King of kings! Supreme lord! Only a slight favour thy dog of a servant requests of your Majesty. It is this, that on a Friday night all the lights in the town be extinguished, and not a lamp be lit even in the palace. Only the house of thy dog of a servant must be lighted up with such lights as it can afford."

"Agreed, most modest lady. We grant your request, and we permit you to have the privilege you desire this very next Friday."

Joyfully she bowed before his Majesty and returned with her husband and the others to her house. She then pledged the last jewel she had by her and procured some money.

Friday came. She fasted the whole day, and as soon as twilight approached she called both the brothers of her husband, and thus addressed them:—

"My brothers, I have made arrangements for lighting up our house with one thousand lamps to-night. One of you without ever closing your eyes for a moment must watch the front of our house and the other the back. If a woman of a graceful appearance and of feminine majesty wishes you to permit her to enter it, boldly tell her to swear first never to go out again. If she solemnly agrees to this, then permit her to come in. If in the same way any woman wishes to go out, make a similar condition that she must swear never to return at any time in her life."

What Sugunî said seemed ridiculous to the brothers; but they allowed her to have her way, and waited to see patiently what would take place.

The whole town was gloomy that night, except Sugunî's house: for, by order of His Majesty, no light was lit in any other house. The *Ashṭalakshmîs*—the Eight Prosperities—entered the town that night and went house by house into every street. All of them were dark, and the only house lit up was Sugunî's. They tried to enter it, but the brother at the door stopped them and ordered them to take the oath. This they did, and when he came to understand that these ladies were the Eight Prosperities—he admired the sagacity of his brother's wife.

A *nimisha* after the eight ladies had gone in there came out of the house a hideous female and requested permission to go, but the brother at the back would not permit this unless she swore never to come back again. She solemnly swore, and the next moment he came to know that she was the *Mûdêvî*, or Adversity, the elder sister of Prosperity.

For she said: "My sisters have come. I cannot stay here for a minute longer. God bless you and your people. I swear by everything sacred never to come back."

And so, unable to breathe there any longer, Adversity ran away.

When the morning dawned, the Prosperities had already taken up a permanent abode with the family. The rice bag became filled. The cash chest overflowed with money. The pot contained milk. And thus plenty began to reign in Sugunî's house from that day. The three brothers and her father-in-law were overjoyed at the way Sugunî had driven away their poverty for ever, and even Sugunî's parents did not feel it a disgrace to come and beg their daughter's pardon. She nobly granted it and lived with all the members of her family in prosperity for a long life.

It is a notion, therefore, among orthodox Hindus, that light in the house brings prosperity, and darkness adversity.[8]

[8] See also the second tale in this series; *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 226.

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 6.

In the Dhiniki copper-plate grant of **Jâikadêva**, from **Kâṭhiâwâḍ**, published by Dr Buhler in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 151ff., and Plate, the date (from the published lithograph; l. 1ff.) runs—Vikrama-samvatsara-śatêshu saptasu chatur-navaty-adhikêshv = amkataḥ 974 Kârttika-mâs-âpara-pakshê amâvâsyâyâṁ Âdityavârê Jyêshṭhâ-nakshatrê ravigrahaṇa-parvani asyaṁ saṁvatsara - mâsa - paksha - divasa - pûrvâyâṁ tithâv = ady = êha Bhûmilikâyâm; &c.,—"in seven centuries, increased by ninety-four, of the years of Vikrama, (*or*) in figures,[1] 974; in the latter fortnight of the month Kârttika; on the new-moon *tithi*; on Sunday; under the Jyêshṭhâ *nakshatra*; on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun; on this lunar day, (*specified*) as above by the year, and month, and fortnight, and (solar) day; to-day; here, at Bhûmilikâ," &c.

This gives us for calculation, Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 (A.D. 737-38), current according to the literal meaning of the text; the month Kârttika (October-November); the second, and as shewn by the following mention of the new-moon day and a solar eclipse, the dark fortnight; the new-moon *tithi*; **Sunday**; **an eclipse of the sun**; and the **Jyêshṭhâ nakshatra** or lunar mansion. And, as the details of the inscription connect it specifically with **Surâshṭra** or **Kâṭhiâwâḍ**, we have to understand that the Vikrama year quoted is the southern Vikrama year, commencing with Kârttika śukla 1, and having the *Amânta* southern arrangement of the months, in which the second fortnight of each month is the dark fortnight. This is, in fact, proved by the record itself, in allotting to the second fortnight of the month the new-moon *tithi*, which of course belongs to the dark fortnight. And, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me, it is also shewn by the mention of the Jyêshṭhâ *nakshatra*, which can never occur on the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Kârttika.

As belonging to southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, the given *tithi* fell in Śaka-Saṁvat 659 expired; and, if it belonged to southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 795, it would fall in Śaka-Saṁvat 660 expired. For these two Śaka years, treated as expired according to the requirements of the Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit gives me the following English equivalents of the recorded date;—for Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, **Monday, the 28th October, A.D. 737**, when there was the **Anurâdhâ nakshatra**, and most probably no eclipse of the sun;[2]—and for Vikrama-Saṁvat 795, **Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738**, when there was the **Jyêshṭhâ nakshatra**; but there cannot have been an eclipse of the sun, since there was one on the preceding new-moon *tithi*, on Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 738, or, by the English Tables,[3] Saturday, the 18th October This, of course, was the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Kârttika that fell in A D. 738; but the supposition that this is the day intended is barred by the facts that I have mentioned above, which prevent our understanding that the month recorded is the *Pûrṇimânta* northern month at all; and also by the fact, ascertained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, that on the 17th October, A.D. 738, the *nakshatras* were Svâti and Viśâkhâ. To complete the details, I would add that he finds that the English equivalent of the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pûrṇimânta* northern Kârttika which fell in A.D. 737, was Saturday, the 28th September, A.D. 737, when the *nakshatras* were Chitrâ and Svâti, and there was no solar eclipse.

The only English date, therefore, which at all answers to the record, is **Sunday, the 16th November A. D. 738**; and this is the date that was accepted by Dr. Bühler, in publishing the inscription, on calculations made by Prof. Jacobi. In order to arrive at it, however, he translated the record as meaning Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 *expired* and 795 current. And in dealing with the eclipse, which, according to the same *Amânta* reckoning, occurred one lunation earlier, on the new-moon *tithi* of the preceding month Âśvina, he arrived at the conclusions, that the grant was actually made on the new-moon *tithi* of Âśvina, because, though the eclipse was not visible, yet the occurrence of it was known, and therefore the occasion was one of special merit; but that the actual drafting of the charter was done a month later, on the new-moon *tithi* of Kârttika, and the person who drafted it was careless, and omitted to draw a distinction between the two occasions.

This date has also been discussed by Gen. Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, p. 48f. His conclusions were, that the date belongs to Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, not 795; but that the eclipse intended really is that of the (17th or) 18th

[1] The interpretation of the figures, with the exception of the 4, depends purely on the preceding expression in words. The first two of them present anything but the appearance of 7 and 9.

[2] None, at least, is recorded in Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 211.

[3] Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 211.—The difference in the day is because the conjunction of the sun and the moon occurred late at night, or very early in the morning. For the same reason the eclipse was not visible in India.

October, A.D. 738. In order, however, to arrive at these conflicting results, he assumed that the year commenced, not with the month Kârttika, but with the month Mârgaśîrsha (November-December), in accordance with a custom which, Albîrûnî tells us,[4] was current among the people of Sindh, Multân, Kanauj, and Lâhôr. By this arrangement, of course, the month Kârttika of Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 would belong to the end of the year, and would therefore fall in A.D. 738, not 737. But, by the southern reckoning, the new-moon day of Kârttika in A.D. 738 would be the 16th November. which was not the day of the eclipse. Accordingly, there remained something still to be explained; and Gen Cunningham proposed to complete the arrangement by reading Âśvina, instead of Kârttika; which would agree with the real eclipse-day, *viz.* the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738. "But, as that day was a "Saturday, a very inauspicious day, the writing "of the grant was probably made on the following "day, or Sunday, which was the first day of "Kârttika; and this might have led to the sub-"stitution of the name of Kârttika, for that of "Âśvina, as the actual day of the eclipse." There was, really, no reason at all for proposing this alteration of the text; for, from the localities mentioned by Albîrûnî, a year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha could only be coupled with the *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement of the months; and, by that arrangement, the 17th October, A.D. 738, on which day, as we have seen, the eclipse occurred in India, actually was the new-moon day of Kârttika The *Pûrṇimânta* northern arrangement, however, is barred in the present case by the points to which I have drawn attention above. And, in respect of the year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha, as also of one commencing with Bhâdrapada (August-September), which Albîrûnî tells us, he found in use in the vicinity of Kaśmîr,[5] I think it is not impossible that he may really be only referring to some particular *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, commencing in those months.

Gen. Cunningham's proposals, therefore, will not do. Nor will Dr. Bühler's interpretation of the date; for the reason that the text does not include any word meaning 'expired,' and therefore refers to Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 as, in the literal and popular understanding, a current year. And though, for calculation, the year has to be treated as an expired one, yet that is only in accordance with the requirements of the Tables; and the period covered by the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, treated as expired by those Tables, remains the same; *viz.*, the month Ashâḍha in A.D. 738 being intercalary, from the 29th September, A.D. 737, to the 17th October, A.D. 738. And, in that year, the given *tithi* was undoubtedly not a Sunday, but a Monday, when there was no solar eclipse, and when the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ, not Jyêshṭhâ.

I confess that, from the first, I have thought that the Dhiniki grant is not genuine; partly from the type of the Dêvanâgarî characters used in it, which though they present some apparently antique characteristics, are much inferior to those used in certain early palm-leaf MSS., and are also rude, even as compared with the characters of the Sâmîngaḍ grant[6] of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dantidurga, of Śaka-Saṁvat 675 expired (A.D. 753-54), and partly from its giving so much earlier an instance than can be found anywhere else. of the use of the name of Vikrama in connection with the era. My impression has been that the grant was made spurious by substituting the word Vikrama for Valabhî. This view, I find, cannot be upheld; as the recorded details are not correct for Valabhî-Saṁvat 794 (A.D. 1113), or a year before or after. But, that the grant really is spurious, is, I think, now certain, from all the results that I have recited above, And judging by the characters, I should be inclined to refer the fabrication of it to about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D As the Jyêshṭhâ *nakshatra* appears to occur always on, or within two days after, the new-moon *tithi* of Kârttika, this detail was probably selected as a fairly safe one; the others being purely fictitious.

J. F. FLEET.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.
No. 4.

Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature; 9th August 1886.—Review by M. Sylvain Lévi of a compendious **Sanskrit Grammar, by Hjalmar Edgren** (one of Trübner's simplified grammars). The writer says—"The foundation is the inestimable grammar of Whitney. The author usually contents himself with following it, only departing from his model at chapters where he judges it to be too complicated. He has modified the order of the declensions for practical reasons, at the expense, however, of a scientific arrangement. After allowing for a few errors of the press, the work remains a good grammar for the purposes for which it was written."

25th October.—Review of the **Diwân-i At'imeh,** the gastronomic poems of Maulânâ Abû Ishaq Shirâzî, the cotton-carder; Persian text, Con-

[4] Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 145f.
[5] Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 145f.

[6] *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 108ff., and Plate.

stantinople, impr. Ebu'zzia, 1303 (1886), 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 184, and index. Review by M Cl. Huart. The East has had many veritable poets who have sung of Gastronomy—such as Ibn-ar-Rûmî, Abû'l Husên Koshâjim, Ibn-al-Mo'tazz, and many others, extracts from whom have been preserved to us in the pages of Mas'ûdî. The present work, known in Persia and Turkey under the popular name of *Bóshaq-i-At'imêh* (the Bû-Ishaq of the *cuisine*), by abbreviation of the name of the author, Maulânâ Abû-Ishaq Hallâj-i Shirâzî, has just been published at Constantinople under the direction of the learned Orientalist Mirzâ Habîb al-Içfahânî, and deserves attention.

According to the *Taskêrat ash-sho'ará* of Daulat Shâh, Abû-Ishaq was a simple cotton-carder (Hallâj), who, owing to the neatness of his sayings, became admitted without difficulty into the society of the great personages of the town of Shirâz, and frequented especially the court of prince Iskandar, son of Omar Shêkh, and grandson of Tamerlan.

The principal use of this new publication will be to enrich our lexicons with technical terms on cookery. We are also promised, on pages 4-5 of the work, a similarly useful poem on costume, entitled the *Diwán-i-Albisêh* of Nizhâmud-dîn Mahmûd Qârî.

The present edition depends on two copies of different editions published in Persia, and long since out of print. This text has been corrected by the editor, who is also author of the Alphabetical Glossary, which completes the *farhang* written by Abû-Ishaq himself, and to which the Turkish and Arabic synonyms have been supplied.

The book is strongly recommended as a most useful edition to our Library of Persian Classics. although disfigured here and there by bad mistakes and misprints.

Proceedings of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.—At the meeting of the 13th August 1886, M. Halévy continued the reading of his essay on the Genealogical Table in Genesis X., and proposed new identifications for several geographical names which have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Differing from those who attribute this table to three different authors, he maintained its unity. The people enumerated in Chapter X. are classed according to a geographical system. Behind this arrangement is concealed the *arrière pensée* of forming an alliance between the Israelites and Japhetites, or peoples of the north, against the Phœnicians, whose preponderance gave great anxiety to the Hebrew patriots.

At the meeting of the 20th August, M. Maspero submitted an hypothesis regarding the Origin of the Name of Asia. The name for the island of Cyprus in Egyptian has been read *Amasi*, *Asi*, *Sibinai* or *Massinai*. The certain reading is *Asi*, and during the lower epochs *Asinaï*. The only ancient name connected with the island which resembles *Asinai* is that of the town of *Asiné*. On the other hand, *Asi* at once recalls the ancient name of Asia—*Asia*. Now, Cyprus having been one of the first colonies founded by the Greek Achæans, one may ask if the name of Asia, which classical antiquity applied to the Peninsula, and afterwards to the entire continent did not come from this name *Asi*, which the Egyptian monuments show us as applied to Cyprus from the time of Thothmes III., and which is unknown to the editors of Assyrian documents.

M. Halévy then continued his memoir on Genesis X. He maintained that the account of the tower of Babel, deals not with all mankind, but only with the Shemites, already separated from the descendants of Ham and Japhet. According to this theory, it was only amongst the Shemites that the confusion of tongues and the dispersion which resulted therefrom took place.

At the meeting of the 29th October, the Academy fixed the subjects for the ordinary prizes for 1889,—*viz.* a study on the Hindu Theatre, and a study on the sources of the Annals and History of Tacitus. The competition for the former ought to interest Indian readers.

Miscellaneous.—His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway has instituted two prizes for the best work on two subjects of high importance relating to the knowledge of the East, from a historical and linguistic point of view. Each prize will consist of a large gold medal of the value of a thousand Swedish crowns, and of a sum of one thousand two hundred and fifty Swedish crowns in money. The first subjects fixed upon are: (1) the history of the Shemitic languages, and (2) the state of civilization of the Arabs before Muḥammad. Manuscripts may be written in a Scandinavian language, or in Latin, German, French, English, Italian or Arabic. They should be submitted, without the author's name, but carrying a motto, before the 30th June 1888. Full particulars will be found on p. 318 of the *Revue Critique* for 25th October 1886.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

CALUMNY.

The following verses on Calumny are very popular in Mithilâ. The first two are said to be anonymous, the latter are said to be in the *Bhója-prabandhasára*, a work which I have not seen, and which I am assured is a distinct work from the well-known *Bhójaprabandha*.

अपूर्वा रसनाव्याली खलाननबिलेशया ।
कर्णमूलं दशत्यन्यं हरत्यन्यस्य जीवनम् ॥

'There is a wondrous snake,—the tongue—dwelling in its hole—the mouth of a bad man. It bites one man behind his ear, and thereby takes away the life of another.'

विषधरतोऽप्यातिविषमः खल इति मृषा न वदन्ति विद्वांसः ।
यदयं नकुलद्वेषी स कुलद्वेषी पुनः पिशुनः ॥

'The wise say not untruly that a wicked man is far worse than a poisonous serpent. For while the latter is the enemy only of the ichneumon, a calumniator is the enemy of everyone.' Here नकुलद्वेषी is a threefold pun. It means either 'hating the ichneumon,' or 'not hating his own race,' or 'not hating the members of the family of the man he has bitten.'

सर्पः क्रूरः खलः क्रूरः सर्पात्क्रूरतरः खलः ।
सर्प एकाकिनं हन्ति खलः सर्वविनाशकृत् ॥
खलः सर्षपमात्राणि पररन्ध्राणि पश्यति ।
आत्मनो विल्वमात्राणि पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति ॥
दुर्जनः परिहर्तव्यो विद्ययालंकृतोऽपि सः ।
मणिना भूषितः सर्पः किमसौ न भयंकरः ॥

'The snake is cruel, and the bad man is cruel, but the bad man is more cruel than the snake. The snake kills only the one man (*whom he bites*), but the bad man is all-destroying. He spies out holes the size of a grain of mustard in others, but even when he is looking at some as big as bel-fruit in himself, he does not see them. The evil man should be shunned, even when he is adorned with knowledge. A snake is not less deadly because he bears a precious jewel on his head.

सन्तस्तृणोत्तारणमुत्तमाङ्गात्
सुवर्णकोट्यर्पणमामनन्ति ।
प्राणव्ययेनापि कृतोपकाराः
खलाः परं वैरमिवोद्वहन्ति ॥

'The good are as grateful for the lifting away of a straw from the head, as if it were the gift of a present of ten million pieces of gold. But the wicked when befriended even at the expense of the aider's life, are as ungrateful for the obligation as if it were an act of the greatest enmity.'

VERSES IN MIXED BIHARI AND SANSKRIT REGARDING INTUITION.

The following curious doggrel was told me by a Mithilâ Paṇḍit. It does not profess to be Sanskṛit, but is partially in that language:—

नेत्र भौँ विकाराभ्याम् ।
ज्ञायते हृदयं नृणाम् ॥

This is said to mean, 'The hearts of men are known from the motions of their eyes and eyebrows.'

G. A. GRIERSON.

BOOK NOTICE.

A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR for Beginners, by F. MAX MÜLLER. New and Abridged edition by A. A. Macdonell. Longmans & Co., London. 1886. pp. xvi., 192.

The number of elementary Sanskṛit Grammars in English is already considerable, but the present volume will prove, we think, no unwelcome addition to their number. The previous editions of Prof. Max Müller's Grammar were, indeed, styled "for beginners;" but they were used by those students chiefly who had advanced some distance under the guidance of some less elaborate manual. Mr. Macdonell justly claims to have gained something in simplicity by the compression of certain of the rules of *saṁdhi*, which in the earlier editions were given with such length of bye-law and illustration, as must have rather alarmed the class for whom they were intended. It is, however, most surprising that the new editor should have sacrificed so much to brevity, as to have given not even a summary or selection from the valuable chapter on the intermediate 'i.' Though the rules for this may "take almost years to master thoroughly," we cannot at all agree that they are "of minor practical importance," indeed without some knowledge of them one does not quite see how, for instance, the student can avail himself to much advantage of the rules for the first aorist, which the editor has taken pains to simplify. Many of the short summaries and notes added by the editor are most valuable, reflecting doubtless his practical experience as a teacher. See, for example, his notes on vocative forms at pp. 30 and 52.

In his transliteration the use of thickened type to call attention to phonetic peculiarities is most commendable and judicious. In another point he deviates from the transcription of the old editions to far less advantage, *viz.* in the case of the palatals which he transcribes '*k*,' '*g*,' etc., "because they are derived from the gutturals," a singularly feeble reason, surely, from a learner's point of view. Possibly a more cogent reason was a desire to assimilate this work to Professor Max Müller's "Missionary Alphabet;" if so, we could have wished to find here also the *macron* for long vowels, if only to avoid odd-looking forms like 'â' and 'ẫ.' For consonant-bases at pp. 36 ff., where transferences of aspirates occur, the learner would have been helped by an actual reference back to the rules for the transference, to supplement the assistance given by the thickened type in the form 'bhutsu' (beside 'kakupsu'). The outlines of syntax with which the text of the work concludes form another welcome feature of this edition. Their perusal may be now supplemented by Dr. J. S. Speijer's new and excellent work on this department of Sanskṛit grammar.

THREE CHANDELLA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN.

I EDIT these grants from excellent ink-impressions, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. The three grants have been already published; the first and second (marked by me A and B), by Mr. V. A. Smith, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLVII. Part I. page 84 and page 81; and the third (marked by me C), by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in the same volume, page 73. My own readings will be found to differ considerably from those of my predecessors; and I therefore venture to hope that my work in re-editing and translating afresh these documents, will not be considered unnecessary.

The three grants are composed in Sanskṛit, and written in the Dêvanâgarî characters. A summary of their contents is as follows:—

A.—In the family of the sage **Chandrâtrêya** there was a king **Harshadêva,** whose son was the king **Yaśôvarmadêva,** whose son again was the king **Dhaṅgadêva,** ruler of **Kâlañjara.** Dhaṅgadêva, when at **Kâśikâ** (**Benares**), gave the village of **Yullî** (?), situated in **Ûsharavâha,** to the *Bhaṭṭa* Yaśôdhara, an emigrant from **Tarkârikâ,** whose ancestors had been settled at **Dûrvâharâ.** The grant is dated Ravidina or Sunday, the 15th of the light half of Kârttika, in the year 1055, when there was a lunar eclipse —The name Yaśôdhara, in connection with Dhaṅgadêva, we meet again in line 29 of the Khajurâho inscription of Dhaṅga and Jayavarman of [Vikrama]-Saṁvat 1059 and 1173, which I hope to re-edit in this Journal. The same inscription also contains, in line 29, the adjective *Târkârika,* derived from *Tarkârikâ,* the name of one of the places mentioned in this grant.

I am not at present able to identify, on the maps at my disposal, the places mentioned.

The corresponding English date of the grant, in the Vikrama era, is Sunday, the 6th November, A.D. 998, when there was an eclipse of the moon, as required.[1] Calculated by General Cunningham's Tables, the result would be the following day, Monday, the 7th November..

B.—The king **Vidyâdharadêva** was succeeded by the king **Vijayapâladêva,** who again was succeeded by the king, the ruler of **Kâlañjara, Dêvavarmadêva,** the son of queen **Bhuvanadêvî.** Dêvavarmadêva, when at **Suhavâsa,** gave the village of **Kaṭhahau** (?), situated in **Raṇamaua,** in the **Râjapura** *avasthâ,* to the Brâhmaṇ Abhimanyu, an emigrant from the *Bhaṭṭa*-village **Ḍhakârî.** The grant is dated Sômadina or Monday, the 3rd of the dark half of Vaiśâkha in the year 1107.

I have not succeeded in identifying the places on my maps.

The date, too, cannot in my opinion be fixed with absolute certainty. According to General Cunningham's Tables the 3rd of the dark half of Vaiśâkha of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1107, by the northern reckoning, should be Thursday, the 15th March, A.D. 1050; but the true date seems to be Wednesday the 14th, because the full moon fell on the 11th (about 4 P.M., Benares time). In the preceding year (Vikrama-Saṁvat 1106) the 3rd of the dark half of Vaiśâkha, by the northern reckoning, according to the Tables, should be Sunday, the 26th March, A.D. 1049; but here again the true date seems to be Saturday, the 25th, because the full-moon fell on the 22nd (about 11 A.M., Benares time). And in the year again preceding that year, the 3rd of the dark half of Vaiśâkha (Vikrama-Saṁvat 1105), by the northern reckoning, according to the Tables, should be Tuesday, the 5th April, A.D. 1048; but in reality the date seems to be *Monday,* the 4th, because the full-moon fell on the 1st April (about 10 P.M., Benares time). In the year following upon 1107, the 3rd of the dark half of Vaiśâkha (Vikrama-Saṁvat 1108), by the northern reckoning, according to the Tables, should be Wednesday, the 3rd April, A.D. 1051; and here again the true date seems to be the preceding day, Tuesday, the 2nd April, because the full-moon fell on the 30th March (about 10 A.M., Benares time). Of the four years for which I have made the calculations, the only year in which the 3rd of the dark half of Vaiśâkha (following the northern reckoning) *did* fall on a Monday, is therefore Vikrama-Saṁvat 1105. Unfortunately the year is not given in the grant in words, but the figure 1107 is perfectly clear; and as I am most unwilling

[1] Cunningham's *Indian Eras,* p. 213.

to assume an error in the *grant*, I hope that others versed in the subject will point out *my* error, and will calculate both the date of this grant and also that of the next which offers a similar difficulty.

C.—In the race of the **Chandrâtrêya** princes there was the king **Kîrtivarmadêva**, who was succeeded by the king **Prithvîvarmadêva**, who again was succeeded by the king **Madanavarmadêva**, ruler of **Kâlañjara**. Madanavarmadêva, when in residence near **Bhailasvâmin**, gave ten 'ploughs' of land of the village **Vamharadâ**, in the **Sûdali** *vishaya*, to the Brâhman Râbhalaśarman(?), an emigrant from the village **Dhakârî** (mentioned in the grant B.). The piece of land given was bounded on the east by the village **Ranasuâ**, on the south by **Kamanaudâ**, and on the north by **Vijaulî**. The grant is dated Sômavâra or Monday, the 15th of the light half of Mâgha, being the day of the full-moon, in the year 1190.

Bhailasvâmin is evidently the same as **Bhâillasvâmin**, which occurs in a grant published by Dr. F. E. Hall (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. p. 125, line 5), and has been identified with the modern **Bhilsa**. The other places I am unable to identify.

As to the **date**, the 15th of the light half of **Mâgha** of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1190, by the Tables, should be the 12th January A.D. 1134, and on this day there *was* full-moon (about 3 P.M., Benares time); but the 12th January, A.D. 1134, was a Friday, not a Monday.

A.—Plate of Dhaṅgadêva.
[Vikrama]-Saṁvat 1055.

This inscription is on a copper-plate, which was found, with B. below, in 1872, by a peasant, in ploughing, at the village of **Nanyaurâ**, in the Panwârî-Jaitpur Tahsîl of the **Hamirpur District** in the North-West Provinces. The original plates, of both this and B. below, are now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta; having been presented by Mr. V. A. Smith, who obtained them through Mr. W. Martin, B.C.S.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 14¼" by 7¾". The edges of it were turned up, so as to form a high raised rim all round, which was fastened, by fusing, at two of the corners, but not at the other two. The plate is rather thin; and the letters, being fairly deep, shew through very plainly on the back of it. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of most of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is no ring-hole in the plate, for a ring, with a seal attached to it; and no indications of a seal having ever been soldered on to it.

The preservation of the plate is perfect. With the exception of perhaps one single letter (the consonant of the eighth *akshara* from the end in line 10, read by me *yu*), every letter is perfectly clear and distinct; so that, with the one exception referred to, there can be no doubt whatever about the actual readings of the plate. The mistakes made by the engraver are few and unimportant; and they admit of easy correction. *Ba* is always denoted by the sign for *va*; but *va* and *dha* are throughout clearly distinguished. There are a few slight mistakes of orthography. The language is correct; excepting that, in line 8, *pravêśîkrita* has been employed in the sense of *pravishṭa* or *pravêśita*.

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôṁ Svasti I (II) Âsît[3]=kalpataruḥ[4] praṇayinâṁm[5]=ânanda-kandaḥ satâṁ mitrâṇâṁ nayan-âmṛitaṁ para-va(ba)lasy=ôtp[â*]ta-kêtuḥ paraḥ I sêtuḥ saṅgara-vâridhêr=bhagavatas=trailôkya-chûḍâmaṇêś=**Chandrâtrêya**-

2 munêr=mmahîyasi kulê śrî-**Harshadêvô** nṛipaḥ II Prachaṇḍa[6]-maṇḍal-[ô]grasya kara-krânta-mahîbhṛitaḥ I nidâgha-bhâskarasy=êva pratâpô yasya duḥsahaḥ II Ari-[7] timira-nikara-taraṇiḥ para-ka-

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[4] Here two syllables (◡ —) have been omitted in the text; it is just possible, that they may stand, in the margin above *ruḥ pra*, where there appears to be some writing. One expects something like *suhṛit-praṇayinâm*.

[5] The *anusvâra* (*ṁ*) before *m* should be struck out.

[6] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Metre, Âryâ.

Nanyaura Plate of Dhangadeva.—The Year 1055.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE ·60

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

3 ri-karaṭ-âvabh[ê*]dana-kuṭhâraḥ I Lakshmî-lat-âlavâlas=tasmâj=jâtô **Yaśôvarmmâ** II Yasy=[8]êndu-kunda-śubhrêṇa yaśasâ dhavalîkṛitâḥ I kulâchala-guhâḥ sêvyâ jâtâḥ Kinnara-yôshitâ-

4 m II Tasya śrî-**Dhaṅgadêvô**=bhût=putraḥ pâtraṁ jaya-śriyaḥ I asaṁkhya-saṁkhya-vikhyâtaḥ khaḍga-dhârâ-parâkramah II Chitraṁ yad-ari-nârîṇâṁ hṛidayê virah-ânalaḥ I ajasram=aśru-pânîya-sichyamâ-

5 nô=pi varddhatê II Bhaṅgô=[9]ntaḥpurik-âlakêshu surata-krîḍâsu kêśa-grahaḥ kâṭhinyaṁ kuchayôr=bhruvôḥ kuṭilatâ chandrê kalaṅka-sthitiḥ[I*] svachchhandyaṁ kâ (ka)vi-vâchi kairava-vanê mitr-ôdaya-

6 dvêshitâ yasminn=êka-mahîpatau kadalikâ-kâṇḍêshu niḥsâratâ II Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-śrî-**Harshadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâ-

7 jâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Yaśôvarmmadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Kâlañjar**-âdhipati-śrî-**Dhaṅgadêvaḥ** I[10] samvatsara-sahasrê pañcha-pañchâ-

8 śad-adhikê Kârttika-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Ravi-dinê êvaṁ samvat 1055 K[â*]rtti[ka] śu di 15 Ravau ady=êh=[ai]va[11] **Kâśikâyâṁ** Saiṁhikêya-[12]graha-grâsa-pravêśîkṛita-maṇḍalê I Rôhiṇî-hṛiday-âna-

9 nda-kanda-hariṇalâñchhanê II Bhâradvâja-sagôtrâya tri-pravarâya Bhâradvâja Âṅgirasa Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya Vâjasanêya-śâkhinê **Tarkkârikâ**-vinirggata-**Dûrvvâharâ**-grâm-âbhijanâya bhaṭṭa-

10 śrî-Yaśôdharâya bhaṭṭa-Jaya[ku]mâra-sutâya **Ûsharavâha**-prativa(ba)ddhaṁ sa-jala-sthalaṁ sa-nimn-ônnataṁ s-âmra-madhûkaṁ sa-sâr-ôshara[ṁ] prakhyâta-chatuḥ-sîmâ-paryantaṁ **Yullî**[13]-nâmadhêya-grâma-

11 [m I] Nṛi(vṛi)ddhayê[14] puṇya-yaśasôr=mmâtâpitrôr=ath=âtmanaḥ I [grâ]mam=agrâmya-charitaḥ sa dadau dharmma-vatsalaḥ II Dat[t*]vâ didêśa tatratyân=janân=janapada-priyaḥ I bhâga-bhôga-hiraṇy-âdi

12 dadânaiḥ sukham=âsyatâm II Uktañ=cha smṛiti-kâraiḥ II Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ I yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam II Bhûmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇâ(hṇâ)-

13 ti yaś=cha bhûmiṁ prayachchhati I ubhau tau puṇya-karmmâṇau niyatau svargga-gâminau II Gâm=êkâṁ suvarṇṇam=êkaṁ bhûmêr=apy=êkam=aṅgulam I haran=narakam=âyâti yâvad-âhûtasaṁplavam[II*]

14 Idaṁ śrî-**Dhaṅgadêvasya** śâsanaṁ śâsan-ârjjita-pratâpa-tâpit-ârâti-chakrasya krama-varttina[ḥ] II

15 Śrî-**Dhaṁga** II

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ! May it be well!

(L. 1.)—In the exalted family of the venerable sage **Chandrâtrêya,** the crest-jewel of the three worlds, there was a prince, the illustrious **Harshadêva,** (*who was*) a tree of paradise to those attached (*to him*), a root of joy to the good, nectar for the eyes of his friends, a mighty comet boding evil to the host of his enemies, a bridge across the ocean of battle. The prowess of this (*prince*), who was inspiring fear by his terrific arrays of troops, (*and*) who had made tributary (*to himself other*) sovereigns, was difficult to endure, like the brilliancy of the summer-sun, which is fierce with its burning orb, (*and*) which scorches with its rays the mountains.

(L. 2.)—From him was born **Yaśovarman,** who scattered the host of the enemies as the

[8] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and in the next two verses.

[9] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[10] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[11] Originally *adyêhâva*, but it looks (though I am not certain about this), as if the *â* of *hâ* had been struck out, and some other vowel-sign written above *h*. I should have expected to read *adyêha śrî-Kâśikâyâm.*

[12] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[13] The first *akshara* of this word might possibly be read *chu.*

[14] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verses.

sun does the mass of darkness, an axe in cleaving the temples of his opponents' elephants, (*and*) a watering-basin around the creeper Fortune. Illuminated by his fame, radiant like the moon and like jasmine, the caves of the mountain ranges became a suitable resort for the wives of the Kiṁnaras.

(L. 4.)—His son was the illustrious **Dhaṅgadêva**, a fit dwelling for the goddess of victory, renowned in countless battles, valorous (*above everything*) by the blade of his sword.[15] Strange it is, that the fire of separation is ever increasing in the hearts of the wives of his enemies, although it is incessantly sprinkled with the water of their tears. So long as he is the sole lord of the earth, (*only*) the curls of the damsels of the female apartments are loose,[16] there is seizure by the hair (*only*) in amorous dalliance, hard are (*only*) the two breasts, crooked (*only*) the brows, a stain shows (*only*) in the moon, selfwilledness there is (*only*) in the speech of poets, aversion to the rise of a friend[17] (*only*) in the cluster of night-lotuses, frailty (*only*) in the stems of plantains.

(L. 6.)—The most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious **Dhaṅgadêva**, the ruler of the glorious **Kâlañjara**,—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious **Yaśôvarmadêva**,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the very[18] illustrious **Harshadêva**,—who is devoted to the law (*and*) whose conduct is not rustic,[19]—in the year one thousand increased by fifty-five, on the full-moon day of Kârttika, on Sunday,—thus (*in figures*) on Sunday the 15th day of the light half of Kârttika in the year 1055,—when the 'deer-marked' (moon), the root of joy to the heart of Rôhiṇî, had his orb swallowed by (Râhu) the son of Siṁhikâ,[20]—on this day, here at **Kâśikâ** (Benares) to increase the (*spiritual*) merit and fame of his parents as well as of himself, has given the village named **Yullî (?)**, which appertains to **Ûsharavâha**, with its water and dry land, with its low and high (*land*), with its mango and *madhûka*-trees, with its fertile and saline soil, up to its well-known four boundaries, to the *Bhaṭṭa* the illustrious Yaśôdhara, son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Jayakumâra, of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* (*and*) whose three *pravaras* are Bhâradvâja, Âṅgirasa (*and*) Bârhaspatya, of the Vâjasanêya *śâkhâ*, who has come from **Tarkârikâ** and whose ancestors were settled at the village **Dûrvâharâ**. (*And*) having given (*it*), he, who is fond of the people, has commanded the people therein,—"Give the share of the produce, the money-rent and so forth, and (*having done so*) live happily" ![21]

(L. 12).—And it has been said by the writers on law :—[Here follow three of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 14).—This is the order of the illustrious **Dhaṅgadêva**, who has distressed the circle of his enemies by the majesty which he has acquired by his government, (*and*) who acts in accordance with the law.[22]

(L. 15).—The illustrious **Dhaṅga.**

B.—Plate of Dêvavarmadêva.

[Vikrama]-Saṁvat 1107.

This inscription is on another copper-plate which was found, with A. above, in 1872, by a peasant, in ploughing, at the village of **Nanyaurâ**, in the Panwârî Jaitpur Tahsîl of the **Hamîrpur District** in the North-West Provinces. As stated above, the original plate is now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, at Calcutta.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 15¼" by 10¾." It is quite smooth; the edges of it having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The plate is not very thick; but the letters are rather shallow, and do not shew through on the reverse side at all. The engraving is very

[15] I am almost inclined to think that the writer meant to say *-vikhyâta-khaḍga-dhârâ-parâkramaḥ.*

[16] I know that the above translation does not do justice to the original. The word *bhanga* in *bhangôntaḥpurikâlakêshu*—(compare *Kâdambarî*, Bo. Ed., p. 6, l. 16, *antaḥpurikâlakêshu bhangaḥ*)—means 'a break, fracture, ruin, defeat, flight,' etc.; all these were *not* found in the king's dominions. But *bhaṅga* also means, and means still I believe in Marâṭhî, 'curling'; and in this laudable sense *bhanga* did exist.

[17] *Mitra*, the original for 'friend,' also means 'sun.'

[18] I do not think, that, in this particular instance, any importance has to be attached to the double *śrî* of the original.

[19] This epithet has been put in merely to get the play on the words *grâmam agrâmya-charitaḥ.*

[20] *i.e.* when there was a lunar eclipse.

[21] Compare *e.g. ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 121, l. 15, and p. 123, l. 17.

[22] *krama* in *krama-vartin* I take in the sense of *vidhivat.*

good; many of the letters, however, are filled-in with a hard incrustation of rust, which it was impossible to clear out altogether; of those that are not so filled-in, some shew, as usual, in the interiors, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—At the top of the plate, about the centre, there is a mark as if a ring-hole was made, or half made, and was then filled-in again, either intentionally, or accidentally by the accumulation of rust; but no ring and seal are now forthcoming.

The preservation of the plate is almost perfect. There are only two *aksharas*, which are indistinct, the last in line 7 and the first in line 15. The writer or engraver has made a few mistakes (*vâḥ* for *kaḥ*, and *guḥ* for *jñaḥ* in line 5, and *janaḥ* for *jananaḥ* in line 6), and in a few instances he has formed certain letters or combinations of letters somewhat carelessly. A strange form of the letter *pha* occurs in the word *phalam* in line 16, while the ordinary form of that letter has been used in line 18. *Ba* is always denoted by the sign for *va*, and the signs for *va*, *dha*, and *cha* are occasionally confounded. There are a few mistakes of orthography, notably *Sachî* for *Śachî* in line 4, *saila* for *śaila* in line 12, *sâsana* for *śâsana* in line 13, and *punya* for *puṇya* in line 10. As regards the language, attention may be drawn to the causal form *krishâpayatu* in line 15, and to the masculine Dvandva-compound *kshity-udadhim* in the same line.

TEXT.[23]

1 Ôṁ Svasti ı(ıı) Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja- paramêśvara- śrî- **Vidyâdharadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhi-

2 râja-paramêśvara- śrî- **Vijayapâladêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramamâhêśvara-śrî-**Kâlaṁjar**-âdhi-

3 pati-śrîmad-**Dêvavarmmadêvaḥ** kuśalî ıı[24] pratâp-ânala-kavalit-âkhila-dik-chakravâlaḥ ı saṁgrâm-âṁgaṇa-nihat-ârâti-vanitâ-vaidhavya-dâna-dî-

4 kshâ-guruḥ ıı Yaḥ[25]satyêna Yudhishṭhiraṁ vijayatê tyâgêna Chaṁp-âdhipaṁ ı gâṁbhîryêṇa mah-ôdadhiṁ prabhutayâ dêvaṁ Sa(śa)chî-vallabham ı rûpêṇ=âpi Manôbhavaṁ paṭuta-

5 yâ Śukraṁ sa-Vâdha(cha)spatiṁ tasy=ânyair=viśad-êṁdu-dhâma-dhavalaiḥ kiṁ kîrttitaiḥ syâd=guṇaiḥ ıı Vu(bu)ddhimân[26]=dhârmmivâ(ka)ḥ śûraḥ satya-vâdî jit-êndriyaḥ ı kṛita-gu(jña)ḥ saj-ja-

6 n-ânanda-jana[na*]ḥ śubha-darśanaḥ ıı Ittham=anêka-guṇa-gaṇa-samalaṁkṛita-śarîraḥ ı niḥsâra-suṁdaratar-âlôka-kadalî-garvbha(rbbha)-vibhram-âkâra-saṁsâram=âkalayya ı

7 saṁvat 1107 Vaiśâkha-mâsê kṛi[shṇa]-pakshê tṛitîyâyâṁ Sôma-dinê **Suhavâsa**-samâvâsê **Râjapur**-âvasthâyâṁ **Raṇamau**[a]-saṁva(mba)ddha-**Kaṭha**[**hau**(?)]-[27]

8 gramê nivâsi-mahattama-janapadân vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân râja-purushâṁ[ś=cha] vô(bô)-va(dha)yati ı (ıı) Âtmîya-mâtuḥ râjñî-śrî-**Bhuvanadêvyâḥ** sâṁva-

9 tsarî(ri)kê ı jalê vidhivat=snâtvâ dêva-manushya-pûrvvân pitṛîn sa-darbha-til-ôdakêna saṁtarpya ravêr=arghaṁ dat[t*]vâ bhaga[28]vantaṁ Bhavânî-patiṁ samabhya-

10 [rchya] yathâvat hutabhuji hutvâ cha ı mâtâpitrôr=âtmana[ś=cha] punya(ṇya)-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê ı **Ḍhakârî**-bhaṭṭa-grâma-vinirggatâya Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya A(â)ṁgi-

11 rasa-Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-Bhâradvâja-tri-pravarâya Yajurvvêda-śâkhinê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-Abhimanyavê bhaṭṭa-[Ê]llâ-putrâya Jasavara-naptrê ı vêda-vêdâṁga-pâragâ-

12 ya shaṭ-karmm-âbhiratâya su-śîlâya ı grâmô=yam=asmâbhi[ḥ*] sa-jala-sthalaḥ ı s-â-[mra]-mavû(dhû)kaḥ ı sa-gartt-ôshara-pâshâṇaḥ ı sa-sai(śai)la-vâhalaḥ ı sa-lô-

13 ha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ ı sa-vana-nidhânaḥ ı chatur-âghâṭa-viśuddhaḥ ı sva-sîmâ-tṛiṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryantaḥ ı pûrvva-datta-dêva-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-varjitaḥ ı sâ(śâ)-

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[23] From the ink-impression.

[24] Here and in many places below, which it is not necessary to mark with separate notes, the signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[25] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[26] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[27] I am doubtful about the last *akshara*, which appears to be somewhat damaged in the original. It contains perhaps a group of consonants, the first of which can in my opinion only be *h*; the vowel must be either *ai* or au. The whole *akshara* can be neither *ghai* nor *ḍau*.

[28] This *akshara* *ga* had originally been omitted and is written below the line.

14 sanatvêna pradattaḥ I(II) Tad=bhavadbhir=â[jñâ]-śravaṇa-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ samasta-bhâga-[bhô]ga-kara-hiranya-daṁḍ-âdây-âdikam=uchit-ânuchitaṁ ch=âsy=ôpanêta-vyaṁ I

15 [Sa(?)] chaṁdr-ârkaṁ kshity-udadhiṁ yâvat sva-putra-pautra-saṁtatyâ bhunaktu bhôgêna và prayachchhatu anyasya vâ dadâtu vikriṇâtu kṛishatu kṛishâpayatu vâ[I*] Na kair=api bhâ-

16 vi-bhôktṛibhiḥ paripaṁthibhir=bhavitavyaṁ II Va(ba)hubhir=[29]vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ I yasya yasya yadà bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam I(II) Bhûmiṁ yaḥ prati-

17 [gṛi]hṇâti ya[ś=cha] bhûmiṁ prayachchhati I ubhau tau puṇya-karmmâṇau niyataṁ svargga-gâminau I(II) Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-âsanaṁ chhatraṁ var-âśvâḥ[30] vara-vâhanâḥ I bhûmi-dânasya chihnâ-

18 ni phalaṁ svarggaḥ Puraṁdara I(II) Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâm=vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâṁ I sa vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati I(II) Sva(suva)rṇṇam=êkaṁ gâm=êk[â*]ṁ bhûmêr=apy=êka-

19 m=aṁgulaṁ I haran=narakam=âyâti yâvad-âhûtasaṁplavam II Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ II
Śrîmad-**Dêvavarmmadêvaḥ** II

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ! May it be well !

(L. 1.)—The most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Dêvavarmadêva,** the ruler of the glorious **Kâlañjara,**—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious **Vijayapâladêva,**—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious **Vidyâdharadêva,**—the prosperous,—[31]

(L. 3).—By the fire of his prowess he has devoured the whole circle of the regions. He is the spiritual guide to initiate into widowhood the wives of the enemies slain (*by him*) on the battle-field. Since he surpasses by his truthfulness Yudhishṭhira, by his generosity (Karṇa) the ruler of Champâ, by his depth the great ocean, by his might the god (Indra) who is the beloved of Śachî, by his beauty too the 'mind-born' (god of love), by his shrewdness Śukra together with Vâchaspati,[32]—what would be the use of recounting his other qualities, brilliant like the splendour of the clear moon ? Intelligent, devoted to the law, valorous, speaking the truth, subduing the senses, grateful, causing joy to good men, of auspicious aspect—thus his person is adorned with a mass of many noble qualities.

(L. 6.)—He, having reflected, that (*this*) worldly existence with its graceful appearance resembles the inside of the plantain-stem, which, beautiful indeed to look at, is void of substance, (*being*) in residence at **Suhavâsa,** on Monday the third of the dark half of the month Vaiśâkha in the year 1107, informs the *Mahattamas* and the people, Brâhmans and others, dwelling at the village of **Kaṭhahau** (?), which appertains to **Raṇamaua** in the **Râjapura** *avasthâ*, and the king's officers (*as follows*) :—

(L. 8.)—On the anniversary (*funeral ceremony in honour*) of our mother, the queen, the illustrious **Bhuvanadêvî,**—having according to rule bathed in water, having satisfied with water containing *darbha*-grass and sesamum the divinities and men as well as the ancestors, having presented the *argha* (*offering*) to the sun, having adored the holy lord of Bhavânî, and having duly sacrificed to fire,—we have, in order to increase the (*spiritual*) merit and fame of our parents and ourself, given as a grant this village, with its water and dry land, with its mango and *madhûka*-trees, with its ravines, saline wastes and stones, with its hills and water-courses (?),[33] with its mines of iron and

[29] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verses.

[30] This *h* is superfluous.

[31] The sentence is continued in line 6,—'he, having reflected . . . .'

[32] The preceptor of the Daityas and the preceptor of the gods.

[33] I am somewhat doubtful about this translation. The word *vâhalâ* occurs in the Khârepâṭaṇ plates of Satyâśraya II. and has there been translated by 'torrent' (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 222). One may compare *vâhinî* 'a river,' and *vâhaka* 'a water-channel' in the Gwâlior inscription of Saṁvat 933 ; Hultzsch in *Jour. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 37 ; (*bâhâ*, 'a water-course' Elliot, *Suppl. Glossary*, Vol. II. p. 225 ; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 954).

Nanyaura Plate of Devavarmadeva.—The Year 1107.

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SCALE ·60

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Banda District Plate of Madanavarmadeva.—The Year 1190.

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SCALE ·60

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salt, with the treasure in its forests, well-defined as to its four abuttals, up to its proper boundaries, the grass and pasture land, exclusive of what has before this been given[34] to the gods and to Brâhmans,—to the Brâhmaṇ Abhimanyu, the son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Êllâ, (*and*) grandson of Jasavara, of the Bhâradvâja *gotra* (*and*) whose three *pravaras* are Âṅgirasa, Bârhaspatya (*and*) Bhâradvâja, of the Yajurvêda *śâkhâ*, who has come from the *Bhaṭṭa*-village Ḍhakârî, who completely knows the Vêdas and the Vêdâṅgas, delights in the six duties (*enjoined on Brâhmans*),[35] (*and*) is of excellent disposition.

(L. 13.)—You, therefore, being ready to obey (*our*) commands, shall make over to him every kind of income, fixed and not fixed,[36] the share of the produce, taxes, money-rent, fines, and so forth. And he may enjoy, or permit to enjoy, or give to another, sell, plough, or cause to be ploughed (*this land*) in the unbroken succession of his sons and son's sons, so long as moon and sun, the earth and the sea endure. No future rulers whatever shall obstruct him.

(L. 16).—[Here follow five of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate].

(L. 19).—(*May*) bliss (*and*) good fortune (*attend*)!

The illustrious **Dêvavarmadêva.**

C.—Plate of Madanavarmadêva.
[Vikrama]-Saṁvat 1190.

This inscription is on a copper-plate which was obtained somewhere in the **Augâsî** **Parganâ** in the **Babêrâ** Tahsîl of the **Bândâ District** in the North-West Provinces. The original plate is now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, at Calcutta; having been apparently presented by Mr. A. Cadell, B.C.S.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 16⅛" by 10⅝". The plate itself is quite smooth; but all round it there is a flat rim, about ¼" broad and ⅛" thick, fastened on very tightly by twenty-one rivets, which could not conveniently be removed in order to get a perfectly clear impression of some of the letters lying close up to it. The plate is not very thick; but the letters, being shallow, do not shew through on the back of it. The engraving is only fairly good; and the interiors of most of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is a ring-hole in the lower part of the plate; but the ring, with the seal attached to it, is not now forthcoming. In the upper part of the plate itself, however, there is engraved the goddess Lakshmî, squatting on a four-legged stool, with, at each side, an elephant, standing on an expanded waterlily, and pouring water over her head; the trunks of the elephants are hidden under the rim fastened on to the plate.

The preservation of the plate is almost perfect, and, to judge from the ink-impression, there are only two instances where the forms of the letters engraved cannot be made out with certainty, the third *akshara* from the end in line 7, and the first *akshara* in line 8. But the letters have not always been formed clearly and distinctly by the engraver, and in this respect I would particularly note, that *ya* has mostly been written like *sa*, that the signs for *va* and *cha* are almost or entirely alike, and that it is often difficult and sometimes impossible to distinguish between the signs for *ta* and *na*, and those for *ḍa* and *da*. *Ba* is always denoted by the sign for *va*; and the same sign several times serves for *dha*. Mistakes of orthography are more numerous than in the preceding grants. We find the dental sibilant for the palatal, in *visva* l. 1, *visvêsvara* l. 1, *vaṁsa* l. 1, *paramêsvara* l. 3 and l. 4, *mâhêsvara* l. 4, *visuddha* l. 9, *sata* l. 10, *sukla* l. 11, *sâkhin* l. 13, *sarmman* l. 14, *sravaṇa* l. 15, *pravêsa* l. 16, and *saṇa* l. 16; the dental nasal for the lingual, in *punya* l. 11 and l. 12; and the word *tṛi* for *tri* in l. 13. A wrong form is *karshataḥ* for *kṛishataḥ* in l. 17; and peculiar and contrary to grammar is the position of the numeral in *hala-daśa* l. 7, *drôṇa-sârdhasapta* l. 8, and *śataika* l. 10. Highly interesting are the Apabhraṁśa Nominative cases *daṁḍaku* for *daṇḍakô*, *daṇḍakaḥ* in l. 8 and l. 9, *valmîku* for *valmîkô*, *valmîkaḥ* in l. 9, and *vâu* for *vâpô*, *vâpaḥ* in l. 7, for which I refer the reader to Hêmachandra's *Prâkṛit Grammar*, IV. 331, and Hoernle and Grierson's *Bihârî Dictionary*, s.v. *akhaṇḍal*.

[34] In the original one would have expected to read *brâhmaṇadêya* (or *dâya*)-*varjitaḥ*.

[35] Compare, *e.g.*, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 57, note 14.

[36] *uchitânuchita* = *niyatâniyata*.

TEXT.[37]

1 Ôṁ Svasti II Jayaty[38]=âhlâdayan=visva(śva)ṁ visv(śv)-êsva(śva)ra-śirô-dhṛitaḥ I Chaṁdrâtrêya-narêṁdrâṇâṁ vaṁsa(śa)ś=chaṁdra iv=ôj[j*]valaḥ I(II) Tatra prava-

2 rddhamânê virêvi(dhi)-vijaya-bhrâjishṇu-jayaśakti-vijayaśakty-âdi-vîr-âvirbhâva-bhâsvarê paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâ-

3 jâvi(dhi)râja-paramêsva(śva)ra-śrî-**Kîrttivarmmadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsva(śva)ra-śrî-**Pṛi-**

4 **thvîvarmmadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsva(śva)ra-paramamâh[ê*]sva(śva)ra-**Kâlaṁjar**-âdhipa-

5 ti-śrîpa(ma)n-**Madanavarmmadêvô** vijayî II Sa êsha durvvishahatara-pratâpa-tâpita-sakala-ripu-kulaḥ kula-vavû(dhû)m=iva vasuṁdharâṁ nirâkulâṁ ya(pa)-

6 ripâlayann=avikala-vivêka-nirmmalîkṛita-matiḥ II[39] **Sûḍali**-vishay-ântaḥpâti-**Vamharaḍâ**-grâm-ôpagatân kuṭuṁvi(bi)-kâyastha-mahattar-â-

7 dîn sarvvân samâjñâpayati [II*] Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yath=ôparilikhitê§mmi-(smi)n=grâmê hala-daś=âṁkê=pi hala 10 satka-bhûmir=yatra vâu[gê?][40]kôra-

8 [dê?][41] drôṇa-sârddha-sapta pa(ya)tr=âghâṭâḥ pûrvvasyâṁ diśi **Raṇasuâ**-grâma-daṁḍaku I[42] dakshiṇasyâṁ diśi **Kamaṇauḍâ**-grâ[ma*]-daṁḍaku I paśchimâyâṁ diśi madhûka-

9 vṛikshu(ksha)-valmîku I uttarê **Vijaulî**-grâma-daṁḍaku I êvaṁ chatur-âghâṭa-visu-(śu)ddhâ bhûmiḥ jadiâ-kshêtrêṇa saha sa-jala-sthalâ sa-sthâvara-jaṁga-

10 mâ s-âdha-ûr[dhvâ] bhûta-bhavishyad-varttamâna-niḥśêsh-âdâya-sahitâ ch=âsmâbhir=**Bhailasvâmi**-samîp-âvâsê navaty-adhika-sa-(śa)taik-ôpêta-sa-

11 hasratamê saṁvatsarê Mâghê mâsi su(śu)kla-pakshê pûrṇṇimâyâṁ Sôma-vârê aṁkatô=pi saṁvat 1190 Mâgha su di 15 Sômê II puny(ṇy)-ôdakêna vidhiva-

12 t snâtvâ dêv-âdîn=saṁtarpya bhâskaraṁ Bhavânî-patiṁ ch=âbhyarchchya hutabhuji hutvâ mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha punyâ(ṇyâ)ya **Ḍhakârî**-grâma-vinirggatâya Vâja-

13 sanêya-sâ(śâ)khinê Bhâ[â*]radvâja-gôtrâya I Bhâradvâja- I Âṁgirasa- I Vâ(bâ)-ʼrhaspatya- I tṛi(tri)-pravarâya I Vâpa[43]na-prapautrâya I Sânhi-pautrâya I Jâṭa-putrâya

14 Râ[bha][44]lasa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya kuśa-latâ-pûtêna hast-ôdakêna svastivâchana-pûrvvaṁ chaṁdr-ârkka-sama-kâlaṁ putra-pautr-âdy-anvay-ânugâmitvêna śâsa-

15 naṃ kṛitvâ datt=êti matvâ bhavadbhir=âjñâ-sra(śra)vaṇa-vivê(dhê)yair=bhûtvâ bhâga-bhôg-âdikaṁ sarvvam=asmai samupanêtavyaṁ [II*] Tad=ênâm=asya bhûmiṁ sa-nirggama-pra[vê]-[45]

16 sâ(śâ)ṁ sa-sarvv-âsav-êkshu-karppâsa-kusuṁbha-sa(śa)ṇ-âmra-madhûk-âdi-bhûruhâṁ sa-vana-khani-nidhânâm=aparair=api sîm-ântarggatair=vastubhiḥ sahitâṁ

17 sa-vâhy-âbhyantar-âdâyâṁ bhuṁjânasya karshataḥ karshayatô dân-âdhâna-vikrayaṁ vâ kurvvatô na kênachit=kâchid=vâdhâ karttavyâ [II*] Idaṁ ch=âsmad-dâ-

18 nam=anâchchhêdyam=anâhâryaṁ [ch]=êti bhâvibhir=api bhûmipâlaiḥ pâlanîyam=iti II Uktaṁ cha II Va(ba)hubhir[46]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ I

19 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṃ II Likhita[ṁ*] cha dharmmalêkhi-**Ṭhâisûḍhena** utkîrṇṇaṁ cha vijñânika-**Jalhaṇên**=êti II

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[37] From the ink-impression.

[38] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[39] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[40] I am very doubtful about this *akshara*; it might possibly be *dhô* (hardly *mô*); but it is also possible, that the whole *akshara* may have been struck out.

[41] This *akshara* might possibly be *di*; the consonant appears certainly to be *d*.

[42] Here and in several places below, which it is not necessary to mark with separate notes, the signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[43] This *akshara pa* is perfectly clear, but it is not impossible that (as in *śrîpat* for *śrîmat* in line 5) *pa* may have been put wrongly for *ma*.

[44] This *akshara* might possibly be read *sa*.

[45] The vowel *ê* is only very faintly visible; the consonant is certain.

[46] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ! May it be well !

(L. 1.)—Victorious is the race of the **Chandrâtrêya** princes, which causes joy to all, is humbly revered by all rulers, (*and*) is resplendent like the moon, that gladdens the universe (*and*) is borne on the head by the Ruler of the universe !

In this flourishing (race), lustrous because of the appearance (*in it*) of warriors whose power of victory, power of conquest and so forth derived splendour from the defeat of (*their*) adversaries,—the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Madanavarmadêva**, ruler of **Kâlañjara**,—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious **Prithvîvarmadêva**,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious **Kîrtivarmadêva**,—

(L. 5.)—He, the victorious, who has distressed the whole host of his enemies by his prowess, which is indeed most difficult to endure, who is keeping the earth like a noble wife free from trouble, (*and*) whose intellect is rendered spotless by his perfect discernment,—he commands all cultivators (*Kuṭumbins*), *Kâyasthas*, *Mahattaras* and others assembled at the village of **Vamharaḍâ**, which lies within the **Sûḍali** *vishaya*, (*as follows*):—

(L. 7.) Be it known to you, that, for the (*spiritual*) merit of our parents and ourself, we (*being*) in residence near **Bhailasvâmin**, in the year one thousand increased by one hundred and ninety, on the full-moon day in the light half of the month Mâgha, on a Monday,—in figures too, on Monday the 15th of the light half of Mâgha in the year 1190,—having bathed according to rule in holy water, having satisfied the divinities and the rest, having adored the sun and the lord of Bhavânî, (*and*) having sacrificed to fire,—have given in this the above-written village a piece of ground measuring[47] ten *ploughs* (*hala*),[48]—in figures too, 10 ploughs,—which for sowing requires seven *droṇas* and a half of . . . . (?),[49] (*and*) of which the abuttals are, in the eastern direction the boundary-mark[50] of the village **Raṇasuâ**, in the southern direction the boundary-mark of the village **Kamaṇauḍâ**, in the western direction an ant-hill by a *madhûka*-tree, on the north the boundary-mark of the village **Vijaulî**,—the ground thus well-defined as to its four abuttals, together with the *jadiâ*-field (?),[51] with its water and dry land, with what is stationary and movable, with what is below and above,[52] accompanied by every kind of income, past, future, and present,—

(L. 12.)—to the Brâhman Râbhalaśarman,[53] son of Jâṭa, son's son of Sânhi, (*and*) son of the son's son of Vâpana,[53] of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* (*and*) whose three *pravaras* are Bhâradvâja, Âṅgirasa, (*and*) Bârhaspatya, of the Vâjasanêya *śâkhâ*, who has come from the village **Dhakârî**,—(*confirming our gift*) with (*the pouring out*) from our hand (*of*) water purified with *kuśa*-grass, having performed (*the rite of svastivâchana*[54] (*and*) having ordained that (*this ground*) shall descend in the line of his sons, sons' sons, and so forth, so long as moon and sun endure.

(L. 15.) Aware of this, you, being ready to obey (*our*) commands, shall make over to him every (*kind of income*), the share of the produce and so forth. Nobody then shall cause any obstruction whatever to him, when he may enjoy, plough, cause to be ploughed, give away, mortgage, or sell this his ground, with the ways from it and to it, with all its palm-trees,

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[47] For *satka* in the different sense of 'belonging to,' see *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 309, lines 22 and 23; Vol. XIII. p. 78, l. 24, etc.

[48] *hala* as a measure of land (*bhûmi-hala*) frequently occurs *e.g.* in the Chaulukya land-grants edited by Dr. Bühler, *ante*, Vol. VI.

[49] The word *vâu* in the original I take to be the Sanskrit word *vâpaḥ*, 'seed-grain,' (compare also Grierson, *Bihâr Peasant Life*, § 855, *bâwag*, *bâõg*, *bâũg*); the following four syllables, which should denote some particular kind or kinds of grain, I am not able to explain. With the whole phrase compare *e.g. ante*, Vol. XV., p. 340, lines 43 and 46; and *yayôr-ggôpagirîya-mâpyênâvâpô yavânâṁ drôṇâ êkâdaśa* in line 8 of the Gwâlior inscription of Saṁvat 933 *ed.* by Dr. Hultzsch, *Z. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 34.

[50] The word *daṁḍaku* for Sanskrit *daṇḍakaḥ* stands in the place of the word *sîmâ* of the Chaulukya and other land-grants; compare *dâṁd* or *dâṁḍ* 'a land-mark' in Elliot, *Suppl. Glossary*, Vol. II. p. 280.

[51] I am unable to explain the words *jadiâ-kshêtrêṇa saha*.

[52] Compare *sôrdhvâdhas*, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 11, l. 23, and *sanimnônnata* in the grant A. here published.

[53] For the reading of these names see notes 43 and 44 above.

[54] 'A religious rite preparatory to a sacrifice or any solemn observance (performed by scattering boiled rice on the ground and invoking blessings by the repetition of certain Mantras).' Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*.

sugar-cane, cotton, safflower, hemp, mango, *madhûka*, and other trees, with the treasure in its forests and mines, and together with the other things contained within its boundaries, (*and*) with the income from without and within. And this our gift shall be preserved also by future rulers, being one that should neither be confiscated nor resumed.

(L. 18.) And it has been said: The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, Sagara and the rest; to whomsoever belongs the land, he for the time being enjoys the fruit of it.

(L. 19.) Written by the law-writer Ṭhâsîsûḍha, and engraved by the skilful Jalhaṇa.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. VIII.—*Lâlparî and Kevrâparî.*

Once upon a time there was in a certain country a powerful Râjâ, who lived very happily with his queen and his little son in a strong fortress. He was very fond of hunting, and generally spent whole days in that pursuit, away in the forest, with his prime minister and his attendants.

One day the Râjâ and the Wazîr started at full speed in pursuit of some game, leaving the escort behind. After a time they came to a beautiful well, situated in a thick forest. The well was so nicely built, that they halted near it to examine it, and were very much surprised to see so magnificent a specimen of architecture in a place where no human footstep ever trod. While they were admiring the workmanship of the well the Wazîr's eye happened to rest on an inscription carved on one side of it, which he thus deciphered:—

"Should the Wazîr miss this opportunity of murdering the Râjâ, the Râjâ will get the Wazîr murdered twelve years hence."

When the Wazîr read these lines he was seized with so strong a desire to kill the Râjâ on the spot that he did not care to read another inscription that was just underneath, and which ran thus:—

"Should the Wazîr murder the Râjâ on this day, the Râjâ will rise up into life twelve years hence and murder the Wazîr."

The Râjâ was so lost in admiration of the beauties of the well that for some time he saw neither of the two inscriptions. When at last, however, his eye happened to rest upon them, he stooped to read them and the wicked Wazîr, taking advantage of the opportunity, threw a noose round his neck and strangled him.

He then tied up the dead body in a bundle and leaving it by the side of the well, left the forest, and putting himself at the head of a trusty band of followers, which he had among the escort, marched with them to the king's palace. When the Rânî, who was anxiously watching for the Râjâ's return from the window of the palace, with her little son on her knee, saw the Wazîr from a distance galloping up without his Royal master, she at once suspected that the Wazîr had killed him, and was riding in hot haste to besiege the fortress, and to capture her and her son. She was so frightened that for some time she did not know what to do, when suddenly a thought struck her. She twisted her *sâṛî* into a rope, and tying her boy on her back, slid down by one of the back windows of her room and made her way out of the fortress.

When the Wazîr entered and discovered the queen's escape he immediately set out in pursuit of her with a number of his men, and overtook her just as she had reached the seashore. Finding him so close, the Rânî, in despair, plunged headlong into the foaming waves. The Wazîr gave her up for lost, but to his great surprise he saw that the waters divided before her as she fell, and disclosed a path over which she could walk on unhurt. He tried to follow her, when lo! the waters closed around him and his men, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they managed to save themselves.

While the Rânî walked on through the waves with her son tied to her back, he amused himself by picking up some sparkling red things that he saw floating past him and showing them to his mother with great delight. She at once saw that they were rubies of great value.

After a while she reached the shore and found herself in a small village. Here she hired a little cottage and lived in it like a private individual. After some time her little

son grew up into a fine boy, made friends with several of the neighbours' children, and often went out to play with them. One day as they were playing a game of marbles, the little prince displayed his magnificent rubies, and began to use them in place of ordinary marbles.

Now a carpenter's son, who was one of his playmates, took a fancy to the rubies, and quietly slipped two of them into his pocket, and carrying them home showed them to his father. The father at once knew what they were, and forthwith went with them to the Râjâ of the country, and offered them to him for sale. The Râjâ demanded to know where he had got them, and was surprised to hear that the poor man's son had obtained them from a playmate. Struck by the richness of the jewels, the king was curious to know who was the owner of such rare gems, and ordered the carpenter to bring his son's playmate into his presence. He bought the jewels, however, at a high price and made a present of them to his only daughter. The young princess hung them in a ribbon round her neck and in her joy went to her pet parrot and said:—

"Dear Poll! don't I look a very pretty princess with my rubies? Do look at them!"

"What!" cried the bird disdainfully, "only two rubies! why, a princess like you should have a string of them long enough to reach down to your toes! and then my pretty mistress would certainly look every inch a queen!"

This set the princess a-thinking for a while, and then she said: "But, Polly dear, how am I to obtain any more of these rubies?"

"Go to the king, your father," was the bird's reply, "throw these two rubies at him, and leave him in a pet, and then shut yourself up in your room and refuse to eat or drink. When he comes to you and inquires into the cause of your grief, tell him that you want a string of rubies like these long enough to hang down to your toes, and as sure as I am living your father will procure them for you."

The young lady acted upon this advice, and the Râjâ, who spared nothing that could give her pleasure, sent messengers to the carpenter, and ordered him into his presence, together with the boy from whom his son had obtained the rubies. When the young prince appeared before him he inquired of him how he had come to be in possession of such precious rubies. The boy related to him how he had picked them up from the sea, and the Râjâ thereupon bade him go once more into the sea and bring him some more.

Overjoyed at being entrusted with such a mission, the young prince forthwith went home and acquainted his mother with all that had happened. She too, was glad at the idea of her son having found such an opportunity of serving the king of the country, and joyfully permitted him to go in search of the rubies.

The young man immediately went to the sea-shore and walked fearlessly into the waters. Again a path was opened up for him, by which he proceeded onwards till he was stopped by something that touched his feet. On stooping to examine it, he found it to be the roof of a large sub-marine palace. He soon contrived to find an entrance into it, and was very much struck with its beauty and grandeur. But what was his surprise when, as he proceeded further, he beheld a beautiful damsel lying upon a golden bedstead, with her head severed from her body and placed on a pillow by her side, while the life-blood that trickled from her throat rolled down the golden bedstead, and each drop, turning immediately into a beautiful ruby, made its way into the sea! The lad stood amazed at the sight for some time, uncertain what to do, when suddenly he heard a voice loud as thunder in the distance. He immediately ran out of the room and hid himself under a hay-stack that was near. No sooner had he done so than he saw a fierce giant enter the room, who sniffed about here and there for a while, and at last exclaimed:—

"I smell a man! I smell some human being! who is it! come forth!"

Meeting, however, with no response he took a sword that lay near the bedstead, and placing the head in its proper place upon the body, passed the sword up and down the neck of the lady three times, when lo! the fair maiden rose and left the bed.

The giant then bade her tell him who had entered the palace during his absence, and when she replied that nobody had done so to her knowledge, he stamped his feet with rage. At last, however, the soft words and blandishments of the fair lady soothed him and calmed his temper. The young prince, who had watched all this from under the hay-stack,

thought it prudent to remain where he was till the giant departed again.

With the morning the giant went out again, but before doing so he again separated the poor girl's head from her body, and left her as before, with the blood trickling from her throat on to the golden bedstead. When he was quite clear of the palace, the lad came out of his hiding-place and placing the fair lady's head upon the shoulders, passed the sword that lay by, three times up and down her throat, just as he had seen the giant do, and to his great delight, found the young lady restored to life. The poor creature was greatly surprised as well as delighted to see such a being as the young man near her, never having seen any human creature before. They soon made great friends, and the prince told her of the bright and happy world that there was beyond the sea, and of the many millions of beings like him inhabiting it, and exclaimed how nice it would be for her to leave that dreary palace and to accompany him to his native country. They were so taken up with each other that they quite forgot that there was such a being as the giant in existence, when suddenly the damsel observed the shades of night setting in. She was greatly terrified and begged her companion to separate her head from her body, and place her in the position in which he had found her; but before he did so she gave him two two separate powders, one black and the other white, and said that by smelling the former he would be transformed into a fly, while if he smelt the latter he would resume his own shape again. The young man thereupon decapitated the young lady and immediately smelt the black powder, and had scarcely stuck himself against the ceiling just over the golden bed, when the giant entered the room.

He at once brought the young lady to life as before, and questioned her very sharply as to whether anyone had come near her, during his absence, for he again smelt a human being somewhere. The girl replied that she had been lying a headless corpse since he had left her, and knew of nobody having entered the room. Reassured by these words he retired for the night, and soon fell fast asleep.

Next morning the giant again proceeded to cut the throat of the young girl, who was no other than his daughter, and though she protested ever so much at this want of confidence in her, he disregarded her entreaties, and separating her head from her body as usual, went out of the palace. The young man, as soon as he saw the giant's back turned, flew to the place where he had placed the white powder, smelt it, and resumed his own shape again. He then brought the damsel to life and entreated her to leave her father's roof and accompany him into the great world above the waters. After a great deal of persuasion she consented and they left the sub-marine palace together. In their haste, however, they forgot to carry away with them some of the rubies that were scattered about. Just as they were nearing the coast the lad thought of the errand he had been sent upon, but being so far away from the place where the rubies were lying, he was at a loss what to do. His fair companion, however, showed him a way out of the difficulty. She told him to cut her throat with the giant's sword which he had brought away with him, and to allow the blood to trickle into the sea, when each drop would be changed into a precious ruby. He did so, and collecting as large a quantity of the rubies as he could carry, he put the head and the body together and restored the fair damsel to life by the aid of his sword.

After a long journey through the sea they arrived at the young prince's house; the good Rânî was greatly delighted to see her boy come back safe and sound, and to find that he was accompanied by so lovely a lady. Soon afterwards the young couple got themselves married and in due time the prince went into the presence of the Râjâ with the rubies, and displaying them before him claimed his reward. The princess, who had been anxiously waiting for the rubies was so pleased with the young man for having brought her the precious gems that she would bestow no less a reward upon him than her own hand in marriage, and as the king, her father, raised no objection to their union, they were married with great pomp after a few days.

The Râjâ gave them a large palace to live in, and the widowed Rânî and the prince's first wife **Lâlpârî**, or **Fairy Ruby**, as she was called, and the princess, all went and lived together in it. The princess got a large necklace made of the

rubies, and putting it on one day she went with her heart full of joy near the cage of her pet parrot, and said:

"Pretty Polly! pretty Polly! What do I look like now?. Don't I look every inch a queen, with this necklace of rubies reaching down to my toes?"

The cunning bird, however, damped her spirits by exclaming:—"Oh, what is this necklace to a princess like you, when you cannot wear in your hair that sweet-smelling *kêvrâ* flower which sends forth its fragrance for a hundred miles round!"

This made the princess unhappy again, and she said:—"Where, do you think, Polly, I could get such a flower?"

"Your father will procure it for you somehow, if you will sit dejected in a corner, refusing either to dress or to eat your food till he promises to get it for you."

The princess followed the advice of the parrot in every particular, and when the Râjâ saw his pet child so unhappy he could not but promise to get the flower for her at any cost, if she would but consent to be her usual self again. The princess, upon this, left off sulking, and soon was as gay as ever, while the Râjâ ordered it to be proclaimed throughout the city that whoever brought the *kêvrâ* flower, that sent forth its fragrance for a hundred miles round, would be rewarded by having a large portion of the king's dominions made over to him.

Just about this time, **Lâlparî** happened to remark to her husband that though she had been very happy with him, she had one source of grief. She had a **sister,** who was also a **fairy,** living far away in the jungles in a small box within an **elephant's ear,** and whom she had not seen for many years. She knew that her sister was very unhappy where she was, and would be only too glad to get out of her narrow prison to liberty and life. The prince, for his wife's sake, undertook to go and fetch her if she would but describe to him her whereabouts.

"Walk on," she said, "towards the South, till you arrive at an extraordinarily large tree, and there you'll see a monstrous elephant lying under it. You must climb up the tree unseen, if you value your life, and must hide yourself in it for some time. You will then see that as soon as the elephant flaps his ears a box will fall out of one of them, from which a fairy will pop out and forthwith commence shampooing the monstrous beast. As soon as you see her, drop this letter, which I give you for her, right into her lap, and you'll find that as soon as the elephant goes to sleep, she will allow you to bring her away with you here. She is known by the name of **Kêvrâparî.**"

"Very well," said the prince, "I shall find her out, if only to please my dear Lâlparî."

So taking leave of the Râjâ, of his mother, and of both his wives, the Prince set out once more on a long, long journey. After some time he came to where the elephant was lying and climbing up the tree under which he lay he waited till Kêvrâparî popped out of her box, and shampooed the elephant till he went to sleep. He then gently threw the letter into her lap. She took it up and read it, and then looked up to him with a meaning smile, as much as to say that she would be glad to be delivered from the companionship of the loathsome brute. So when the elephant fell fast asleep, the prince cautiously slipped down the tree, and shutting the little fairy up in her box, he took her away with him, leaving the elephant to sleep at his ease.

Great was the joy of every one to see the prince once more amongst them. Everybody accorded him a cordial welcome, save his second wife, the princess, who had been staying at her father's house during her husband's absence.

The next morning, the lovely Kêvrâparî sat down to rinse out her mouth, when out of it dropped a beautiful sweet-smelling *kêvrâ* flower, and the people for miles round were regaled with its powerful fragrance, so that every one thought that the *kêvrâ* flower, for which the Râjâ had proclaimed so great a reward had been found at last.

The sweet odour of the *kêvrâ* reached the princess, and her joy knew no bounds. She was all anxiety to set her eyes upon it, when her husband went up to her with the wonderful flower in his hand, and made her a present of it! Some days later the prince married Kêvrâparî too, and became the happy husband of three wives!

Twelve years had by this time rolled over the widowed queen's head. One day the prince

went to hunt in the forest, and had gone far in pursuit of some game and was hot and tired, when by chance he arrived at the same well near which his father had been murdered. He, however, knew nothing about his father's death, save that he had been killed by his prime minister, but his glance happened to fall on the two inscriptions upon the sides of the well and then the whole truth flashed upon him. He argued also that as twelve years had already rolled by since his father's death he must have come to life again.

He determined, therefore, to go in search of him, when he encountered an old man in close proximity to the well. He soon got into conversation with him and the old man told him that he was a Râjâ, who had been murdered by his Wazîr twelve years ago on that very spot, and that he had but recently come to life again.

The prince, who was overjoyed at thus unexpectedly meeting his father, told him who he was himself, and, mounting him upon his own horse, took him joyfully home to his mother. The good Râni's joy knew no bounds when she saw her husband alive again, and there were great rejoicings in the palace on his account. The Râjâ, too, welcomed the old man as his pet child's father-in-law, and honoured him greatly as the ex-ruler of a neighbouring state. By his help the prince soon afterwards succeeded in regaining possession of his father's territories, and in driving the usurper from the throne.

It need hardly be mentioned that the Wazîr, who fled from the fortress, was easily overtaken and killed, and the prince with his aged father and mother and his three wives soon returned to his native country, and restored his father to the throne, which he occupied undisturbed for many years afterwards.[1]

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NATESA SASTRI PANDIT.

XVIII.—*The Five Cups.*

In a certain village there lived an extremely poor Brâhmaṇ, named **Bhikshu,** who had nothing to live upon. Every morning he rose in the *Brahmamuhûrta*[2] from his bed, went to the river, bathed, and finished his prayers by the third or fourth *ghaṭikâ*[3] of the day. After this his wife gave him a copper vessel cleaned and washed, which he used to take in his hand and went a-begging street by street, and house by house, reciting the *Upanishads.*[4] At about the tenth *ghaṭikâ* Bhikshu used to return home with the vessel filled with rice and a few vegetables with which the charitably disposed had presented to him. He then performed his noonday ablutions and the *dêvatârchana*—the worship of his household gods. His wife cooked the rice meanwhile, and after each platter had been duly offered to the god, Bhikshu sat down to his dinner. Whatever remained after serving her husband the Brâhmaṇî ate. Such was their daily routine. If fortunately Bhikshu ever brought more rice than was sufficient for one meal for himself and his wife, the hearth glowed a second time with fire, and a second meal was cooked. If not, they had to be content with a single meal for the day, and passed their night in hunger and in sorrowing over their poverty.

This kind of life went on for several years till one day Bhikshu's wife was much vexed, and calling her husband to her side thus addressed him:—

"My dearest Bhikshu, we have remained in this misery so long that death seems more welcome to us than life. But the great god Mahêśvara will not take us to his abode, until the full punishment for all our sins committed in a former life is duly undergone in this life in the shape of extreme poverty. And as for yourself you never cared to learn anything by which to gain an honourable livelihood. The

[1] [This tale is particularly useful as embodying in itself incidents belonging to several different tales current in India regarding "the sleeping beauty." Thus, she lives in a sub-marine palace in charge of a giant or ogre much as above, in *Folktales of Bengal*, pp. 21ff, 81ff, 251ff; *Indian Folktales*, pp. 54ff, 186ff: *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 85ff: and *ante*, Vol. I. p. 116. The peculiar origin for rubies above given is to be found in *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 56ff and *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 224ff. The latter part of the story about Kêvrâpari belongs to the "egg hero" class: see *Folktales of Bengal*, pp. 73-76: *Indian Folktales*, pp. 11, 81, 143-146: *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 79-85, 169ff, 303: *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 95-101.—ED.]

[2] *Brahmamuhûrta*, the second half of the last watch of a night, from 4½ to 6 A.M.; so called as being sacred to Brahmâ.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 135, note 3.

[4] *Upanishad*, sacred writings of the Brâhmans, explaining the true sense of the *Vêdas*.

only thing you seem to have studied in your younger days was *uñchchhavṛitti*—the collection of alms! I beseech you to go somewhere and return with some learning in you."

The Brâhmaṇî's words infused shame into her husband, and he resolved within himself to start the next morning in search of some knowledge to eke out honourably the remainder of his life. His wife, too, did not cook all the rice he got that day, but reserved a portion to give to him for the way.

Early next day when Bhikshu went for his bath—for Brâhmanism is lost if the morning bath and ablution are renounced for a day even—his wife rose up and bathing hastily in the well in her garden, cooked the remaining rice and made ready a small bundle of food for her husband's use. When Bhikshu came back he smiled upon his wife for her kindness, and passing his left hand under the bundle placed it firmly on his left shoulder. His wife then ran out before him to see whether the omen was good. An old lady with a *ghaṭa* (pot) full of newly drawn water was coming towards her.

"My dear husband, the great god favours your journey. A *sumaṅgalî*[5] approaches. Start at once," cried she, and off went her husband.

Bhikshu had to go through a pathless forest to find some strange country in his search after knowledge. The scorching sun was too much for him, and he was greatly tired; but though his hunger was great he did not mind. He walked and walked, till he came to the banks of a dry river bed in one part of which, however a small stream was flowing gently. His fatigue was so great that he took the bundle off his shoulder, and after hanging it on the branch of an *iṅgudi*[6] tree fell into a deep slumber beneath it.

Fortunately for him, while he was thus sound asleep, Pârvatî and Paramêśvara happened to pass that way. The goddess was very hungry. Said she to her lord!

"My great lord, here sleeps a poor Brâhmaṇ. The rice he brought for his meal is hanging in the *iṅguḍi* tree. I am very hungry. Let us both eat of the bundle and then pursue our way."

The great god could not but agree. He himself took down the bundle and went up to the flowing stream. Pârvatî followed and they both ate their fill and came back, while Bhikshu was still asleep.

"Poor soul, he sleeps soundly enough, without knowing that we have emptied his bundle of rice. What will he do for his meal when he gets up?" said Pârvatî, and the great god, asking her not to be concerned about it, took five gold cups from under his feet, and tied them up in the empty cloth. The goddess's face glowed with joy and she hung the bundle with the five cups in it where the bundle of rice had been, and went behind her lord to Mount Kailâsa.[7]

In the evening Bhikshu awoke, and there were only five or six *ghaṭikâs* remaining before the sun would set. He snatched down his bundle hastily and flew to the stream. It felt a little heavier, and not knowing how to account for this he opened it, when lo! five cups made of gold and arranged one over another met his eyes. As he separated the cups, from out of each there came out a being of the Divine World (*dêvalôka*), and served him with a thousand varieties of dishes. He was delighted at what he saw, and at once interpreted it to be a divine gift. When he put the cups back into their original position the goddesses disappeared, and he thought within himself that his poverty must have left him from that moment, and returned home hastily with a cheerful countenance to meet his wife.

Alas, poor woman! She had given away the little rice she had that morning to her husband, when she sent him on his expedition in search of knowledge, and as there was no one to give her another handful she had fasted the whole night, and was praying for death or the return

[5] A married woman, whose approach is a good omen. Omens differ in different countries: among the Drâvidians the good omens are—a married woman, virgin, dancing-woman, "double" Brâhman, music, flowers, fruits, flag, umbrella, sugar-cane, cooked rice, milk, flesh, fire, *tâḍî*, elephant, horse, cows, cloth, king, pearls, clarified rice (*akshata*) and fried rice (*lâja*). If any of these approach the omen is supposed to be good and the purpose for which one goes out will succeed. The bad omens are a widow, "single" Brâhmaṇ, three Vaiśyas, two Śûdras, tiger, serpent, fuel, scythe, wood-axe, crow-bar, oil, new pot, a man in a masque, butter-milk (*chârh*) curds, a cough, any utterance of a preventive nature untimely rain, thunder, wind, fasting person, person with his head newly shaved, sorrowful exclamations of *Ha! Hada!* &c.

[6] (*Terminalia catappa*), a tree that grows in marshy places and by the side of rivers; always described by Sanskrit poets in wild scenes; it occurs in the *Râmâyaṇa*, *Śakuntalâ* and other works.

[7] The abode of *Śiva* in the *Himâlayas*.

of her lord to put an end to her miseries. At about the seventh *ghaṭikâ*—for it took this much time for her husband to reach home—a couple of taps were heard at the door accompanied by "*Aḍiye*—O lady"—and she ran at once to open the latch, for she recognised the voice to be her lord's. A small light from a thin single wick was burning in her left hand, while with her right hand she opened the latch and she discovered her husband standing with a cheerful face at the gate.

"Has my lord returned so soon?" said she.

"Yes, my lady. The gift of Paramêśvara has been so great," replied Bhikshu, and after carefully bolting the door, he went in, followed by his wife.

He then related to her how Paramêśvara had conferred upon him five gold cups of extraordinary merit, and to prove that what he told her was not untrue, he fed her by means of the newly acquired vessels. She was extremely delighted at the divine favour which had thus dawned upon her, and in honour of it wished to give a public feast to the villagers. Bhikshu agreed to the idea and was much pleased at the charitable disposition of his wife. And then they had nothing to lose by it, for the cups would feed any number of persons! So Bhikshu undertook to invite in the morning all the males of the village and ordered his wife to invite all the females.

Accordingly, after his morning duties were over, Bhikshu went to all the houses and invited the male inhabitants of the village to a dinner at his house, and his wife invited all the members of the fair sex. But they were amazed to hear that he was to give them all a dinner!

"How could a beggar do such a thing?" said they, "but if we do not go he may think that we have insulted his poverty. So we must go for form's sake, after dining at home."

In this way they all duly came to Bhikshu's house, and seeing no signs of cooking or of a dinner in the place, they were all glad of having eaten first in their own homes.

Bhikshu received all the male guests and seated them in their proper places, while his wife received and arranged for all the female guests. When the arrangements were complete Bhikshu went inside and opened his bundle of five cups and separated them. Several divine damsels came out from each cup, highly ornamented. Wreaths of sweet-scented jasmines were entwined in their coiled locks, and each had a dish in her hand. The first lady spread the leaves. The second sprinkled water and placed a *lôṭâ*[7] by the side of each guest, while the others served the contents of their platters into the leaves of the guests. It was a most charming sight to see this bevy of fair maidens at their work, until the whole party was served. Foolish guests, they were not prepared to eat, for they had eaten their fill at home. So, after enjoying the sight more than their meal they all returned home, congratulating Bhikshu on this manifestation of the divine favour.

Now there was a rich land-holder in the village, who was notorious for his ambition for anything and everything, whose name was **Âśâvân.** He came to Bhikshu and requested him to give full particulars as to how he had obtained the cups. Bhikshu related to him the whole story to which Âśâvân listened quite unconcernedly, and went his way. He then ordered his wife to give him some food tied up in a bundle and started with it next morning to the *iṅgudi* tree. There he suspended his rice, as Bhikshu had done, and pretended to sleep, but only kept his eyes closed. That day, too, Pârvatî and Paramêśvara passed that way and ate of his bundle. On returning to the bank the great god placed five cups also in Âśâvân's bundle, as he had done in Bhikshu's. Âśâvân observed all that had passed and was delighted at the divine favour. He did not even open his bundle, but came running home.

His great idea now was to invite all the villagers and give them a grand feast before he himself tested the boon. Accordingly the whole village was called in the next morning, and all came hungry, and sat in a row to taste of the divine dishes. Âśâvân treated them courteously and going inside opened the cups. When lo! several barbers came out of each cup and shaved the guests clean! And as they were divine the guests could not get out of their clutches, and one and all left the house cursing Âśâvân!

[7] A drinking cup with a neck smaller than its body.

XIX.—*The Brahmarâkshasa.*

In a certain village of the country of Śeṅgalinîrppaṭṭu there dwelt a Brâhmaṇ, gaining his living by the alms he collected daily, and so he was in extremely poor circumstances. Poverty indeed had taken such a firm hold of him that he wished to fly to Banâras. Accordingly, depending as usual upon what charity would provide for him on the way, he started with only one day's supplies tied up in a bundle.

When there wanted yet four *ghaṭikâs* before sunset he had approached a thick wilderness, which was also long and wide, and studded with small villages here and there. After journeying through this for more than the four *ghaṭikas* he reached a splendid tank just as the sun was setting. Ablutions must never be foregone by a Brâhmaṇ, so he neared the tank to wash his hands and legs, to perform his prayers, and to eat what little his bundle contained. As soon as he placed his foot in the water he heard a voice calling out:—"Put not thy foot in this water! Thou art not permitted to do so!"

He looked round about him and discovered nothing, and so not heeding the threat he washed his hands and feet, and sat down to perform his *sandhyâvandana* or evening worship, when again he heard a voice:—"Perform not thy *sandhyâvandana!* Thou art not permitted to do so!"

A second time he gave no heed to the voice but proceeded with his prayers, and when they were over opened his bundle of food. As soon as he began to eat the same voice was again heard, but the Brâhmaṇ paid no attention, and finished his meal. Then getting up he pursued his journey, so as, if possible, to reach a village to sleep in for the night. He had scarcely advanced a step, when again the same voice forbade him to go on!

Having thus been barred four times the Brâhmaṇ boldly broke out and said:—"Who art thou, thou wretch? And why dost thou thus forbid me every reasonable action."

Replied a voice from a pipal tree above him: "I am a *Brahmarâkshasa*, named Gâṇapriya.[2] In my former life I was a Brâhmaṇ, and learnt all the intricacies of music, but I was unwilling to impart my hard-earned knowledge to others. Paramêśvara was so greatly displeased with me that he made me a *Brahmarâkshasa in this life*[3] and even now his rage seems not to have been appeased. At the distance of a quarter of a *ghaṭikâ* from this spot is a ruined temple, in which *pûjâ* (worship) is conducted in a very rough way, and during the ceremony a piper plays upon a *nâgasvara* pipe so very awkwardly, that its causes me the utmost mortification to listen to him. My only hope of escape is that a Brâhmaṇ will rescue me from this tree. You are the first Brâhmaṇ I have ever met with in this wilderness, and I have grown quite thin from the worry of hearing that awkward piper day after day! If I continue much longer in this tree, it will be the death of me! So pity my condition, I beseech you, and remove me to some tree five or six *ghaṭikâs'* distance from this place, and leave me in peace there, so that I may be out of the reach of that horrible piper and get a little stouter. In return demand from me any boon and I will grant it."

Thus said the *Brahmarâkshasa* and in its very voice the Brâhmaṇ could discover its failing strength. Said he:—"I am an extremely poor Brâhmaṇ, and if you promise to mend my condition and to make me rich I will remove you to a good distance where the sound of the cracked *nâgasvara* shall never affect your ears."

The *Brahmarâkshasa* thought for a few *nimishas* and thus replied:—"Holy Brâhmaṇ, every person must undergo what is cut upon his forehead by Brahmâ, in this world. Five more years of poverty are allotted to you by fate, after which I shall go and possess the Princess of Maisûr, and none of the incantations which learned magicians may pronounce upon me shall drive me out, until you have presented yourself before the king of Maisûr and promised to cure her of me. He will promise you ample rewards, and you must commence the cure, when I will leave her. The king will be pleased and grant you several boons, which

[1] Sengalinîrpaṭṭu means "the land of the blue lily" now corrupted into Chingleput.

[2] This means merely "lover of music."

[3] It is a common notion among Hindus, especially among Brâhmaṇs, that he who does not freely impart his knowledge to others is born in the next life as a kind of demon called *Brahmarâkshasa*.

will make you happy. But you must never afterwards visit any place where I may be. It may be that I shall possess several princesses, but if you come there with the view of curing them I shall take your life at a blow. Beware!"

Thus spake the *Brahmarâkshasa* and the Brâhmaṇ agreed to all the conditions and removed it to another *pîpal* tree seven *ghaṭikâs* distant from its then abode. If found its new home comfortable, and let the Brâhmaṇ pursue his way north to Banâras, which he reached in six months.

For five years he lived in the Hanumanta Ghaṭṭa at Banâras, performing ablutions to wash himself pure of all his sins. Then thinking of the *Brahmarâkshasa's* promise, he returned towards the south and after travelling for five months reached Maisûr, where he sojourned in an old woman's house and enquired the news of the day.

Said she:—"My son, the princess of this country, who is the only daughter of the king, has been possessed by a furious devil for the last five months and all the exorcists of Jambûdvîpa have tried their skill on her, but to no purpose. He who cures her will become the master of a vast fortune."

So said the old woman to the secret joy of the Brâhmaṇ at the faithful observance of its promise by the *Brahmarâkshasa.* He bathed and hastily took his meal, and then presented himself at the *darbâr* that very day. The king promised him several villages and whole elephant-loads of *mohars* should he effect a cure.

On these conditions he commenced his pretended exorcisms, and on the third day asked all the persons assembled to vacate the room in which the possessed princess was seated. Then he explained to his friend the *Brahmarâkshasa,* who was now possessing her, that he was the Brâhmaṇ who had assisted him in the wood five years previously. The demon was greatly pleased to meet its old friend again, and wishing him prosperity and warning him never to come again to any other place where it might go for shelter, took its leave. The princess came back to her former self, and the Brâhmaṇ, loaded with wealth and lands, settled down in Maisûr.

He had thus earned a name as an exorcist, and now cultivated that science secretly, so that he soon became a master of it, and all over the country he became famous as a master-magician. He also became a favourite with the king of Maisûr, and married a beautiful Brâhmaṇî girl by whom he became the father of three children. Thus passed full ten years.

Meanwhile the *Brahmarâkshasa,* after going to several places, went to the country of Tiruvanandapuram (Trivandrum) and possessed the Princess of Travancore. Many masters of magic were called in, but to no effect. At length rumours about the master-magician of Maisûr reached the ears of the king of Tiruvanandapuram. He at once wrote to the Mahârâja of Maisûr, who showed the letter to the Brâhmaṇ. The invitation was a death stroke to our hero; for if he refused to go he would lose his good name and the favour of his king, and if he went he would lose his life! He preferred the latter alternative, and at once wrote out a *will,* leaving his estate to his children and confiding them to careful hands. He then started from Maisûr for Tiruvanandapuram, which he reached after journeying for a month. The king had so arranged for his comfort that he performed the journey with apparent ease: but his heart beating painfully!

He reached Tiruvanandapuram and tried to postpone his exorcisms for this reason or that for a short time, but the king was determined to prove him. So he was asked to leave no stone unturned in order to effect the perfect cure of the princess. He had now no hope in this world, and thinking that his days were numbered he undertook the cure. As usual he made a pretence for a few days with his incantations, but he thought: "After all, what is the use of my thus prolonging my miseries, as it is settled that I must die? The sooner there is an end to them the better!" So with a determined will to fall before the blow of the *Brahmarâkshasa* he entered the chamber in which the princess was seated, but just as he entered a thought came into his mind and he said boldly:—"Will you now abandon her, you *Brahmarâkshasa,* or shall I at once bring in the piper of the ruined temple near the wood, who is waiting outside?"

No sooner had the name of the awkward piper fallen on the ears of the *Brahmarâkshasa,* than he threw down the long pole, which he had in

his hand to thrash the Brâhmaṇ with, and fell at his feet, saying :—

"Brother Brâhmaṇ, I will never even look back, but run away at once, if you will only never bring that piper to me again !"

"Agreed," said our hero, and Gaṇapriya disappeared.

Of course, our hero was greatly rewarded for his success and became doubly famous throughout the world as a master-magician !

THE THREE PRINCES.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

A KASMIRI STORY.[1]

Once upon a time there lived a king, who was celebrated for his learning, power and prowess. This king had three sons, who were all in every way worthy of such a father, for they were brave, and clever, and handsome, and wise, and good.

One day the king, wishing to arrange for a successor to his throne, summoned the *wazîrs* and bade them to help him in the matter.

"Take the princes," he said; "and examine them thoroughly, and the one whom you approve of I will appoint to sit on the throne after me."

In the course of a few days the *wazîrs* waited on His Majesty with their answer. The chief *wazîr* was spokesman, and said :—

"Concerning the appointment of a successor let the king not be angry, and we will speak. Our counsel is to send the princes out into the world and bid them trade ; and then decide that whichever of them amasses the greatest fortune shall be king."

Upon this all the *wazîrs* bowed their heads in token of their unanimous approval of the plan.

"Be it so," said the king, and he immediately told his pleasure to the princes.

When everything was ready the three princes started. They all travelled together to the sea and there took ship for some foreign country. As soon as they reached their destination they parted ; one went in this direction, another in that, and the third in another, but before they separated they each bound themselves to return by a certain time to the spot whence they had parted.

The two elder brothers went and traded with their money and gained immense wealth, but the youngest brother wandered along the sea-coast, encamping here and there as it pleased him.

One day, while he was meditating what he should do with his money, a *gôsâîn*[2] came and stayed with him for three days. The holy man was so pleased with the respect and attention shown to him, that he determined to reward the prince.

"I am very grateful for your piety and goodness," he said. "Tell me your name, whence you came, and whither you are going." The prince explained everything to him.

"I understand," said the *gôsâîn*. "You must stay *here*. Do not go any further, but remain here till your brothers return. Send your servants into the city to buy as much corn as possible, and when they bring it throw some of it into the sea every day, till it is all gone. Then wait and you shall reap an abundant harvest." Saying this the holy man blessed him and departed.

The prince acted according to the advice of the *gôsâîn*. He bought an immense quantity of corn and had it piled up near his encampment. Every day for about six months he threw a certain measure of it into the sea, till the whole was spent. "Now," thought he, "I shall have my reward." He waited in great expectation for several days, but nothing appeared. "The *gôsâîn* has deceived me," he said to himself. "I am a ruined man ! Why was I so foolish as to listen to his wicked advice ? What will my father and my brothers say to me when they hear that I have thrown all my money into the sea ? How they will laugh at me ! I shall never be able to show my face to them again ! Ah me ! Ah me ! I will now go to another country. The day after to-morrow I will leave this cursed place." But these words were hastily spoken. When all was ready and the prince and his retinue were about to start, something happened. The corn that the prince had thrown into the river had been eaten by a

[1] Told me by a Paṇḍit living at Shupiyan.

[2] A Hindu saint ; a holy person.

big fish,[3] and as the news of the prince's liberality spread far and wide in the waters, shoals upon shoals of fish had come together to the place. The king of the fish[4] had also come with them: but at last the supply had suddenly stopped!

"Why is this?" the king-fish asked. "We have been receiving corn for the last six months, and now for several days we have had nothing! Has the prince been rewarded for his kindness to us?"

"No," said the whole company. "We have not received any order to that effect."

"Then hear the order," said the king-fish. "Go immediately and recompense the prince. Each one of you take a ruby and give it to him."

Away went all the company of fish and deposited each a ruby on the shore near to the place where the prince was standing and looking mournfully across the sea.[5] Attracted by the great noise in the water the prince turned towards them and saw the long row of rubies on the sand. "Wicked man that I am!" he exclaimed, "why am I thus rewarded? My want of faith does not deserve this." Saying this he at once gave an order to have all the preparations for departure stopped.

"I shall remain here," said he, "till my brothers return. Pitch the tents again."

While the encampment was once more being got ready he and his head man were occupied in collecting the long row of precious rubies that the fish had brought.

"Be careful," he said to the man, "that nothing of this matter reaches the ears of the people of the city or any other person whom we may meet. Let no mention of it be made to my brothers either. I charge you: see to it, that you fulfil your trust. You and the rest of my retinue shall not go unrewarded if you obey me."

The man promised, and every day after this, as long as the prince was in that place, the fish were daily fed with abundance of corn.

Now in order that his valuable treasures might not be discovered the prince had them placed in cakes of dung, that were dried in the sun; and after a while the day arrived for him to leave, so that he might reach the place where he was to meet his brothers by the appointed time. He was so punctual that he arrived there a day or two earlier than the other two princes. "Well, what luck?" they said to each other, when they all met.

Said the eldest prince, "I have been trading as a cloth-merchant and have gained such and such wealth," mentioning an enormous sum of money.

"Well done!" exclaimed the other two brothers.

Said the second prince, "I have been trading as a *baniyâ*[6] and have amassed such and such money," also mentioning an enormous amount.

"Well done!" exclaimed the other two brothers.

Then spoke the youngest prince. "You see, O brothers," said he, "my fortune," and he pointed towards several loads of dung-cakes!"

"Hie! Hie!" cried the other two princes. "What could have made our brother choose such a disgusting and unprofitable business?"

As soon as possible a ship was hired and the three princes with their retinues set sail for their own country. Now it happened that a most foolish arrangement had been made about wood for the voyage. Before they had got half way they had run short of that indispensable article, and therefore the two elder princes and the captain of the ship came to the youngest prince and begged him to allow them to use some piles of his dung-cakes, promising to pay him as soon as they landed.[7] The youngest prince consented, and the next morning gave them sufficient for the rest of the voyage, after having taken out the ruby that was in each. Thus in due time the ship arrived at her destination, and the royal passengers disem-

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[3] Kâśmîrî, *matsh* (Sanskrit *matsya*) a fish; the fish *avatâra* of Vishṇu.

[4] In *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 67, the alligator appears as the king of the fish. In *Tibetan Tales*, p. 291, it is the Leviathan.

[5] Cf. Chapter xvi. of *Hikâyâtu's-sâlihin;* also *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 66; and "Rubies floating on the waters," in *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 221.

[6] A shopkeeper, money-changer, etc.

[7] *Lubar*, a dung-cake. Others with a hole in the middle are called *munar*, which are used chiefly by potters. Poor people in the valley burn the ordure of cattle for cooking their food and heating their *kangars* (braziers),—as any person will quickly discover, who happens to approach their quarters about meal-time. The ordure is collected, made into cakes, and dried in the sun.

barked.[8] They immediately started for their father's palace, and the day after their return the king summoned the whole populace to a grand meeting to witness the appointment of his successor to the throne.

Accordingly there was an immense gathering. The king attended by all his court sat in state, and the people crowded round on all sides. Then the princes were summoned before his Majesty and the people, to show their wealth and tell their experience. First came the eldest prince, who in a loud voice declared what he had done, and what fortune had attended him. Afterwards came the second prince and did likewise. And when the people heard their words they cried, "Let him be king. Let him be king." But when the youngest prince appeared and showed his piles of dung-cakes the king and all the people laughed at him and told him to go.

"Be not hasty, O my father," he said; and then he turned and frowned on the people. "You laugh," he said to them all, "but presently you will repent of your laughter. See, in each of these dung-cakes there is a ruby, whose price is beyond value." And he broke open one of the cakes and let fall a ruby. "Look here, look here, look here," he shouted several times and each time broke one of the dung-cakes and let fall a ruby! Then all the people wondered.

"I have never seen such rubies before," said the king. "Truly their value cannot be estimated. This my youngest son has got more wealth than the other two princes and I and all the people put together. He shall be king."

"Yes, yes. Let him be king!" was the reply of the whole assembly, and after this they were dismissed to their homes.

Not long afterwards the old king died and was cremated; and the youngest prince reigned in his stead, while the other two princes were appointed to the two chief positions under him.[9]

THE TROUBLESOME FRIEND.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

A KASMIRI STORY.[1]

A *muqaddam*[2] became very friendly with another man of his village, who eventually proved to be such a mercenary individual that he determined to get rid of him. But this was easier said than done, for a very close friendship had sprung up between them, and he did not wish to seriously offend his friend, as he had revealed to him too much of his own private affairs.[3] At last he hit on the following plan:—

"Wife," said he, "this man will certainly call just as we are sitting down to dinner, in the hope that he, also, will get something to eat. I will go out now, but will come back later on to eat my food. Keep a little by you and put the rest aside; and when he comes, tell him that we have finished our meal. If he says, 'Never mind. You can cook something else for me,' tell him that you dare not do so shameful a thing without your husband's permission. Be very civil to him, but do not give him any food."

When the man came the woman did as her husband had advised.

"I am sorry, Sir," she said, "that the *muqaddam* is out. If he were here, he would undoubtedly kill a cock for you."

"Why are you sorry?" he said. "It does not matter if your husband is out. I am here, and I am not ashamed to kill a cock."

"Never," said the woman. "If my husband heard of such a thing, he would be very angry with me. Please do not bother, but go and come again at some other time, when the *muqaddam* is in."

[8] It is enquired *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 157; Why are Kaśmîrîs so fond of "ship" stories? (i.) Perhaps the extensive communications carried on by boat in the Kaśmîr Valley is responsible for much of the idea. (ii.) Undoubtedly, too, the Sindibâd tales have somewhat influenced the people, who are constantly reading and repeating them. Very few Kaśmîrîs have seen the sea or a ship, but they often enquire about the *bod samundar* (great sea) and the *badî jahâs* (the great ships), that sail upon it. The Tibetans also have sea stories. (*vide Tibetan Tales*).

[9] The younger or youngest son is sometimes most fortunate—perhaps as a recompense for his position in the family, which is one of inferiority and therefore of poverty (in some cases).—Cf. *Folk-lore Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 75.

[1] Told me by a shawl-weaver in Śrînagar City.

[2] The chief man of a village.

[3] Which probably were not in a very satisfactory condition. The real oppressors of the people are these *muqaddams* and those immediately above them, who can do very much what they like.

However, the man was not to be so easily put off. "Bother!" said he. "Believe me, I should really like to do a little work. Come now, let me kill a cock, while you prepare a fire to cook it for me. I will explain matters to the *muqaddam* when he returns."

Saying this he walked out into the yard, where the fowls were kept, and taking one of the finest cocks he could catch, proceeded to kill it.

"Oh, please do not," cried the woman. "My husband will be here soon, and will get some food for you."

But the man was not to be put off. He at once killed a cock, and handing it to the woman asked her to cook it for him. Seeing no way of escape out of the difficulty the woman obeyed, but before the meal was ready the *muqaddam* returned. "*Salâm, salâm,*" he said to his friend, and after the few usual questions concerning his health and affairs, rushed to the kitchen and asked his wife what she had done. She told him everything.

"Very well," he said. "It is not of much consequence. We will get the better of this man yet. Listen! When the cock is ready, mind you give him only a little, but give it in the copper pot.[4] Give me the rest, but set it before me in the earthen pot."

As soon as the meal was ready the woman did so. However, the man was too sharp for them. He noticed the meagre quantity placed before him, and the abundance that was set before the *muqaddam*.

"No, no," he said. "Do you think that I am going to eat out of this copper pot and you out of that earthen pot? Never. This cannot be."

Thus saying, he seized the *muqaddam's* pot and put the copper one before him instead. In vain all remonstrance from the *muqaddam*. The latter might as well have held his breath. Seeing the state of affairs the *muqaddam* looked most significantly towards his wife and said:—

"For several days a dêv[5] has haunted our house. Once or twice he has appeared about this time and put out all the light."

"Indeed!" said the visitor.

The woman took the hint and at once extinguished the lamp. When all was in total darkness the *muqaddam* put out his hand to take the earthenware pot from his friend, but the friend perceived the movement, and placing the pot in his left hand seized the lamp-stand with the other and began to beat the muqaddam most unmercifully.

"Oh! oh!" exclaimed the *muqaddam*.

"What are you doing to my husband?" shouted the woman.

"The *dêv* is trying to steal my food!" said the man.

"Be careful! Be careful!" he shouted to the supposed *dêv*, and each time he struck him as hard as he could with the lamp-stand. At last the lamp-stand was broken, and the man ran out of the door, taking good care to carry the earthenware pot and its contents with him.[6]

MISCELLANEA.

AN ACCOUNT OF ASAM AT THE TIME OF ITS CONQUEST BY MIR JUMLA IN A.D. 1663.

By KAVIRAJ SYAMAL DAS, M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S. Court Poet; Udaipûr, Mêwâr.

(Translated by Bâbu Râma Praśâda, Translator, Historical Department, Mêwâr.)

This paper is based on the *'Âlamgîr Nâma* of Muḥammad Kâzim *ibn* Muḥammad Amîn Munshî, an edition of which, by Maulavîs Khâdim Ḥussain and 'Abdu'l-Ḥaî, under the superintendence of Colonel W. N. Lees, has been published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. It is this printed text that has been used for the present purpose.

The author of the *'Âlamgîr Nâma* was a person of marked ability and considerable attainments, and commanded the attention of the public, as a writer of great tact and vast experience. He was in the employment of the Emperor 'Âlamgîr, who once, in his presence, gave expression to his wishes thus:—"An account of my early days has been already written in the *Bâdshâh Nâma*;[1] my history

[4] Kâśmîrî, *trâm*, a copper vessel out of which the Musalmâns eat. The Hindus do not make use of vessels made of this metal.

[5] A demon, a sprite, a devil.

[6] [Compare the story of *Vidamundan Kodamundan* from Madras, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 77ff.—ED.] Cf. also *en passant* a Sinhalese Story in the *Orientalist*, Vol. II. p. 147.

[1] By Mulla 'Abdû'l-Hamîd Lâhaurî. [Both the *Bâdshâh Nâma* and *'Âlamgîr Nâma* are noticed by Sir H. Elliot in his *History of India*, Vol. VII. pp. 3ff., 174ff. He also extracted from them. This conquest of Âsâm has been translated by Vansittart in the *Asiatic Miscellany*, Vol. I. and in *Asiatic Researches* Vol. II. There is a divided opinion as to the value of Muḥammad Kâzim as a writer.—ED.]

since my succession to the throne requires to be recorded now" Muhammad Kâzim undertook the work in due fulfilment of his Majesty's desires, but, when he had just finished the narrative of the first ten years, extending from Jumâdiu'l-awal 1067 A. H. (February 1657 A.D. to Rajjab 1078 A.H. (December 1667 A.D.), he was forbidden to proceed further.

The history of the remaining forty-three years and some months of 'Âlamgîr's reign was written afterwards by Muhammad Sâqî Musta'idd Khân,[2] the son of Muhammad Kâzim, after the decease of the Emperor, who while alive, used to hear the annals of the first ten years of his administration recited in private. The reason for this might have been that Muhammad Kâzim was a straightforward man and consequently set down everything in a clear light, but 'Âlamgîr, intent on making some necessary alterations on political points, heard it privately read.[3]

I.—The Conquest of Âsâm.

When the Emperor **Shâh Jahân** was taken seriously ill, his sons fought for the mastery of the Empire, and taking advantage of the wrongs that had crept into it, **Prêm Nârâyaṇ**, the Râjâ of Kûch Bihâr, and **Jayadhwaj Singh**, the Chief of Âsâm, looted the Bengal frontier. Therefore, after Prince Shujâ'a had made his way to Arâkân, Prince **Aurangzêb** ('Âlamgîr) directed **Mir Jumla** (Mu'azzam Khân, Khân Khânân) to advance to the frontier and punish the intruders severely. Starting on the 18th Rabî'u'l-awal 1072 A.H. (11th Nov. 1661 A.D.) the **Khân Khânân**[4] soon reached **Kûch Bihâr**, reduced the Capital and gave it the designation of **'Âlamgîrnagar,'** "the City of 'Âlamgîr." Then leaving Kûch-Bihâr and setting out from Ghôrâ Ghâṭ on the 28th *idem* (21st November) he arrived at Kargânv, the Capital of **Âsâm**, on the 6th Shâba'n (28th March 1662) after a prolonged journey of five months, during the course of which he had to encounter several enemies and to suffer much privation.

On his arrival, the Chief of **Kargânv** left his Capital and took shelter in the northern hills of his territory. While there he sought to conclude a treaty, but the terms were not accepted by **Mir Jumla**, who established *thânas* (police stations) at every important spot for the good management of the conquered land. Great difficulties, however, had to be faced on the setting in of the rains, when men from several *thânas* were driven away by the Âsâmis, and the **Khan Khânan** was forced to pass the season in the best way he could, trusting to the strength of only three or four places. When at last the wet season was over the Imperial troops punished the people and dispersed them towards every point of the compass.

It was the intention of the **Khân Khânan** to bring the whole country under subjection, but his army, getting tired of the difficulties in the way, prevailed upon him to return to Bengal. Consequently he came to terms with the Âsâmis on the 5th Jumâdiu'l-âkhir 1073 A. H. (17th January 1663 A.D.), who, besides surrendering two districts which were added to the crown lands, gave 20,000 *tôlas* of gold, one *likh* and 28,000 rupees in hard cash, one hundred and twenty elephants, and the King's daughter to the conqueror. The Khân Khânân now returned towards Bengal *viâ* Lakhâgarh and Kajlî, &c., and reached **Khizarpur** on the 2nd Ramazân 1073 A. H. (8th April 1663 A.D.), where he paid the debt of nature after suffering for a time from consumption.

II.—Geography.

Âsâm extends over the North and East of Bengal. The **Brahmapûtra,** which rises in the northern ranges of the Himâlayas, and flows through a portion of the Chinese territory and Âsâm, ultimately falls into the Ganges near the Sundarbans, splitting up the country into two divisions, called (1) the **Northern Gôl** (circle), and (2) the **Southern Gôl.**

The former is bounded towards China by the hills inhabited by the **Marim Jami Tribe,** and on the Indian frontier by **Gauhâṭî**; and the latter by the village of **Sadiyâ** on the **East,** and the hills of the **Srinagar Range** on the **West**

The northernmost hills of the **Northern Gôl** (which is entirely hilly) are called **Dôlâ** and **Lâmâ** and the southernmost of the Southern, the **Nâmrûp Range,** about four marches from Kargânv. This last range is occupied by two tribes; *viz.*: (1) the **Nânaks,**[5] who owe only a nominal allegiance to Jayadhwaj Singh, the king of **Kargânv**; and (2) the **Daphlâs,** who, so far from acknowledging his supremacy in the least, sometimes raid into the neighbouring districts.

Âsâm is reckoned to have a length of 200 *kôs,* with an average breadth of 50 *kôs,* the

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greatest breadth measuring 75 *kôs*; between Gauhâtî and Kargâṅv. The distance of Âvâ, the Capital of Khatâ,[6] from Kargâṅv is 15 marches, five of which consist of wild hills difficult to cross, and the rest for the most part of a regular mass of jungle.

Of the several tributaries of the river **Brâhmapûtra**, which take their rise in the hill ranges in the **Southern Gôl**, the largest, called the **Dhanukh**, discharges itself into it near **Lakhûgaṛh**; and the land between them, about 50 *kôs* in length, forms a fertile and richly cultivated delta, which boasts of a salubrious climate. At the extreme limit of this pleasant district there is a large forest inhabited by wild elephants, in which,—and in the other forests in the vicinity—altogether 500 to 600 elephants could be caught every year.

The tract bordering the river **Dhanukh** towards Kargâṅv, extremely fertile and specially remarkable for its flora, has a length of about 50 *kôs* from **Sêmlagaṛh** to the Capital. Here natural gardens, consisting of plants bearing flowers of various tints and hues, feast the eyes, and trees laden with golden fruits allure the organ of taste and adorn the dwellings of the cultivators living in the district. An embankment, skirted with bamboos and other plants on both sides has been raised between **Sêmlagaṛh** and the capital, and serves for passage during the rains, when the district is flooded far and wide.

III.—Principal Products.

The principal products are the mango, orange, jack-fruit, citron, lime, plantain, pineapple; *paniyâlâ* (*Flacourtia catafracta ?*), which belongs to the myrobalan species, and the taste of which resembles that of the plum; cocoa-palm; black pepper and other spices; three varieties of the sugarcane—the red, the black, and the white, all of them very sweet and grateful to the palate; ginger of a fibreless tissue; and plenty of *nâgarbêl* plants. Several kinds of grass and fodder, as well as corn, are produced in the district, the soil of which particularly favours their growth. Wild pomegranates and yellow potatoes are also found in the neighbourhood of Kargâṅv.

The finest cereals of the district under description are rice, and *uṛad* (*dâl*); but *masur* (lentils), wheat and barley do not thrive at all.

It is a pity that, notwithstanding that silk of one of the finest qualities is produced there, the people do not pursue its manufacture on a larger scale than suffices for their own use. Velvet and *tâtband* cloth of superior textures are prepared, the latter being used in making tents and screens.

The natural supply of salt, for which there is a great demand, is unfortunately very limited. The manufacture of an inferior quality, having a bitter taste, is carried on at the foot of the hills, and one of a still worse kind and yet more bitter taste is procured from the plantains.

Wood of aloes, found in abundance where the Nânaks (or Nâgâs) live, is exchanged by them with the Âsâmis for salt. The **Nânaks** are a wild race, wanting in all the decent clothing of civilization, and quite comfortable and contented in the dress which is the gift of Mother Nature herself. They live on the flesh of dogs, cats, serpents, mice, ants, locusts, and whatever else comes easily within their reach. Wood of aloes of a greater specific gravity than water, and musk-deer are indigenous in the mountains of Nâmrûp, Sadiyâ and Lakhûgaṛh.

The **Northern Gôl** is a very flourishing tract, producing black pepper and cereals in larger quantities than the **Southern**; but the latter, being full of impenetrable masses of jungle and mountains difficult of access, has been preferred by the chiefs for their capital.

The plain intervening between the **Brahmapûtra** and the hill-ranges the **Northern Gôl,** and measuring 15 *kôs* at the narrowest and 45 at the broadest part, is cold and snowy.

The people who dwell in this circle are healthy, well-built, and formidable in appearance. Their complexion is fair, though somewhat inclined to redness, like that of the men of cold climates; their features resemble those of the people of the hilly tracts called **Ṭrang,** lying towards the fortress of **Jamdhar,** and **Gauhâṭî**; and the only way of distinguishing between them is by their use of hereditary terms or titles, which are peculiar to each tribe.

Musk-deer and ponies are found in the mountains. Gold and silver are got from the sand of the rivers draining the Gôl. About 12,000 Âsâmis, according to some people, 20,000 as others state, are generally engaged in washing these noble metals, and have to pay one *tôlâ* of gold per head per annum to the chief.

IV.—The people.

The Âsâmis are in general ill-mannered, and not bound by any religious ties. They are perfect epicureans, and have no prejudices as to eating food touched by others. They eat meat of all kinds, and do not scruple to take even the flesh of dead animals; but I am happy to narrate they

[6] [Usually China, but here a name for Burmâ, by (?) mixing up the two countries.—ED.]

do not practise cannibalism! *Ghî* never seasons their food, and they never like it to be brought into their presence; nay, the very smell of it is repulsive to them.

The *pardâ* system is not in vogue, either among the higher or the lower classes, polygamy is held to be lawful, and bargains of females by trade and barter are common.

The males shave the head, the beard, and the moustachios completely, and dislike those who do not observe the practice.

The dialect of Âsâm differs from that of Bengal.

Muscular strength, arrogance, bravery, and fearlessness are indicated by the very appearance of the people. Some of their habits correspond to those of the lower and wild animals. They are warlike, hard-working, cunning, and quarrelsome; sympathy, truthfulness, affection, shame, and politeness, are utterly absent from their temperament.

A head-piece of gunny (*gônî*), a cloth round the loins, and a sheet over the shoulders, form all the articles of their dress. They do not put on shoes or anything of that kind.

Masonry is nowhere to be met with except in the structure of the gates and temples of **Kaṛgâṅv**. The houses of the rich folk, as well as of the poor, are invariably constructed of wood, bamboos and grass.

The chiefs, and the aristocracy are carried in sedans, and the gentry in *ḍôlîs* (palanquins) borne on the shoulders of men. The horse, the camel, and the ass are not found at all, and the last forms the principal animal import. The sight of a camel strikes the people of Âsâm with surprise, and that of the horse with terror; so much so that a single horseman is quite sufficient to disperse a company of a hundred armed Âsâmis, or to make them lay down their arms and surrender, but they are not afraid in the least if called on to act against twice their number of infantry.

Of the two most ancient Tribes of Âsâm, *viz.*, (1) The **Âsâmis**, and (2) the **Kultânis**, the latter are held in the greatest esteem, but the former are the most remarkable for martial spirit, hardihood, and physical endurance. From 6,000 to 7,000 of them always guard the palace of the Chief, who places much reliance on them.

Their weapons are the sword, shield, musket, bow and arrows, lance, and sticks of bamboo. Guns and *râmchangîs* (heavy muskets) are mounted on fortresses and boats, and the people are expert at wielding 'these instruments of destruction and defence.'

The mortal remains of the Chiefs and high officials are deposited in underground vaults excavated for the purpose, and the wives, concubines, and servants of the deceased, elephants, provisions, gold and silver utensils, and candles, &c.,—in short, all the necessaries of life,—are enclosed with the corpse. The opening of the vault is then hermetically sealed, as it were, with lasting beams and planks of wood, in the belief that all the things thus placed will be enjoyed by the departed soul in the next world (wherever it may go after leaving the body.) The soldiers under Mîr Jumla's command, who opened several of such vaults, were able to gather gold and silver worth 90,000 rupees.

V.—Kaṛgâṅv.

The palace of Kaṛgâṅv stands at a distance of six miles from each of the four gates of the city, which are built of stone and mortar, the ramparts being constructed of bamboos and wood-work. The interior of the city is remarkable for a net-work of high terraces constructed for the convenience of passengers during inundations.

Every dwelling has a small garden and a field adjoining it,—a fact which accounts for the unusually large area of the town. The palace commands a view of the river **Dikhû**, which flows through the heart of the city. In whichever direction the eye turns, it finds a set of small but busy markets for the sale of betel; no other article being exposed for sale, as the people of all walks in life, high as well as low, lay by enough provisions at a time to last them for the whole year.

The palace is surrounded by an elevated circular footpath, one *kôs* and fourteen chains[7] in circumference, pallisaded with clumps of the bamboo-palm, and having on the outer side a deep ditch with a perennial supply of water. It is a very lofty structure built of wood, bamboos and thatch. Sixty-six cylindrical pillars, each with a cross section of four yards in perimeter, support the roof of its largest hall, which measures 150 by 40 yards; some parts of it being very finely polished. It is recorded that '3,000 carpenters and 12,000 other workmen were employed for two full years in constructing this spacious hall.'

The music of drums and cymbals is played on the occasions of the processions of the Chief, who is called the 'Celestial,' because his ancestors are believed to have once ruled over Celestial Beings; but one of them descended by means of a golden ladder to take a pleasure trip to the earth, and, preferring to live there, his

[7] 1 chain = 60 yards.

descendants established themselves as kings of this country, and the present prince, Jayadhwaj Singh, claims descent from them.[3]

THE NEW ASIATIC SOCIETY OF ITALY.

The 14th November of last year witnessed the opening at Florence of two scientific institutes, which owe their origin to the indefatigable activity of the **Conte Angelo de Gubernatis**, Professor of Sanskṛit at the University of Florence.

During his journey through India in 1885-6, he not only succeeded in purchasing 640 Indian MSS. for the Italian National Library,[1] but in obtaining, besides, about 2,000 objects of archæological and artistic interest, which are now exhibited in the rooms of the Indian Museum at Florence. At the same time he took active steps towards establishing an **Italian Asiatic Society**, similar in its scope and objects to the already existing Asiatic (Oriental) Societies of England, France, Germany, United States of America, and India. The prospectus of this new Society is dated Florence, Nov. 20, and is signed by Signori Angelo de Gubernatis, Fausto Lasinio, Carlo Puini, Ernesto Schiaparelli, Bruto Teloni, and Girolamo Donati.

The **object** of the Society is to encourage every description of Oriental study in Italy, especially in respect to Asia, and to strengthen generally the relations between Italy and Asia. In order to attain this object, it proposes to publish besides "Proceedings" and monthly reports, papers contributed by its members in Italian, French, English, German, or Latin; to promote the foundation of professorships of living Oriental languages; to grant subventions to Italian Orientalists travelling in Asia; and to award prizes for the best books on Eastern subjects, published by members of the Society, either in Italy or abroad.

The Society consists of an Honorary President, the famous Arabic scholar Senator Michele Amari, of Pisa; 32 Honorary Members, eight of whom are chosen from Italy, twelve from the rest of Europe and America, and twelve from the East; Life-Members and Ordinary Members, whose **yearly subscription** is fixed at Rs. 10.

The Committee of Management or **Council** is to reside at Florence and to include the President (Conte de Gubernatis), two Vice-Presidents (Signori Lasinio and Puini), two Secretaries (Signori Schiaparelli and Teloni), and a Treasurer (Signor Donati). The **Honorary Members** for Europe and America are Prof. H. L. Fleischer (Leipzig), Sir Henry Rawlinson (London), Prof. R. Von Roth (Tübingen), G. Maspero (Paris), J. Legge, (Oxford), Prof. A. Weber (Berlin), Prof. W. D. Whitney (New-Haven, U.S.), Prof. Max-Muller (Oxford), E. Renan (Paris), Prof. H Brugsch (Berlin), Prof. F. Müller (Vienna), O. Böhtlingk, (Jena): for the East, L. Alishân (Venice), Dr. Jâmâspji Minuchiharji (Bombay), Dr. Bhândârkar (Pûna), Dr. Bhagvânlâl Indrajî (Bombay), Dr. Râjendra Lâla Mitra (Calcutta), Sumangala, (Colombo), Gerson da Cunha (Bombay), Râm Dâs Sen (Burhânpûr), Râja Surêndra Mohan Tâgor (Calcutta), Ahmad Vefik (Constantinople), Butrus Bistâni (Beyrout), and Hormuzd Rassam (Persia): for Italy, Signori Gorresio, Ascoli, Flecchia, Lasinio, Cusa, Teza, Lignana, Severini.

Italy has already in the past taken an important and distinguished part in the international competition in the field of Oriental research, and this institution promises to give her work in that direction still greater weight and lustre.

M. A. STEIN.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

A CURSE ON MAITHILA BRAHMANS.

The Brâhmans of Mithilâ or Tirhût are a notoriously litigious people. They are always quarrelling amongst themselves. They admit this fact, and lay the blame on a curse of Râmachandra. When he came to Jânaka's court to Sîtâ's *Svayaṁvara*, the Maithila Brâhmans treated the young Kshatriya from Avadh with contumely. He turned upon them with the following curse:—

गृहे शूरा रणे भीता· परस्परविरोधिनः ।
कुलाभिमानिनो यूयं मिथिलायां भविष्यथ ॥

'Heroes at home, cowards in the battle-field. always quarrelling amongst yourselves, and inordinately full of caste pride, shall ye be in Mithilâ.'

I must say that the curse is a very accurate description of a great many Maithila Brâhmans.

BANGALIS IN BIHAR.

The Bangâlîs, as a nation, are very unpopular in Bihâr. There are a number of popular verses

[3] Many traditions of this nature are current among the Âsâmis, probably framed to make them proud; and although such legends are no more than mere fanciful creations of a diseased imagination, I have thought it worth while to publish one of them, from which my readers will be able to form an idea of the stage of mental development to which the peoplē of Âsâm had reached at the period treated here. [It is to be hoped that the Kavirâj will be able to publish more of such traditions, as they have much value as folklore.—ED.]

[1] A catalogue of these MSS. is in course of preparation by Sign. Donati, of Florence, and Conte Pullé, of Padua

exhibiting the light in which they are looked upon in that province. Here are three:—

आहारे बककाकशूकरसमाश्छागोपमा मैथुने
देशे सिंहसमा रणे मृगसमा देशान्तरे जम्बुकाः ।

'They feed like cranes or crows or pigs, * * * *[1]. At home they are lions, in the battle-field deer, and in a foreign country (e.g. Bihâr) jackals.'

शूद्राचाररताः शिरस्यनुदिनं वस्त्रैर्विहीनाः खला
बाङ्गाला यदि मानवाः शिव शिव प्रेतास्तदा कीदृशाः ।

'Delighting in low-caste orgies,[2] with their heads continually uncovered, vile.—If Bangâlîs are men, O Śiva! Śiva! what are ghosts?'

The Bihâr verdict on Bangâlî women is even stronger than the foregoing, and is grossly unfair:

हैया हैयेत्यस्य सदैव भाषिणी
मुखं समाच्छाद्य भगप्रदर्शिनी ।
पतिं विहायोपपतिप्रगामिणी
विराजते वङ्गनरेन्द्रकामिनी ॥

'Saying *heth i hathi* when she means 'hither.' Modestly covering her face, and yet grossly indecent; deserting her husband, and hasting to a lover,—so shines in her glory the fair one of the noble Bangâlî.' The e in the word हैया is, it should be observed, short.

THE BIHAR OPINION OF ANGA

Anga, or Western Bangâl, has as bad a reputation as Bangâl proper, as witness the following anonymous verse:—

अङ्गानि मोटयति वारि करोत्यपेयं
शुष्कान्यपि व्यथयति व्रणमण्डलानि ।
यद्देशज पवन एव करोति बाधां
तद्देशजाः किमु नराः सुखदा भवन्ति ॥

'A country where the wind causes the limbs to swell,[3] makes the water unwholesome, reopens healed wounds, and only does harm,—how can the people of that country be pleasant?

G. A. GRIERSON

BOOK NOTICES.

CATALOGUE OF BENGALI PRINTED BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM; by J. F. Blumhardt. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. London; 1886. Longmans and Co., B. Quaritch, A. Asher and Co., and Trübner and Co. 4to., pp. ix. 150.

Mr. Rieu, in his *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, has given an admirable model of what a catalogue ought to be; and it is a great pity that the compiler of the catalogue now under notice has not followed the plan so started. Mr. Blumhardt has simply entered the books under the names of the authors, arranged in alphabetical order. This may be convenient enough for a librarian, who wants to see at a glance whether any works of a particular author are to be found on the shelves of his library. But a catalogue of this kind does not repay the expenses and trouble of printing, and should remain in manuscript in the hands of the librarians. With so prolific a literature as is the Bengali literature of the present day, such a catalogue must soon fall out of date, if the acquisitions of the British Museum keep pace, as certainly they seem to do, with the rapid rate of Bengali production. What the student wants, in a scientific catalogue, is a classification that enables him to see at once what is the literature in existence, at least in the library that he has recourse to, on a given subject, and, if a library is rich, a catalogue of that kind becomes a real and valuable handbook of literature. This is the case with the catalogue of the Persian manuscripts. But, with the present **Catalogue of Bengali Books** it is not so. We must confess however, that a catalogue of Mr. Rieu's style is no easy task, and requires an amount of originality and discrimination which is not required in a mere catalogue of names.

With the plan the compiler chose to follow, the only difficulty he had to encounter was with reference to the transliteration of Bengali words, or Sanskṛit, Persian, and Arabic words *Bengalicized*, and to the treatment of the names of authors He has successfully solved the first of these difficulties; and has reproduced the Sanskṛit, Persian, and Arabic words in their original form and spelling, not in their Bengali pronunciation. But, of the three names which generally constitute the full appellation of a native of India,—the personal name, the father's name, and the caste-title, original village-name, or other analogous designation,—he has given the precedence to the first, though the tendency is now amongst English-speaking Bengalis, as it is in fact all over India, especially amongst the Marâṭhâs, also to a great extent amongst the Pârsîs, to make hereditary and distinctive the third appellation, and, to all intents and purposes, to convert it into a regular surname of the European style. So, also, the natives of India are gradually introducing more and more, the custom of referring to each other,

[1] This half line is obscene.

[2] In allusion to the Śâkta worship prevalent in Bengal.

[3] This is the interpretation given of मोटयति. This meaning is not however in Monier Williams' *Sanskr. Dict.*

in the regular European style, by this surname in full, and only the initials of the two preceding names. Any one who has had personal and practical experience of India and all the surroundings of life in that country, knows how much easier it is to recall any particular Hindu to his recollection by, or at least chiefly with the help of, this third distinctive appellation. And it is much to be hoped that, in any revision of the present catalogue, and in the first preparation of any other on the same plan, the surnames, and not the personal names, will be made the basis of the arrangement. It would be difficult enough to turn up even English books, if one had to search for them through the "Christian names" of the authors, and the difficulty is much greater in the case of works by foreign writers, whose first names are perfectly strange and unfamiliar.

THE INDIAN EMPIRE: Its People, History, and Products: by W. W. HUNTER, 2nd Ed. (Trübner's Oriental Series). London, Trübner and Co., 1886. xxii. and 748 pp., crown 8vo.. cloth.

This stately volume has been evolved out of the article India in the author's *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (published 1881, in nine vols.[1]), which had been compiled from the materials collected since 1869, by Sir W. Hunter, under the orders of the Government of India, for the purpose of a Statistical Survey of that vast Empire. The above-named article, of which the present volume forms a new, enlarged and corrected edition, supplies to some extent an abstract of the whole Gazetteer, which, in turn, may be looked upon as a huge abstract from the 128 printed volumes (60,000 pages) of the *Statistical Survey*. The 516 pages of the original article have grown to 650 in this new edition, which has, besides, several new features, such as a most commendable chapter on modern Indian Languages and Literature (pp. 325-355) and an excellent Index (pp. 705-747).

The great merits of Sir W. Hunter's work are derived on the one hand from the safe statistical groundwork on which his information as to the modern conditions of India rests, and on the other from the sound historical method he follows in explaining their origin. By tracing their historical development, the author not only conveys to us a deeper insight into their complex nature, but also opens out many interesting vistas into the earlier stages of Indian culture. He has generally availed himself of the best authorities on his subjects and has thus succeeded in producing a work, which, while fascinating in the highest degree for all classes of readers, can at the same time be accepted as fully representing the latest results of scientific research.

The present reviewer, having already noticed in the *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, (1882, pp. 285-286) the Nine Volume Edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, may on this occasion restrict himself to recommending most emphatically this enlarged abstract to all those who wish to obtain a trustworthy and comprehensive account of India, especially in its present aspect of intellectual and material *renaissance*.

Among the chapters dealing with the mediæval and modern history of the country, which are of general excellence, those on the first Muhammadan Rulers, the Mughal Empire, the opposition offered to the latter by the Marâṭhâs, on the Early European Settlements and the history of British Rule and Administration deserve, perhaps, most particular notice.

May India enjoy, for a long time to come, the benefits of British Rule amid undisturbed peace. May it, especially, be spared premature experiments in the direction of "Home Rule"!

"Young India," unfortunately, like a spoiled child, is already beginning to shew signs of an unruly disposition. Education, obtained at English Schools, has taught its hot-brained partizans the common descent of the Aryans and the great historical past of their country: sufficient reasons, in their eyes, for claiming for themselves not mere equality with, but even superiority to their English rulers! The marked inferiority of their social position, made still more tangible by prejudices, however accountable, on the part of Anglo-Indian society, stands in a striking contrast to these aspirations. Instead of having a sobering effect, it merely tends to exasperate these young exaltadoes, who think to deserve better of their country by dreaming of "Indian Independence," than by devoting their energies to the removal of its innumerable social wrongs and assisting in that way the laudable work of the "National Indian Association" The most sensible among them are, perhaps, those who are longing for a Russian invasion, as an opportunity for exhibiting their own valour and loyalty! I should, however, consider that a most risky and doubtful experiment, in which the lion's share would probably be carried off by the Indian Muslims, who by their carnivorous diet are certainly fitter for such a trial than their Hindu brethren. The special dangers of that eventuality have never been brought more forcibly before me than in the perusal of the present volume.[2]

A. WEBER, *Berlin*.

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[1] [It is, however, really Vol. VI. of the new (1886) Edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer*.—ED.]

[2] *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, Oct. 1886, pp. 1419-1421.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

No. XX.—*The Satchel Bearer.*

ONCE upon a time, in the city of **Pushpapura**, there lived an office-messenger named Tan Singh. His pay was only seven rupees a month, out of which he spent five rupees for his maintenance and saved the rest. After five years, he counted his savings and found that they amounted to only Rs. 120. Counting the money over and over again, more than twenty times, Tan Singh could make no more of it than Rs. 120; and so he fell into a reverie and said to himself:—

"Alas! after five years work I have been able to save only Rs. 120. What can this sum procure me? Is it enough to buy me a good house to live in? No! Can I marry on it? No! I must serve another five years at least and save as much again to buy me even a small hut! And as for a fair wife, I must at least have five or six hundred rupees, and to save that I must serve for more than twenty or thirty years! By that time I may be dead; so I must think of something else to do than leading so petty a life as this. They say that Tavuḍu Śeṭṭi began ten years ago with the very small sum of ten rupees to trade in husks; and he is already a "Navakôṭi Nârâyâṇa Śeṭṭi," owning big shops and half-a-dozen ships. I have twelve times as much as he had when he started in life. Why should not fortune favour me, too?"

With these thoughts in his head, Tan Singh resigned his post and, committing himself to fortune, opened a petty *bâzâr* for the buying and selling of husks like Tavuḍu Śeṭṭi. During the next year, after very careful trading, he was able to double his capital, and with his Rs. 250 he changed his husk *bâzâr* into a *bâzâr* for nuts and betel-leaves. After his second year his capital reached Rs. 500, and he soon changed his betel-leaf *bâzâr* into a sweetmeat one. Now sweetmeats in South India will bring in five or six times the sum laid out on them if the trader does not give credit. Tan Singh was very careful, and before the third year was quite over he had saved more than 3,000 rupees. He now thought that fortune was really favouring him as it had favoured Tavuḍu Śeṭṭi. Every year he changed his trade into a more and more lucrative and honourable one. He was very careful and honest, and never forgot his original poor condition. After ten years of successful trading he reached his ambition of becoming a "Navakôṭi Nârâyaṇa Śeṭṭi," for he was now a great pearl merchant. Pearls and diamonds of the first water were his only articles of commerce. What was his condition now compared with that ten years before? Then he was only a messenger on seven rupees a month: now he had more than a hundred messengers, to each of whom he was paying a monthly salary of seven rupees! Besides, his income now was more than that of a king!

Tan Singh thought that it would be a great sin in him if he did not enjoy his life, so he at once bought a large establishment at Pushpapura for Rs. 60,000, and married a lady, named Kamalâbâî, of the best Singh family of the town. His business never failed him, and his wife's star,[1] too, favoured his trade, for he grew richer and richer every day. Two years after his marriage he had a son, his first-born, who was very beautiful. He named him Râm Singh, and brought him up very tenderly. Three years after that he had another son, whom he named Lakshmaṇa Singh; and in two years more he had a third son, the most beautiful of them all, whom he named Kṛishṇa Singh. Thus, after seven years of married life, he was the father of three most beautiful sons, the eldest of whom was five years of age.

Being a rich and prudent man, he left no stone unturned to give a proper training to his sons; but, true to the proverb[2] that "the eldest is always stupid," Râm Singh was hopelessly dull. No amount of teaching had any effect on him, and his masters were not sparing of the rod. The *maulavî*, the *paṇḍit*, the *upâdhyâyar*, and others came in their turn and spared no pains. But nothing had any effect on Râm Singh, who grew up a dandy, dressing

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[1] It is a common belief, that when good or bad days come upon a family after taking in a new bride, it is her star that has brought them.

[2] There is a Tamil proverb, "*Mûttadu muttanad*,"—the first is stupid.

like a king, eating like a glutton, and affecting loose and misguided society. Lakshmaṇa Singh was of a different mould; not very intelligent, but very hard-working; and, with the moderate brains that Paramêśvara had given him, he progressed fairly with his studies. In the youngest son the teachers found quite a student. He displayed extraordinary intelligence, grasped everything at the first teaching, and gave very great satisfaction alike to his masters and his parents. The latter were extremely fond of him, as he was their youngest and so full of promise.

In this way they went on with their studies till Râm Singh had reached the age of eighteen, while Lakshmaṇa Singh was fifteen and Kṛishṇa Singh thirteen: when a most unfortunate event occurred to the family.

Tan Singh one morning, after twenty years of married and prosperous life, bethought him of his former misery and his present happiness; and calling to Kamalâbâî, his wife, told her to give each of the boys a hundred rupees to be spent on a feast. Kamalâbâî accordingly gave Râm Singh his portion as soon as he returned from his morning walk, telling him that it was his father's present. He took it eagerly, without even inquiring what it was for, made a breakfast of cold rice, and then went into a dancing-girl's house and there made a present of it to her. Soon after Râm Singh had left the house, Lakshmaṇa Singh came home from his teachers to have his breakfast of cold rice, and as he was sitting in front of his leaf, his mother gave him the money; and when he asked her why, she told him that it was for a feast. Lakshmaṇa gladly received it, but spent it on books and clothes. Kṛishṇa Singh was always late for his meals, and when he returned home long after the others, his mother gave him his portion, while he was eating his cold rice, telling him that it was for a feast. Kṛishṇa Singh laughed at the idea of spending one hundred rupees in one day on a feast, and rebuked his mother for having brought the money to him, although his father had given it. He thought it very silly of his father to have thought of giving Rs. 300 in a day to his sons to be spent on such stuff. At that rate he would spend Rs. 9,000 in a month, and become a beggar in a year or two.

So he asked his mother to return the money to his father, request him to lock it up in his safe and devote it to some useful purpose. His mother returned it accordingly, and his father, overjoyed at the wit of his youngest son, desired the gift to be doubled. The boy persisted in his refusal, but his father would not yield, and tried to compel him to take the money. He sternly refused, however, and when his father wished to know what it was that made him, always so obedient, so very stubborn that day, he advised him not to attempt to find out impossibilities. Tan Singh grew extremely angry at this, and blinded by his pride of wealth, asked Kṛishṇa Singh whether anything was impossible to him in the world. Kṛishṇa Singh laughed at the folly of his father, and replied in the affirmative. Tan Singh then asked him to prove it, whereupon the boy asked his father whether it was possible for him to get his son married to the princess of Pushpapura. Not that he hoped to become the son-in-law of the king: he only brought this forward as an example of a thing that it was not in the power of his father to perform. No sooner did Tan Singh hear his son mention the princess, than he thought that he was really in love with her, and that too at so tender an age as thirteen! He pulled off his slippers at once, and severely thrashed him. Kṛishṇa Singh took the insult coolly, and then plucking the slippers out of his father's hands, fled away with the swiftness of a kite. He lingered in the city without meeting any of his friends or relatives till it grew dark, and in the night went unobserved by anyone to the temple of Kâḷi.[3] There he chose a suitable niche in one of the *prâkâra*[4] walls, and placing the slippers that his father had beaten him with in it, covered them up with *chunam* (mortar), and thus left them there in safety.

He did not now wish to remain in Pushpapura any longer;—and, young and tender as he was, he did not fear to go to some other town, and there try his fortune in an independent life. In this way Kṛishṇa Singh left the city that very night, and proceeded to the North without knowing where he was going to and without any premeditated plans, and committing himself solely to fortune. He walked till

[3] Village goddess.

[4] Circuit walls of a temple.

his feet pained him, ate what he could procure in the shape of roots and fruits, slept when he felt himself drowsy, and put no value on his life. Thus he journeyed through forests, mountains, deserts, and wilds for over a month till he reached a large city, which, on enquiry, he found to be **Dhârâpura,** the capital of the Emperor or *Ékachakrâdhipati*,[5] to whom all the fifty-six[6] kings of the world did homage.

Now the Emperor of Dhârâpura had no son, but an only daughter, who was considered to be the most beautiful princess in the world. Her name was **Chandramukhî.**[7] She was only nine years of age, and was prosecuting her studies in the Prince's College of Dhârâpura. This Râjakumâr, or Royal College, was an institution specially adapted to the education of the members of the royal family, and during the school hours a body-guard always waited outside it and also accompanied the princess and her fellow-students to and fro; the Minister's son, Râmachandra, the Commander-in-chief's son, and several other lads of noble parentage were her school-mates.

It so happened that Kṛishṇa Singh had to pass by the street in which the college was situated, and as one of the royal guard was a Singh by caste he recognised him as a caste-fellow; and pitying the forlorn condition of such a beautiful and tender boy he called him to his side, and asked him who he was. Kṛishṇa Singh, pretending to be an idiot, replied that he knew nothing about himself, that he had been wandering ever since he could remember, and that he had no relatives. At that moment Princess Chandramukhî happened to come outside the college for a cup of water, and was struck with the beauty and majesty of Kṛishṇa Singh, worn out and disfigured though he was after his wanderings. She asked him his name and parentage. He replied to the first question, and as to the second he said he knew nothing about himself, except that he was an orphan. She then asked him whether he would like to serve under her. On his replying in the affirmative she appointed him as her *Tûkkuttûkki* or **Satchel-bearer,** and told him that his duty was ever to be by her side and to carry her satchel behind her, both when she went to the school and when she returned home. She promised in return to feed him and bring him up as well as herself. What more could Kṛishṇa Singh want? He gladly consented, and accepting her offer with thanks followed her to her class, and ever afterwards attended upon her.

The princess obtained her father's consent, too, for Kṛishṇa Singh's employment as her satchel-bearer, and true to her word she brought him up very tenderly. He had his meals side by side with her, and, excepting that he was her satchel-bearer, there was no difference made between them. The general opinion among the people was that the emperor allowed such familiarity between his daughter and Kṛishṇa Singh, because he wished to marry them to each other when they were old enough; but, as they were also of opinion that he was a very stupid boy they could not reconcile themselves to the idea of the marriage. For it should be said that Kṛishṇa Singh had, ever since he had entered the service of the princess, **pretended that he was a fool,** and when one of the princess's school-mates had asked him if he could write he had replied he could,—but about as well as he could fly in the air! This too was not the

[5] The lord of one discus—a title which emperors in India always took from their privilege of wielding a discus (*chakra*), which privilege the minor kings had not.

[6] The fifty-six kings of the world, according to the ideas current in South India, are the kings of

1. Aṅga.
2. Aruṇa.
3. Avanti.
4. Ândira.
5. Ilâḍa (Lâṭa).
6. Oṭṭiya.
7. Karuśa.
8. Kaliṅga.
9. Kannada.
10. Kannâḍa.
11. Kâsa.
12. Kâśumîra (Kashmîr).
13. Kandhâra.
14. Kambôja.
15. Kidâra.
16. Kuruku.
17. Kuḍaka.
18. Kuntaḷa.
19. Kuru.
20. Kulinda.
21. Kûrchchara.
22. Kêkaya.
23. Kêrala.
24. Koṅgana.
25. Kolla.
26. Kôśala.
27. Śaka.
28. Śavvira.
29. Śâlava.
30. Siṅgala.
31. Śindhu.
32. Śîna.
33. Śûraśêna.
34. Śôla.
35. Śônaka.
36. Dirâviḍa.
37. Tuluva.
38. Teṅgana.
39. Nidada.
40. Nêpâla.
41. Pappara.
42. Pallava.
43. Pâñchâla.
44. Pâṇḍiya.
45. Pulinda.
46. Poda.
47. Maghada.
48. Machcha.
49. Marâta.
50. Malaiyâla.
51. Mâlava.
52. Yavana.
53. Yuganda.
54. Vaṅga.
55. Vaṅgâla.
56. Vidarbha.

[7] The moon-faced.

only instance. On several occasions he behaved purposely so foolishly that every one that knew him thought him the silliest boy that had ever lived in the world. The princess also thought him so, but never lessened her care for him on that account, and continued on the most intimate terms with him: so much so that the public began to whisper now and then that she intended to marry him. To her credit, however, it must be said that she had no such intention. Had Kṛishṇa Singh shown that he was as intelligent as herself or more so, it would have been otherwise. The emperor alone entertained thoughts of their marriage, for he had pitched upon Kṛishṇa Singh as the best match his daughter could make. That he was very stupid did not matter much, because his daughter, who was very intelligent, could manage everything. It was necessary that her equal in beauty should be her husband, and as he had found one in Kṛishṇa Singh, why not accept him? So thought the emperor, and it was owing to this idea that he did not like to disturb the familiarity that was growing up between him and his daughter Chandramukhî.

The princess was fit to be married in her sixteenth year, *i.e.*, seven years after Kṛishṇa Singh had entered her service, and Râmachandra, the Minister's son, had long had thoughts of marrying her, and had once or twice told her so. She also seemed to be agreeable, and continued to attend the college even after she was grown up.

One day before the college closed for the evening Râmachandra took a *ghaṭikâ's* leave from his master and waited for a chance to speak to the princess. Presently she started homewards with the Tûkkuttûkki Kṛishṇa Singh walking on in front as usual with the satchel, and her guard following her. Râmachandra sat near a car (*ratha*) and asked the princess to come to him as he had a secret to tell her, telling her guard at the same time to stand where they could not overhear what he was saying. He also asked the Tûkkuttûkki to walk a few steps further. Now the Tûkkuttûkki pretending to walk on quickly managed to get unobserved to the other side of the car and overheard everything that passed between them:—Râmachandra asked the princess whether she would adhere to her promise of marrying him. The princess told him that she would be very proud of it, both on account of his high parentage and his intellectual attainments; but she also told him that her father might not like it, as he (Râmachandra) was not much to look at, and as it was his declared intention to give her only to one who was as beautiful as she was. She then said, that as she liked the idea of the marriage much, it would be best to elope to some place where they could be married. Then they fixed a day for the elopement—the eighth day from that one—and separated. As soon as the day for the elopement was fixed on Kṛishṇa Singh ran off unobserved and stood where he had been told, and as the guard were at a distance where they could not have heard the conversation, Râmachandra and Chandramukhî both thought that no one had overheard them, and each went home with mind undisturbed.

The night passed as usual, but next morning when the emperor was holding his *darbâr*, (court) all of a sudden the Tûkkuttûkki came to him and told him that he wanted to speak to him privately about something. As the emperor loved Kṛishṇa Singh more than his life, he at once granted him his request, and asked everyone present to leave the room for a few minutes. Drawing a chair near him he asked the Tûkkuttûkki to take it and to proceed with his news. But Kṛishṇa Singh asked him whether he knew how kings should educate their daughters! The emperor was quite confounded at this. He had always thought the Tûkkuttûkki to be the most stupid man on earth, and he had now posed him with a question which it was very difficult to answer! The Tûkkuttûkki next told him that such high authorities as Manu, Vyâsa[8] and others had stated that a king should send his daughter to school till her seventh year; after which it was always better to have her educated at home by private teachers till she grew up, and that then she should be educated on the *paṛdâ*-system, by which the master sits on one side of a screen and the girl on the other, neither being able to see the other. He also told the Emperor that he had deviated from one and all of these sound rules, with the result that his daughter was no longer his

[8] Ancient codifiers of Hindu Law.

daughter! He then told him what had happened the previous evening. The emperor was highly pleased at this display of sense and at the faithfulness shown by the lad in thus bringing this news to him in good time. He asked Kṛishṇa Singh to keep this a dead secret, as he would take the necessary steps to prevent the projected elopement from taking place.

The emperor at once issued an order summoning all the artisans of the place to attend the *darbâr* in a couple of hours. The orders were duly obeyed, and when they came the emperor asked them whether it was possible for them to raise a great **mansion, seven stories in height,** in a couple of days. They replied that with the kind favour of the king they could do it in one day. He made the necessary arrangements for it, asking the minister and other officers to suspend all other work in order to superintend the building of the mansion, and to procure all that was necessary for it. The emperor went to see his daughter and stuck beside her, watching her like a thief. No one knew what the mansion was meant for, and no one had the boldness to ask him, but the work duly progressed. It is said that even nature obeyed the emperor's orders, and that an enormous mansion, seven stories high, was completed before the eighth *ghaṭikâ* of that evening. The minister and other officers, deputed to look after the work, then sent word to the emperor that the mansion was finished, and with his permission went home to dinner. Such was the haste with which the work proceeded to its completion.

The emperor now called all the eunuchs and told them that they were to guard the topmost three stories of the new mansion and allow no one to pass or repass, except one or two whom he was going to mention. As for the other four stories below he sent for pensioned soldiers and gave them the same orders. After thus, as it were, garrisoning the mansion, he told them all that it was meant for his daughter, where she was to live henceforth till her marriage, and that with her would always live twenty female servants as her attendants and friends, the head of whom was to be one Śellam. Only Śellam and the Tûkkuttûkki were to take provisions and other things to the seventh mansion, and except Śellam and the Tûkkuttûkki. and, of course, her parents, no one was to be allowed to visit the princess. If any one, whoever he might be, were to enter any of the stories, even in ignorance of who was confined in the place, his head was to be cut off then and there. Thus the very next night after her projected plans the princess was imprisoned!

She had never dreamt of anything like this. No one, except the Tûkkuttûkki and Śellam could, she was told, pass and repass the steps of those seven stories! What was the cause of all this? Had some spies brought the emperor news of her intended elopement after overhearing her? No! *That* could not be, for she had most carefully watched the place. Possibly the Tûkkuttûkki had somehow overheard her arrangements with Râmachandra, and had played her false. How could that be possible in such a foolish creature? However, in her uncertainty, she was anxious to examine him.

It was more than the 15th *ghaṭikâ* of the night. The princess was sitting in her chair in great distress of mind at the sudden frustration of her plans. Kṛishṇa Singh was sitting in front of her and she began to examine him, commencing in this way:—"Will the Tûkkuttûkki bring me that book from the cupboard and turn to the 11th page and read?" Kṛishṇa Singh eyed her with anger for a couple of minutes, and rising up brought the book from the cupboard; but instead of reading it tore it to pieces, and holding the pieces between his thumb and fore-finger, smelt at them and began to cry aloud till he sobbed. It was with very great difficulty that the princess pacified him.

She then asked the reason of his grief and pointed to the state to which the poor book was reduced. He said: "Princess! It was *you* that took me, an orphan, and protected me as tenderly as possible for seven years. You are rich. It would have cost you nothing to have asked one of your teachers to have devoted a *ghaṭikâ* or two to my tuition: you did not do that. You are yourself so learned. I am ever by your side. You might have taught me for a *ghaṭikâ* or two every day. That also you did not do. I am now more than twenty, and I do not know how to say '*Harihôm!*'* Knowing so much yourself, you purposely want

* Salutation to Hari! Repeated by Hindu children before beginning the alphabet of any Indian language.

to put me to shame in the presence of these slave girls. What else did you mean by asking me, who know nothing, as you know very well, to turn to the 11th page of that miserable book? I simplified everything by tearing the book to pieces. There it lies. All my ignorance is—your fault!"

Thus said the Tûkkuttûkki, and the princess took him at his word, and setting him down for a fool of the first water thought that she must have been unwise to have entertained suspicions about so simple a man. She praised all her household gods for giving her his services, and now that the emperor had given him the privilege of passing and repassing the storeys of the mansion she thought of turning that privilege to the best account. In a word she wished to employ him as a love-messenger to Râmachandra, and to entrust him with her letters to her lover! No sooner did this idea strike her than she took up a piece of paper and wrote thereon how she had been imprisoned, the unaccountableness of it, her undiminished passion for him and her readiness to take up any course that he would recommend. Lastly, she requested Râmachandra to relieve her from her imprisonment, to take her somewhere or other, and there to marry her. After writing the letter she signed it most affectionately,—subscribing herself as his wife,—sealed it most carefully and gave it to the Tûkkuttûkki, asking him to take it unobserved to Râmachandra, her schoolmate and the minister's son. She also specially asked the Tûkkuttûkki to be very careful about the letter, not to drop it anywhere from carelessness, not to show it to anyone and to arouse no suspicions by carrying it openly. The Tûkkuttûkki asked her to disclose only to himself the contents of that letter about the safety of which she was so very anxious. She laughed at his foolishness and told him that it contained a paper of questions! The Tûkkuttûkki pretended to be highly satisfied with her reply and promised to take the paper early in the morning to Râmachandra, as it was then so late.

As for poor Râmachandra, as soon as his father told him about the mansion, he at once thought within himself that somehow or other his conversation with the princess had become known to the emperor. He gave up all hopes of her, and trembled for his life. Would the emperor order his head to be cut off the next morning? He did not like to say anything to his father, but waited to see how matters would terminate.

The morning dawned. The princess and the Tûkkuttûkki got up from their beds, and hastily took their breakfast, and when it was over the princess ordered him to go to Râmachandra without losing any time. The Tûkkuttûkki rolled up the letter in half-a-dozen handkerchiefs, taking care to knot each of them in the presence of the princess. She laughed at his acts and told him that all those knots were more than enough for the safety of the letter. He then put the bundle under his arm and started off at once.

Now Kṛishṇa Singh had no idea of going to the emperor with the letter, for he had long known that the emperor intended giving him his daughter in marriage; and, in spite of the unfavourable opinion of him entertained by the people and the princess herself, he was sure of securing her hand. When a danger had occurred to his plans in the shape of a projected elopement, he thought that unless he reported the matter to the emperor and got the princess into safe custody, he might lose her for ever; and so he had told him the story, and no doubt the princess was safe enough now! No Râmachandra could now steal her away. It was he that was to act the part of Râmachandra unknown to anyone, and prove what sort of man he was, and so falsify the general opinion entertained of him by others. He also thought that such a course would better secure him the heart of the princess and the praises of her father. It was to encompass this end that he had worked for a long time; and he now determined, if possible, to walk away with her on the proposed eighth day, himself acting the part of Râmachandra! He also thought that no ordinary course was now possible in so short a time as that.

Thus thinking he went down with the letter, and, going to the *bâzâr*, bought paper, pen and ink, and with these walked to the nearest jungle, where no one could see him. There he opened the letter, read the contents of it, and at once began a reply, as if from Râmachandra to the princess; for be it remembered that the Tûkkuttûkki had always been in the same class

as the minister's son, and could imitate his handwriting very well.

The reply ran thus :—

"My dear wife,—Many thanks for your affectionate letter. I had heard all about the mansion from my father, even before your letter came, and suspected something. Some devil has surely told your father of our arrangements, but I am not a man to be discouraged by such mishaps. Get your father to place you in the fourteenth room, from which I will arrange to take you on the sixth day hence. Only you must give me what assistance I need through this fool. Fool though he is, still you should be very glad of his help now, and send through him a *lâkh* of rupees to pay for our journey. The next letter will give you the necessary particulars. Your husband to be, Râmachandra."

With a perfect freedom, and a perfect imitation of Râmachandra's handwriting, did the Tûkkuttûkki forge this letter. He then sealed it, safely knotted it in his handkerchief, and putting it under his arm, returned to the princess before midday. He arrived laughing, and told her how many times the minister's son kissed her letter containing the questions, and how delighted he was to receive it. This made the princess anxious to see the reply; but the Tûkkuttûkki would not give it up, telling her how uncharitable it was of her and of the minister's son to suspect him so much. For Râmachandra, he said, had also told him half-a-dozen times to be careful about the reply. But in the end he untied all the knots, and gave the letter to the impatient princess.

The princess read the letter and danced for joy. She kissed it more than a hundred times; and, going inside her room, called the Tûkkuttûkki to her, and asked him to swear not to say a word about the letters to anyone. She then packed up in small bundles the *lâkh* of rupees that Râmachandra wanted and told him to take them down one by one to her lover. As Tûkkuttûkki was doing this for himself, he managed it with all despatch in this way. He had been a regular customer to an old woman who sold sweetmeats in Dhârâpura; and so procured a room in her house and put the money in it.

When he had stored all his treasure there he changed his dress, and disguised as an Arab, went through all the stables in the place in search of fast and sound horses. After great difficulty he procured two very fine *asvaratnas*,[10] which could gallop at the rate of two *kôs* a *ghaṭikâ*[11] for a whole week, without taking any food or drink. Such horses could not be had at all times, and it was by good fortune that the Tûkkuttûkki chanced on them. He paid Rs. 50,000[12] for them, and hired two grooms to take care of them. He also spent nearly Rs. 25,000 in saddling and ornaments. He paid something for the *paraiyas*[13] and the remaining Rs. 25,000 he spent in buying a rope ladder and a rare kind of saw.

After securing all these things, he wrote the following letter to the princess :—

"Dear Wife,—I really admire our Tûkkuttûkki. Though he is a most stupid fellow, he has somehow managed to bring the *lâkh* of rupees that you so kindly sent me in safety. I have bought two of the finest horses, which can go day and night at the rate of two *kôs* a *ghaṭikâ*. I send through our fool a rope ladder and a saw. For the saw alone I had to pay more than Rs. 20,000, for it is a magical one, and never makes any noise even if you cut iron with it. It is made of adamant, and can saw through the hardest iron in less than two seconds. On the fifth evening, I will go to East King's Street, that is just opposite to the large topmost window of your mansion. At the tenth *ghaṭikâ* of the night, when all are sound asleep, you must get up without any noise, saw through the window and cast the rope ladder towards the horses. I shall be there to catch it; and you must then descend by it, and we shall both be off on our horses in no time! Within the next five days send down to me as much money as possible for our expenses. I will also, without the knowledge of my father, bring something as well. Your affectionate husband, Râmachandra."

The Tûkkuttûkki closed the letter, and tied it up in his usual manner. In another handkerchief he tied up the saw and the ladder, and returned to Chandramukhî with them all.

As soon as he approached the princess he kept on smiling, and so she beckoned him

[10] Gems of horses.

[11] About 12 miles an hour.

[12] Half a *lâkh* of rupees.

[13] Low-caste servants who act as grooms: pariahs.

while he was yet at a distance, and rebuked him for looking so happy. He could not help it he said—"for the horses were so very beautiful."

"What horses?" asked the princess.

"Why, our *yajamân*[14] has bought two of the finest horses in the world. I have seen all the horses of our emperor, and none of them can approach these in beauty. I may not know how to turn up the eleventh page of a book, but you may depend upon my opinion as regards a horse!"

Thus spake the Tûkkuttûkki, but the princess wanted him to give up the letter he had, but before he would do so, he placed before her the saw and the rope ladder. She put them in her desk, without even looking at them, as she was so impatient for the letter. At last he gave it her. How great was her joy as she drank in the contents of it with eyes wide open. The horses were ready for the elopement! The saw and the ladder (thank heaven she had them safe in her box!) were ready and with her! What more remained to be done? Money! But only for the expenses of the honey-moon! And she had plenty at her disposal, as her whole *khazâna*[15] had been removed to the mansion with her! She took the Tûkkuttûkki to her *khazâna* and asked him to try and take it all down to Râmachandra, or at any rate as much as he could manage. He agreed on two conditions. She must explain to him: firstly, what those horses were for; and secondly, why she was emptying her treasury in that way and sending all her wealth to Râmachandra. She told him that on the next Sunday night (for that was the day fixed for the elopement), she, in company with Râmachandra had to go to the adjacent temple of Kâḷi, to propitiate the goddess, and that the money was for the expenses. And she again told him not to open his lips on the subject. He promised on condition she took him also to the temple! On her replying in the negative he began to cry and weep aloud. She then consoled him in several ways, and promised on her return to bring him some rare and sweet *prasâdas*.[16] He then named 100 different kinds of *prasâdas* and insisted on her bringing them with her on her return. She promised (laughing within herself) to bring a hundred more in addition to those he had enumerated. He was then left to himself and managed to empty her whole treasury, and whatever he brought down he changed into *huṇḍîs*.[17]

Thus everything was settled: the horses for the journey, the expenses for some months at least in a strange country, and the due intimation of all these preparations to the princess, Chandramukhî being all the while under the impression that her beloved Râmachandra was no ordinary man to so quickly show the emperor that he could not secure his daughter.

But alas for poor Râmachandra! What did he know of these goings on in Dhârâpura? Ever since he had heard from the minister, his father, about the mansion, he had been in fear of his life, and had confined himself to his own room! Alas for the poor *Êkachakrâdhipati!* What notion had he of the tricks that were being played in the very mansion that he had built in one day for his dear daughter?

The days went on, every moment seeming a year to the princess. At last Sunday came, and the princess, wishing to take her choicest ornaments and dresses with her, and not liking the Tûkkuttûkki to stay with her while she was preparing to descend, asked him to go down to Râmachandra, giving him a letter to the latter to keep him engaged somehow so as to prevent him from watching them. With great joy did the Tûkkuttûkki receive the letter, though he pretended to be very stubborn about staying and watching the preparations for the pilgrimage to the temple of Kâḷi. He put her on her oath several times about the one hundred *prasâdas*, and went off thanking all his stars! For what would have been the end of all his preparations had not the princess sent him down? So thought the Tûkkuttûkki as he was descending, thanking his household gods for his good luck. The first thing he did when he got down was to tear the letter to pieces; and then he spent the whole day in getting the horses ready for a long journey, and in securing the *huṇḍîs* in the saddles. As soon as it was evening he dismissed the two *paraiyas* (grooms) with presents, and himself assuming the disguise of a groom, brought the horses opposite

[14] Master. [15] Treasury.

[16] Remainders—always, puddings cooked of rice and other eatables—of an offering to the god or goddess.

[17] Cheques addressed to the correspondents of a trader in a distant place.

the large window of the mansion in the East King's Street, and tied them to a tree.

Meanwhile the princess had been counting every minute of the day, and as soon as it was twilight she saw the horses with a *paraiya* groom, and though they were a long way below her she had no hesitation in concluding that they were the finest and swiftest of horses. The Tûkkuttûkki being sure now of walking off with the princess, laid himself down to rest till the tenth *ghaṭikâ*, and having been restless for the whole of the preceding week he slept soundly.

Now the emperor of Dhârâpura had in some way incurred the displeasure of a robber chief, who determined to punish him severely. The day fixed upon for this was that of the elopement. The town was to be plundered, and sixty-four petty chiefs had been told off to sack each of the sixty-four streets of Dhârâpura. Each one of these had a number of robbers under him, and the orders were that the very salt-cellars were to be taken out of the houses. One of these petty chiefs came to the East King's Street where he saw the two splendid horses and the groom sleeping beneath a tree. He thought that they must be waiting for two gentlemen, who must be very rich to own such animals. So he told one of his comrades to sit down near them and watch his opportunity. He also told him to plunder the owners and bring off the horses with all the booty thus gathered. So the thief sat down by one of the horses and waited for the owners to turn up, while the Tûkkuttûkki snored away the night.

The appointed time approached. The princess had prepared everything for the journey, and had packed up all her ornaments and dresses in a small box. At the 10th *ghaṭikâ* of the night she arose and found to her joy that all in the mansion were fast asleep. Thinking that her household gods were truly favouring her elopement with Râmachandra, obedient to his instructions she sawed through the window in two seconds and cast down the rope-ladder. Fortunately for her and for the snoring Tûkkuttûkki it caught in a strong branch of the tree. She pulled it, and finding it tight thought that her Râmachandra was holding firmly on to it. She then began to descend. The sparkling jewels in her ears, which shone like burning fire in the dead of the night, and the height from which she descended were more than enough to infuse terror into the heart of the thief. He thought that no human figure could dare such an audacious thing at that hour of the night, and to imagine a woman descending through the air at such a time was to him beyond all possibility! The more he gazed at the descending princess the more his fears increased and he was almost mad by the time she neared him. Setting her down for a devil that was descending to prey upon him, he at once untied the horse he was sitting near and mounting it rode towards the South.

When the princess had nearly reached the ground she saw one of the horses being ridden off and thought that Râmachandra was riding away in advance. "Perhaps Râmachandra thinks that I may speak a word or two on seeing him and thus arouse suspicion. That must be the reason why he goes on a little in advance." Thus she thought as she reached the tree, and again thinking that Râmchandra had purposely left the ladder in the tree to go on in advance, she got down from it, untied the other horse in haste, and followed the supposed Râmachandra!

About this time Sellam, the head of the female servants, got up and finding the window cut, was much alarmed; but, as she possessed great presence of mind, she calmly searched for the princess before raising a cry. She could find the princess nowhere. The window that was cut and the ladder hanging from it showed what had happened. As she would be the first victim of the anger of the emperor, being the chief of the maid-servants, she made up her mind to escape the danger and to track the princess if possible. So she got down by the ladder with the saw in her hand, fixed the window in its place so as to prevent suspicion, for that night at least, and when she reached the tree destroyed the rope-ladder, which the princess in her hurry had left to tell its tale. She then ran with headlong speed in the track of the horses.

After Śellam had begun her race with the horses the Tûkkuttûkki awoke, but with his usual ingenuity, instead of losing courage at the course events had taken he was delighted at them! "Thank heaven. Paramêśvara kept me sound asleep! Somehow or other the horses have got away, and I dreamt I heard the foot-

steps of women here. Surely the princess must be on ahead not far off. Had I been awake I should have been in a very awkward position! There would have been nothing for it then but to make a clean confession of all my tricks. Perhaps she might have murdered me in her anger! Perhaps she might have returned to her mansion by the ladder and and tried to hide everything! Thanks to Parmêśvara, I was in a timely sleep and am thus relieved from much confusion. I will follow the princess, tell her that I have tracked her to her place of pilgrimage, and beg *prasâdas*! I will still play the simpleton."

With these ideas in his head the Tûkkuttûkki ran on post haste to overtake the horses. The distance between the thief on the first horse and the second horse was that of a *ghaṭikâ*; that between the princess and Śellam was also a *ghâṭikâ* and that between Śellam and the Tûkkuttûkki was likewise a *ghaṭikâ*. In this way they raced on the whole night.

The morning twilight approached, and the birds began to sing to announce the dawn. All our racers found themselves in the midst of a thick jungle. The princess, even in the grey twilight (for so great was her anxiety to get a glimpse of her beloved Râmachandra), looked well at the rider of the first horse, and to her confusion and surprise found him to be a black awkward looking *kaḷḷa*[18] instead of her lover! She spurred on her horse, went very near him and found him without doubt to be a *kaḷḷa*! She unsheathed her sword and with one stroke stretched him on the ground and secured the horse!

"Alas! was I created in this world merely to undergo calamities? By some mistake or other instead of Râmachandra a black *kaḷḷa* has been riding before me! Perhaps this thief has killed Râmachandra somewhere on the way and plundered his horse. I am now in the thick of the forest without assistance. I do not know what is to become of me. I will lie down here and die!" She sat down weeping, overcome with grief, but it was not long, before, to her surprise, she saw Śellam in the distance. What was her joy then! Both flew into each other's arms and embraced; and the princess now explained to her briefly all the previous story. While they were thus speaking they saw the Tûkkuttûkki running towards them at headlong speed, and the first question he put to the princess when he saw her was as to her promise to give him the promised *prasâdas!* She was highly vexed at his stupidity, but still thanking her gods for having sent the faithful fool to her, promised to give him the *prasâdas* before long.

Śellam was the first to console the princess. She advised her not to lose courage, and they then agreed that the best course would be to go to some unknown town, and there to live as private people, till better times. They then got upon the horses and asked the Tûkkuttûkki to run before them.

Now as to affairs at Dhârâpura. When the morning dawned the maid-servants of the mansion were greatly alarmed at the disappearance of the princess, Śellam and the Tûkkuttûkki, and reported the matter to the old king. He was extremely vexed, but ordered the maid-servants to keep the matter strictly secret, and live in the mansion as if the princess was present among them. He promised to make a secret search for the lost princess and sent his spies in several directions, and enquired about Râmachandra, and found that he was safe at home. The fact that the Tûkkuttûkki and Śellam had disappeared at the same time as the princess made the old king hopeful of her safety; so the maid-servants returned to the mansion, and performed their duties just as if the princess was living among them, and supplies of provisions, as if they were for the princess, were sent up regularly.

Meanwhile in the forest the Tûkkuttûkki thought that really ill-luck never left him, for while Śellam rode side by side with the princess, he had to run before her like a dog! He did not, however, lose courage, and in this way the three journeyed on till the middle of the day, when the princess and Śellam became very tired. They were also very thirsty, and asked the Tûkkuttûkki whether he could get them a little water to drink. He asked them to sit down in the cool shade of a large tree, and went off to search for water. He looked about everywhere. At last, at about six or seven *ghaṭikâs'* distance to the West, so it appeared to him, he saw a red glitter. He went towards it, and then saw a large lake. Horror of horrors! The water in the lake looked like blood, for it was very

[18] A robber-class in South India.

red! He, however, took a handful of it to drink[19] and behold when he put it to his mouth, it became as pure as crystal. This made him think that there must be something near the lake which gave it its red colour, so he went round it.

To the extreme north he found a ruby as big as a man's thumb glittering like fire, which he picked up and after rolling it up in several wraps, tied it safely to his hip inside his clothes. He then collected the water in half a dozen *sêmbu*[20] leaves and returned to the ladies, who drank it and rested for a while, resuming their journey at about the 20th *ghaṭikâ*.

So far the Tûkkuttûkki did not know in what country he was travelling, and in the morning the party found themselves in the middle of a jungle with nothing to show them where they were going. But about the 25th *ghaṭikâ* that evening they emerged from the jungle and neared a road. On enquiry the Tûkkuttûkki found to his great joy that it led to **Pushpapura.** His vigour was renewed by the news and he was anxious, if possible, to reach Pushpapura before night, and actually succeeded in nearing the vicinity of his native city before it was dark. He then asked the princess and Śellam to sit down in a *chatram*[21] with the horses, while he went into the town and hired a very spacious and convenient house, three stories high, and when he returned and took them to it.

The two women were most thankful for the assistance of the Tûkkuttûkki in their trouble, and asked him to get them what he could to eat for the night. He went to the chief temple of the town and brought away food enough for their purpose, and after eating a little of it the princess and her companion, much exhausted by their journey, retired to sleep. The Tûkkuttûkki, however, had no rest. He tied up the horses in the ground floor of the house and took a big room in it for his own use, in which he secured the *huṇḍis* and the other money he had so carefully hidden in the horses saddles' at Dhârâpura; and, though it was very late, he went to the *bâzâr*, where he bought everything that was necessary for a comfortable life in Pushpapura, except rice, which he purposely omitted to bring. He then retired to rest at about midnight.

They all got up very early in the morning, for 'light meals procure light slumbers.' The ladies found provisions, vessels and everything ready, and the Tûkkuttûkki told them he had managed to bring them all during the night, as he had seen that they were so tired by their journey that they would urgently require them in the morning. They were rather surprised at what they thought to be the dawn of intelligence in the Tûkkuttûkki, but their surprise was changed to amusement when, on enquiring for rice, they were told that he had forgotten to buy it! So they ridiculed him for his foolishness in having omitted the most important thing of all!

The princess now asked the Tûkkuttûkki to do the menial work of the household, draw water from the well, wash the clothes, bring the necessary provisions from the *bâzâr* and perform other out-of-door and petty services, while she asked Śellam to be cook. In this way they lived at Pushpapura as ordinary people without attracting any notice, the ladies never leaving their third storey and returning to their former *gôsha*[22] life, and managing to live in comfort through the assistance of the Tûkkuttûkki.

Meanwhile the Tûkkuttûkki always used to finish all his daily work in a few hours, and after taking his meals with the ladies, he used to go out and amuse himself by wandering up and down. He now bought another pair of very fine horses and a beautiful coach, and engaged four grooms for the horses, giving up the whole of the ground-floor of the house for stables. He also gave orders for some beautiful dresses and had them prepared according to the best fashion of the day. All this was done after dinner, for until then he had to draw water and do other menial work. The ladies knew nothing as to what he was doing, as the Tûkkuttûkki used to leave them in his dirty menial's dress and returned to them in the same clothes, but he spent his leisure hours in the town driving about up and down in his coach and four, dressed like a prince or even better!

Thus passed many days, till one day the Tûkkuttûkki determined to pay a visit to the king of Pushpapura. Now to visit a king empty-

[19] Natives of India *do* drink water by handfuls.

[20] *Caladium nymphæfolium*, a garden plant with large broad succulent leaves and roots.

[21] An inn.

[22] Closed life within doors: the *zanâna* system.

handed is always deemed to be a sin, so he took up the ruby he had picked up at the red lake with him as a present, and drove to the palace. His rich dress, his beautiful person, the coach and four, and everything about him made him appear to be himself a king or a prince, so the king of Pushpapura did not think it at all odd that he should visit him, and treated him as an equal, going forward a few steps to meet him, and receiving him with a royal greeting. The Tûkkuttûkki asked after his good health and tendered his present, which went far to confirm the previous opinion the king had formed of his social position. He was indeed very pleased to receive so rare a gift, and told the Tûkkuttûkki that he had one gem of the kind, that he had for a long time been in search of another to match with it, and that he was accordingly all the more delighted now to have had one given him. The Tûkkuttûkki now insulted the king, or rather seemed to insult him, by saying that his was a gem of the first water, and that no other gem in the world could approach it either in beauty or value! The king flew into a fury at this piece of brag, and made the same boast as to *his* gem. They then both agreed to a wager as to which was the best gem. The king's stake was his kingdom in case his gem was found to be the inferior one, while the Tûkkuttûkki bound himself to serve the king for twenty-eight years in case he lost. Both the gems were then subjected to all possible tests. The best gem-assayers and merchants were called in, and one and all of them gave it as their opinion that the Tûkkuttûkki's gem was immensely superior to the king's. The king thereupon true to his word told the Tûkkuttûkki to take possession of his kingdom.

Now our hero was not a person to be blinded by fortune, as he possessed a good deal of foresight. He thought that he would not be acting rightly if he took upon himself the duties of a king publicly, and he told the king that he was satisfied to be his agent;—that is, as the king was rather old, he would take upon himself to do all the royal duties in the name of the king. The Tûkkuttûkki was to transact all the royal business, but the king was to sign the papers and appear to manage the State. He agreed to act thus during the lifetime of the old king, and then he was to succeed him. What more could the old king want? He thanked the youth and named him henceforth "the Young King." He asked him his parentage, and the now young king Kṛishṇa Singh replied that he was of Royal parentage, but more than this he would not say, asking the old king to excuse him, and saying that everything would be revealed to him in due course. The old king was delighted with Kṛishṇa Singh and wished to be relieved from the burden of the State at once, and agreeably to his wishes King Kṛishṇa Singh took at once upon himself the management of the kingdom of Pushpapura. Thus suddenly, by the caprice of fortune, the Tûkkuttûkki turned into a king, and henceforth was known as King Kṛishṇa Singh.

In the evening, after the Court was over, King Kṛishṇa Singh started to go to his house in the city, accompanied by the palace band, horses, elephants and other royal paraphernalia as usual, but he forbad any of them to go on with him on the pain of death. Such things, he said, were meant for proud empty-headed kings, and not for persons like himself. All he wanted was to go home as an ordinary man without any pomp. Thus he returned home before the 5th *ghaṭikâ* and resumed his duties as a menial! During the night and up to the 10th *ghaṭikâ* of the morning he used to act as a servant under the princess and Śellam, and after his dinner he came down, dressed himself like a king and drove to the Court, and there swayed the whole kingdom till the second *ghaṭikâ* of evening. This was his routine for several months.

Kṛishṇa Singh had studied the *Râjanîti*[23] so well that he ruled like Bṛihaspati,[24] being just to every one. The people were overjoyed at the justice and impartiality of their young king, and the old king, too, as he had no son, thanked the gods for having sent him one so intelligent and so able to wield the sceptre after him. He treated him very kindly, and had a high regard for his merits, but he dared not ask him to disclose his parentage. Thus no one knew where he came from in the morning or where he went to in the evening, and though he attended the Court most punctually, and performed the duties of a king most satisfactorily towards

[23] A popular book on politics according to Indian notions.

[24] The Minister of Indra, the Ruler of the Heavens.

all, from the highest to the lowest, the Ministers of the empire thought it very unfair on them not to know anything about him. They accordingly planned among themselves to go to the East Street in disguise and watch his carriage every evening.

After a while one of them thus found out Kṛishṇa Singh's house, as it happened, on the day that the princess took an oil bath in the third storey. Her hair was so long that it touched the surface of the second storey, and Śellam had to anoint her locks one by one. This Minister observed this also, and as it is the usual opinion that beauty and length of the hair go together, he set down the woman bathing inside to be a paragon of beauty, as indeed she was. "Who else should that beauty be but the lady of our revered young king?" thought he, "We should purify ourselves by a sight of her holy presence!" With these thoughts in his head he returned and informed his fellow-ministers of the place of their young king's residence. He also pointed out to them that eyesight was useless to them so long as the Queen—the lady of their young king—remained unseen by them, explaining to them what he had observed.

Then all the ministers went to the old king and excited his curiosity till he, too, thought that he had been most foolish in not having made himself better acquainted with the young king. He now wished to manage to know more of him without injuring his feelings, as he had found him very stubborn on one or two occasions when he had questioned him about his country and parentage. So the Ministers proposed that they should forge a document to the effect that it was the custom to perform a certain festival called the Swinging Feast once a year in the great temple of Kâḷi at Pushpapura, insert this document in the records, and explain to the young king that it had not been held for the past few years owing to certain causes, but that, as they had now entered on a new epoch, it ought to be held as before. The document was to say that during this festival the rule was that every man, high and low, from king to beggar, must come and sit along with his wife on a swing to be set up in the great grove opposite the temple of Kâḷi, and there be swung to and fro.

Accordingly such a document was forged with the signature of the old king attached to it and inserted among the records; the time for the festival becoming due being stated to be about a month hence. The young king knew nothing about these plans, but he did know that no such festival was in vogue in Pushpapura, because he had previously carefully studied all the records. So when the ministers suddenly spoke to him about the Swinging Feast and asked him to issue the necessary orders for it, he thought within himself that it must be some trick played upon him. "Might it be that some of these Ministers have, after great difficulty, found out my residence and there have caught sight of the princess?" thought he: "Might it be that these people mistaking her for my wife have invented this feast merely in order to get a public view of her? Never mind! Let me satisfy them and thereby establish my claim as husband to Chandramukhî!" With these thoughts in his mind, and begging to be excused for the oversight, he at once issued the necessary orders, and everything was arranged. Meanwhile King Kṛishṇa Singh followed his usual life till the very day fixed for the festival.

It was now nearly a year since the princess left Dhârâpura; and all the while she had been living as a private person without seeing any one except Śellam and the Tûkkuttûkki. "Alas! What a cruel woman I am!" thought she; "I am the only child of my parents, and have left them to their fate, flying away hither. There I lived in all honour: here I am but an ordinary woman! I might have become the queen of an empire some day if I had remained with my father: now I am ashamed to explain who I am! It is nearly a year since I grew up, and hundreds of princes would have been courting me by this time were I in Dhârâpura; but now I have not even a single prince to seek my hand. Śellam wants me to marry the Tûkkuttûkki. Alas, poor man! How could I marry him when he does not even know that two and two make four! I do wish my father would come in search of me!"

It was about noon when she fell into this reverie and the scorching midday sun together with the uneasiness of her mind produced a sort of head-ache which made her drowsy, when she was suddenly aroused by Śellam with

a loud acclamation that her father the emperor had tracked them at last! "I have been thinking about this for the last half *ghaṭikâ*," said the princess. "Has the dream proved true? I have wished it, but still I very much fear the wrath of my father." So the princess, wringing her hands, asked Śellam to explain what she meant. "Does it require an explanation?" said Śellam. "Do not you hear the sounds of the drums and pipes announcing a royal progress? Why should these sounds be heard in this street on this day alone? We have been living here for nearly a year and at no time have we heard such sounds. It is this that makes me think that our emperor is in search of us."

(*To be continued.*)

SOMÂLI AS A WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. KING, Bo.S.C.

Owing to the British occupation of the **Somâli Coast,** and the intimate relations thereby brought about with the natives of the country, an excellent opportunity has been afforded of gaining an insight into their language. The Government, recognising the importance of its study, has offered a reward to those who pass a colloquial test in **Somâli**; and has ordered all Assistant Political Officers under the Aden Residency to pass the examination within two years of their appointment.

Independently of its practical importance, the study of **Somâli** affords a wide field for the speculations of the philologist; for at present very little is known regarding the origin of the language, or the early history of the nation speaking it.

Dr. Cust, in his *Modern Languages of Africa*, classifies **Somâli, Galla** and **Dankali** under the **Ethiopic** sub-group of the **Hamitic** family. This may be the original stock on which the language mainly is founded; but the existence of a **pre-Hamitic** element in it is not improbable. Various influxes from **Hadhramaut** and **Yemen** have added a **Semitic** element which now seems to predominate, and this element is observable, not alone in individual words, but also in the construction: notably in that of the pronouns.

The **indigenous stock** shows itself in characteristic sounds, such as the cerebral *d* (ड), as in the word ڈڈب *ḍaḍab*, dream; the cerebral *l* as in لُل *ḷûḷ*, move; the guttural nasal *n*, as in ننک *niṅka*, the man; and the cerebral *r* (ड़), as in گڑ *gaṛ*, justice: while the **Semitic** is represented by the *'ain, ghain* and *ḥâ*, and also by the *hamza*.

How to account for the presence of these **cerebral** sounds in an illiterate **African** language, is a subject which I will not venture to enter upon. Possibly the trade connection between Western India and East Africa, dating from prehistoric times, may afford some explanation.[1]

The sounds *p*, *v* and *z* do not exist in **Somâli** as separate sounds; consequently when foreign words containing them are introduced into the language, they are changed into their reciprocals: *p* into *b*, *v* into *b* and *z* into *s*. The sounds *b* and *m* also frequently interchange; and the change of *l* into *sh* in certain cases, is a remarkable phonetic peculiarity.

The **Somâli** language is wonderfully perfect in structure, but by no means easy to learn. What seemed to me the chief obstacle was the absence of any fixed system of orthography *which could be readily understood by teacher as well as pupil.* **Prof. Lepsius'** "Standard Alphabet for reducing unwritten languages and foreign graphic systems to a uniform orthography in European letters," however perfect in itself, is difficult even for a European to learn; and to attempt to teach it to **Somâlis** would be a hopeless task.

To obviate this difficulty I have compiled the following alphabetic system from the Hindustânî and Arabic alphabets. Only two new consonants and three vowel marks require to be invented. Every usual sound in the **Somâli** language can be accurately expressed by these characters; and any intelligent **Somâli** accustomed to read and write Arabic can (much to his astonishment) easily be taught in a few days to read and write his own language!

Hereafter I shall attempt to show—by means of colloquial sentences, with a vocabulary and grammatical analysis of each word—how the study of **Somâli** may be much facilitated.

[1] *Vide* Mr. J. MacNabb Campbell's able summary of this subject in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. Part II. Chap. VII. and Appendix A.

AN ALPHABET FOR THE SOMALI LANGUAGE

Detached	Initial	Medial	Final	English Equivalents	Pronunciation
ا	ا	ـا	ـا	A, etc	This, at the commencement of a word, is a mere prop for the letter *hamza* or soft breathing, and has no sound of itself; after a consonant it serves merely to prolong the vowel *fatha*.
ب	بـ	ـبـ	ـب	B	As in English, but more forcibly
ت	تـ	ـتـ	ـت	T	A soft dental, like the Italian *t*.
ث	ثـ	ـثـ	ـث	Th	As in *thing*.
ج	جـ	ـجـ	ـج	J	As in English *jay*
ح	حـ	ـحـ	ـح	H	A strong pectoral aspirate.
خ	خـ	ـخـ	ـخ	Kh	Guttural, something like the Scotch *ch* in *loch*.
د	د	ـد	ـد	D	Has a clear, distinct sound as in English *did*.
ڈ	ڈ	ـڈ	ـڈ	D	Is the cerebral ड of Sanskrit. In pronouncing it the tongue is impinged, not against the gums as in the English *d*, but against the roof of the mouth
ذ	ذ	ـذ	ـذ	Dh	Like *th* in *that*.
ر	ر	ـر	ـر	R	As in English, but more forcibly rolled.
ڑ	ڑ	ـڑ	ـڑ	R	Is ड़ of the modern Indian Aryan Languages. To utter it correctly, place the tongue in the same position as for ڈ, and try to pronounce the English *r*.
ز	ز	ـز	ـز	Z	As in English but more forcibly
س	سـ	ـسـ	ـس	S	As in English but more forcibly
ش	شـ	ـشـ	ـش	Sh	As in English but more forcibly
ص	صـ	ـصـ	ـص	S	is a strong sibilant resembling *ss* in English *hiss*
ض	ضـ	ـضـ	ـض	Dh	a hard palatal *d*
ط	طـ	ـطـ	ـط	T	a hard palatal *t*
ظ	ظـ	ـظـ	ـظ	Dh	like *dh*
ع	عـ	ـعـ	ـع		a guttural sound uttered by the lower muscles of the throat. Like ا its sound depends on the accompanying vowel
غ	غـ	ـغـ	ـغ	Gh	a guttural *gh*.
ف	فـ	ـفـ	ـف	F	as in English, but more forcibly
ق	قـ	ـقـ	ـق	K	like *ck* in *stuck*, pronounced very gutturally
ک	کـ	ـکـ	ـک	K	as in English, but more forcibly
گ	گـ	ـگـ	ـگ	G	as in English, but more forcibly
ل	لـ	ـلـ	ـل	L	as in English, but more forcibly
ݪ	ݪـ	ـݪـ	ـݪ	L	the Sanskrit ळ. Like the other cerebrals it is uttered by curling back the tongue against the roof of the mouth.
م	مـ	ـمـ	ـم	M	as in English, but more forcibly
ن	نـ	ـنـ	ـن	N	as in English, but more forcibly
ں	نـ	ـنـ	ـں	Ṅ	a nasal *n* as in the French *ton*
و	و	ـو	ـو	W etc	as in English, but more forcibly
ه	هـ	ـهـ	ـه	H	as in English, but more forcibly
ي	يـ	ـيـ	ـي	Y, etc	as in English, but more forcibly

Vowel and Diphthong Sounds.

As in Arabic the vowels and other orthographical signs are written above and below the letters. The vowels are the Arabic ـَ *fatha*, ـُ *damma* and ـِ *kasra*, pronounced respectively ـَ *a*, as in [illegible], ـُ *u* as in [illegible], and ـِ *i*, as in *fit*.

Two dots are added [illegible], which placed over the letter ي thus [illegible] represents a peculiar sound intermediate between short *e* and short *i*. It differs from, yet resembles, both.

[illegible] represents a peculiar *u* intermediate between short *o* and short *u*. It also differs from, yet resembles, both.

ي final, or ـيـ intermediate, representing the diphthong *ai* somewhat like the *i* in *time*, but differs from it slightly in pronunciation in that the short *i* instead of the long *i* is the latter element of the diphthong, i.e. ي = *a* + *i*, but *i* in *time* = *a* + *ī*.

ؤ = *au* diphthong (or *ow* when followed by a vowel)

[illegible] represents a sound somewhat like the French *eu* in [illegible], but longer. It is of rare occurrence. It may be considered a diphthong, and is represented in Roman character by *ö*.

The remaining diphthongs or rather vowel compounds—*ao* and *eo* are accurately represented by the Arabic symbol *hamza*, the sound of which depends upon the vowel accompanying it. In each of these compounds, the vowels are sounded as if slightly separate. The *hamza* is also used to represent a short vowel at the end of a word, preceded by either a long vowel or a consonant.

Examples.

[illegible] *Badan*, Much. [illegible] *Bil*, Mouth. [illegible] *Fur*, Open. [illegible] *Kir*, Write. [illegible] *Ayar*, Play, dance. [illegible] *Ingeía*, Thou placest. [illegible] *Dei*, Abandon. [illegible] *Kaw*, One. [illegible] *Bid*, A man's name. [illegible] *Tagaya*, He is going.

Somali, as well as Dankali, Harari and other neighbouring languages, is remarkable for the hardness and the distinctness with which the consonants are articulated.

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

7.—SOME DEVICES OF INDIAN GRAMMARIANS.

In the present note I intend to enumerate, and to illustrate by a few simple examples, some of the devices—other than regular Paribhâshâs—which the commentators on Pâṇini are in the habit of resorting to in the course of their discussions. The general aim of these devices is, to secure the right interpretation and proper application of Pâṇini's rules; to refute objections that might be raised to them; to extend the sphere of the rules of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, so as to make them apply where at first sight they would seem to be inapplicable, and to render additional rules unnecessary; and sometimes also to shorten or simplify those rules. In the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana their number is comparatively small; it is greatly increasing already in the work of Patañjali; and, to a certain extent, one may perhaps venture to say that, the later an author, the greater is the number and the more artificial the nature of the devices with which he operates.

In accordance with the plan of these notes, I shall confine my remarks generally to the works of Kâtyâyana and Patañjali; but I shall try to indicate by one or two examples, how the practice of those older writers has been more fully developed in the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*.

1. Jñâpaka[1]; *âchâryapravṛittir jñâpayati; jñâpayaty âchâryaḥ*.—In addition to what he teaches directly, Pâṇini teaches many things indirectly. Regarding the interpretation of P. I. 1, 45 इग्यणः संप्रसारणम्, there arises the question,—Is *Samprasâraṇa* a name for the vowels *i*, *u*, etc., substituted for *y*, *v*, etc., or is it equivalent to the phrase '*i*, *u*, etc. take the place of *y*, *v*, etc.'? Pâṇini indirectly teaches (*jñâpayati*), that *Samprasâraṇa* has both meanings; for, when in VI. 3, 139 he says that *Samprasâraṇa* is lengthened, he shows that *Samprasâraṇa* denotes the vowels *i*, *u*, etc., substituted for *y*, *v*, etc., because only vowels can be lengthened; and, when in VI. 1, 13 he rules that *Samprasâraṇa* shall be substituted for a certain suffix, he shows that the word संप्रसारणम् must also be equivalent to *the phrase* इग्यणः '*i*, *u*, etc., take the place of *y*, *v*, etc.' (Vol. I. p. 111). On P. III. 2, 16, it may be doubtful whether we should supply only अधिकरणे from the preceding rule, or also कर्मणि from P. III. 2, 1; in other words, whether a word like कुरुचर, which is formed by the rule, means only कुरुषु चरति, or means also कुरूंश्चरति. Our doubt is solved by Pâṇini himself; by giving in III. 2, 17 a special rule for भिक्षां चरति, Pâṇini clearly intimates that in III. 2, 16 we are not to supply कर्मणि. Accordingly, कुरुचर can only mean कुरुषु चरति, not कुरूंश्चरति (Vol. II. p. 101).

The idea, which underlies the notion of *jñâpaka*, is a perfectly sound one. We must, in the first instance, allow Pâṇini himself to explain his own work. But as Pâṇini does not speak out openly, there is the danger lest we should make him suggest more than he really meant to say. And this danger is greatly increased when the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* is regarded as an absolutely perfect work,[2] in which every seemingly irregular or unaccountable proceeding must have been intentionally resorted to for the purpose of indirectly instructing the student. In IV. 2, 42, Pâṇini teaches that the suffix यन् is added to certain bases enumerated in the rule. Patañjali here raises the question: 'Why this new suffix? Why is not the suffix यञ्, which in every respect would serve the same purpose as यन्, valid from IV. 2, 40?' And his answer is, that Pâṇini has purposely employed a new suffix, in order to suggest that this new suffix shall be added to *other* bases besides those actually enumerated. Here it will be sufficient to point out that Patañjali, in the application of the principle of indirect teaching, is going far beyond Kâtyâyana. Kâtyâyana, instead of regarding the superfluous यन् in P. IV. 2, 42 as a *jñâpaka*, makes a separate new rule for the

[1] Kâtyâyana resorts to this device 44 times, Patañjali far more frequently. And since Patañjali has two Âchâryas to deal with, Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana, he is enabled to refer us also to the indirect teaching of Kâtyâyana, and he has actually done so six times. As regards Pâṇini, it may be added that there are *jñâpakas* in his *Gaṇapâṭha* and *Dhâtupâṭha*, as well as in his *Ashṭâdhyâyî*.

[2] न हि किंचिदस्मिन्पश्यामि शास्त्रे यदनर्थकं स्यात्. Vol. III. p. 54.

word which in his opinion should have been distinctly mentioned by Pāṇini (Vol. II. p. 279).

That *jñâpakas* are often and rightly made use of in the Mahâbhâshya to establish the validity for Pâṇini's grammar of certain general maxims or Paribhâshâs, I have had frequent occasions to show in my edition of the *Paribhâshênduśêkhara*. Here, too, maxims may be deduced from some peculiar wording of the Sûtras, which possibly have never presented themselves to Pâṇini himself; and occasionally (as in Vol. I. p. 486, Vol. II. p. 64, and elsewhere) the commentators themselves differ both as regards the validity of a particular maxim and the *jñâpaka* by means of which such maxim is sought to be established. It *is* strange, that Pâṇini should have employed the same Anubandha ण् in the first and in the sixth of the so-called Śiva-sûtras, because by doing so he has made it difficult for us to decide whether the Pratyâhâras अण् and इण् are formed with the first or with the second ण्. But did Pâṇini really adopt this stratagem in order to suggest, that in every doubtful case of this kind we should have recourse to the (traditional) *interpretation* of his rules (Vol. I. p. 35),—a maxim to which Patañjali draws our attention no less than a dozen times in the course of his discussions?

On P. V. 1, 115 Kâtyâyana gives the special rule, placed in the Mahâbhâshya under V. 1, 118, that the suffix वत् is added also to स्त्री and पुंस्, to form स्त्रीवत् and पुंवत्. Kâtyâyana considers such a rule necessary, because without it the suffixes नञ् and स्नञ्, taught for स्त्री and पुंस् in P. IV. 1, 87, would supersede the suffix वत् of P. V. 1, 115. According to Patañjali, on the other hand, Pâṇini himself shows that the suffixes taught in IV. 1, 87 do not supersede the suffix वत्, inasmuch as he uses the word पुंवत् in his rule VI. 3, 34. And when we object, that even so there would be no reason why we should form also स्त्रीवत्, we are told that our objection is futile, because (**yôgâpêksham jñâpakam**) 'the *jñâpaka* (पुंवत् in VI. 3, 34) has reference to the *whole* rule (IV. 1. 87),' *i.e.* Pâṇini, by employing पुंवत्, indirectly teaches that the whole rule IV. 1. 87 is superseded by V. 1, 115. This example of a *yôgâpêksha jñâpaka*[3] naturally leads me on to—

2. **Nipâtana.**[4]—By incidentally employing a word or any form whatever, Pâṇini shows that that word or that form is correct;[5] and if such a word or form should happen to be contrary to any rule of his, that rule must, in this particular instance, be understood to be superseded. The incidental employment of a word or form is thus like a special rule superseding a general rule. In सर्वनामन् the initial (dental) न् of नामन् should by P. VIII. 4, 3 be changed to the (lingual) ण्; but that change does not take place, because Pâṇini in I. 1, 27 puts down सर्वनामानि, with a (dental) न् (Vol. I. p. 86). On P. III. 3, 90 Kâtyâyana demands a special rule, to teach that the root प्रछ् before the suffix नङ्, is not by P. VI. 1, 16 changed to पृछ्; in other words, that प्रछ् + नङ् = प्रश्न, not पृश्न. According to Patañjali, no such special rule is needed, because Pâṇini employs the word प्रश्न in III. 2, 117. (Vol. II. p. 151). On P. I. 1, 47 Kâtyâyana makes a special rule to account for मस्जा and मरीचि. Patañjali considers such a rule superfluous, because Pâṇini has the two words in his Gaṇas (Vol. I. p. 115).

3. **Anabhidhâna.**[6]—Grammar is not to invent new words or new meanings, but has to concern itself with existing words only, to show which are right words, and to explain their formation and usage. The grammarian need not take into account any *possible* wrong words which nobody would think of employing; he does his duty if he gives his rules in such a manner as to account for the right words, and to exclude wrong words

[3] Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 83; Vol. II. pp. 81, 288, 347, 365. Compare also *aviśêshêṇa jñâpakam* in Vol. II. p. 110. The expression *yôgâpêksham jñâpakam* has been curiously misunderstood in the late Prof. Goldstucker's *Pâṇini*, p. 116.

[4] Kâtyâyana in Vol. I. pp. 52, 86, 478; Vol. II. p. 406; Vol. III. pp. 103, 105, 123, 194, 255; (compare also 455). Patañjali twice as often. In Vol. III. p. 224 Patañjali refers us by the phrase निपातनादेतत्सिद्धम् to a Vârttika of Kâtyâyana's.

[5] Compare Vol. II. p. 418 देश्याः सूत्रनिबन्धाः क्रियन्ते *i.e.* देष्टव्याः साधुत्वेन प्रतिपाद्या एते सूत्रे निबध्यन्ते प्रसङ्गेन साधुत्वप्रतिपादनार्थम्.

[6] Kâtyâyana, in Vol. I. p. 424; Vol. II. pp. 12, 13, 94, 146, 234, 271, 325; Vol. III. p. 365; and in other passages, where *anabhidhâna* is referred to by the word उक्तम् or the phrase उक्तं वा. Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 177; Vol. II. pp. 25, 250, 274, 307, 308, 309, 319, 334, 341, 351, 358, 382 (twice), 387, 395, 398, 399. I may perhaps draw attention to the fact, that most of these references are to Vol. II. of the Mahâbhâshya, which, generally speaking, treats of Kṛit and Taddhita-suffixes.

which people actually do use. Reasoning like this would appear to have led to the device of *anabhidhâna*, which has been frequently resorted to by Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, especially in those chapters of Pâṇini's grammar which treat of the addition of suffixes, sometimes to show that Pâṇini has said more than he need have said, and sometimes to defend him from the charge of having said too little. If nobody thinks of using a particular word, or of using a word in a particular sense, it may be said that such a word would mean nothing, or would not convey the requisite meaning, and it may therefore seem unnecessary to forbid its use or its employment in that particular sense. According to P. IV. 2, 1, a certain suffix is added to a word denoting a colour to signify 'coloured by (or with) that.' The suffix is said to be added 'to a word denoting a colour,' apparently to prevent its addition, *e.g.*, to देवदत्त, in the expression देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम् 'cloth coloured by Dêvadatta.' According to Kâtyâyana, Pâṇini might have omitted the words 'to a word denoting a colour,' for the suffix taught by Pâṇini is added to denote the meaning 'coloured by (or with),' and that meaning would not be denoted by दैवदत्त in दैवदत्तं वस्त्रम्. Everybody will understand this phrase to mean 'cloth belonging to Dêvadatta,' and nobody would employ दैवदत्तं वस्त्रम् in the sense of 'cloth coloured by Dêvadatta'[7] (Vol. II. p. 271). In III. 2, 1, Pâṇini is not obliged to tell us that the suffix, which in accordance with his rule is added in कुम्भकार, must not be added to दृश्, to express the sense of आदित्यं पश्यति, because the word आदित्यदर्श would not convey the requisite meaning, or in other words, because nobody would think of using the word आदित्यदर्श.[8] (Vol. II. p. 94). On P. V. 2, 65 Kâtyâyana would wish to alter the wording of Pâṇini's rule, so as to make it quite clear that the words धनक and हिरण्यक, which are formed by the rule, mean 'a desire for wealth' and 'a desire for gold,' and do not mean 'desirous of wealth' and 'desirous of gold.' According to Patañjali, Pâṇini's rule need not be altered; the suffix taught by Pâṇini cannot be added in the sense of 'desirous of,'—(*anabhidhânât*), because धनक and हिरण्यक would not convey that meaning (Vol. II. p. 387).

These instances will sufficiently prove, that the device of *anabhidhâna*, beyond acquainting us with the views of the commentators who happen to make use of it, is really of no value whatever. We know that a word cannot be used, or does not convey a particular meaning, and therefore we want no rule forbidding its use, or its employment in a particular sense. Why, we may well ask, do we study grammar at all, if we know beforehand what words cannot be used? It is right to add, that at any rate Kâtyâyana, in general, has had recourse to *anabhidhâna* only as to an alternative proceeding, and that the weak point of the device has been clearly perceived by the Indian grammarians themselves. Haradatta, when commenting on P. III. 2, 1, says that *anabhidhâna* must be resorted to, only where the authorities tell us to do so, and that elsewhere we must simply follow the rules of grammar.[9]

4. **Vivakshâ.**[10]—Similar to *anabhidhâna*, and liable to the same objection, is the device of *vivakshâ*, which is a few times made use of in the Mahâbhâshya, and is more frequently employed in the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*. *Vivakshâ* means 'the wish to say a thing'; and *vivakshâ* or *laukikî vivakshâ*, as understood here, is the desire of those who speak a language to convey certain meanings by certain words, the manner in which people employ the words of their language, the prevailing and generally understood usage of words (*prâyasya*, i.e. *lôkasya*, *sampratyayaḥ*). According to Patañjali,

[7] The device of *anabhidhâna* may appear so strange, that it is perhaps advisable to quote the following from Kaiyaṭa on P. IV. 2, 1: रक्तादीनां शब्दानां योऽर्थः स एव यदि लौकिके प्रयोगे प्रत्ययेनाभिधीयते तदा प्रत्ययो भवति नान्यथा प्रयुक्तानां शब्दानां साध्वसाधुविवेकाय शास्त्रारम्भात्। देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रमिति वाक्याद्योऽर्थोऽवगम्यते नासौ दैवदत्तं वस्त्रमित्यतोऽवगम्यते स्वस्वामिसंबन्धस्यैवातः संप्रत्ययात्।

[8] See Kaiyaṭa on P. III. 2, 1,— अनभिधानादिति। नित्यानां शब्दानामिदमन्वाख्यानमात्रम्। न चादित्यं पश्यतीत्याद्यर्थप्रतिपादनायादित्यदर्शादयः शब्दा लोके प्रयुज्यन्त इति शास्त्रेणापि साधुत्वेन नानुशिष्यन्त इत्यर्थः।

[9] Haradatta on P. III. 2, 1,— तत्रानभिधानं यत्राप्तैरुक्तं तत्रैव। अन्यत्र तु यथालक्षणं भवत्येव। तथा च पठति यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्त इति।

[10] Kâtyâyana in Vol. II. p. 282. Patañjali in Vol. II. pp. 275, 342, 393. See also *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* on P. II. 2, 27; IV. 2, 21, 55, 57, 58, 67; IV. 4, 125; V. 1, 16; V. 2, 45, 77, 94, 95, 107, 112, 115; V. 4, 10.

Pāṇini refers us to this common usage by the word इति, which he occasionally employs in a rule. By that इति Pâṇini, according to Patañjali, indicates that such a rule of his must not be observed generally and under all circumstances, but has its application limited by general usage. The rule must be observed only so far as it may lead to the formation of such words as are used by people, or of words which are really used in the particular sense indicated by the rule. We may by P. V. 1, 16 say प्रासादीयं दारु, to convey the meaning प्रासादोऽस्य दारुणः स्यात्, but we cannot by the same rule form प्रासादीयो देवदत्तः in the sense of प्रासादो देवदत्तस्य स्यात्, because people would not understand this meaning from प्रासादीयो देवदत्तः (Vol. II. p. 343).

5. **Yôgavibhâga** is the splitting up of a rule into two or more separate rules. This proceeding has been suggested about 25 times by Kâtyâyana, and rather more than 70 times by Patañjali. Its general purport is, without altering the wording of the text of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, simply by a different division of that text, to obviate objections that might be brought against Pâṇini's rules, and to make those rules teach more than they would teach otherwise, or than Pâṇini has taught himself. Examples, both from the Vârttikas and from the Mahâbhâshya, have been already given in my last note.

I may add here that the commentators, without resorting to actual *yôgavibhâga* and thus increasing the number of the Sûtras, occasionally meet objections by joining the first word or words of one rule on to a preceding rule, or by dividing the words of the text differently from what they themselves show to be the ordinary or generally accepted division of it. In Vol. I. p. 272 Kâtyâyana suggests the possibility of dividing the text of the rule P. I. 3, 11 स्वरितेनाधिकारः, usually divided into स्वरितेन and अधिकारः, into the three words स्वरिते, न, and अधिकारः. In Vol. I. p. 271 Patañjali proposes to join the word स्वरितेन of the same rule on to the preceding rule, which would then read यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानां स्वरितेन, and to make P. I. 3, 11 consist of only the one word अधिकारः. In Vol. II. p. 228 Patañjali proposes to transfer the word सर्वत्र from the beginning of P. IV. 1, 18 to the end of the preceding rule IV. 1, 17. In Vol. II. p. 11 he meets an objection by dividing the words दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य of P. III. 1, 6, usually divided into दीर्घश्च + अभ्यासस्य, into दीर्घश्च + आभ्यासस्य. In Vol. III. p. 11 he divides जक्षित्यादयः (= जक्षिति + आदयः) of P. VI. 1, 6 into जक्ष् + इत्यादयः; in Vol. I. p. 152 °वरेयलोप° of P. I. 1, 58 into °वरे + ऽयलोप°, etc.

6. **Ekayôgaḥ karishyatê.**[11]—As a single rule may be split in two, so two rules may be joined together, so as to form one rule. The advantage sought to be derived from this device, which has been five times resorted to by Patañjali, may be seen from the following example. It may be argued that गुणवृद्धी in P. I. 1, 3 (इको गुणवृद्धी) is superfluous, because वृद्धिः and गुणः will be valid from P. I. 1, 1 वृद्धिरादैच् and P. I. 1, 2 अदेङ्गुणः. The objection to this would be, that वृद्धिः of P. I. 1, 1 would be valid also in P I. 1, 2, and that accordingly *a*, *ê*, *ô* would by P. I. 1, 2, be termed both *Guṇa* and *Vriddhi*. But that objection is met by the suggestion, that P. I. 1, 1 and 2 should be made one rule, वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुणः. In this single rule the term वृद्धिः, with which the rule opens, would not be valid in the concluding portion of the same rule, and from this rule both वृद्धिः and गुणः could then be supplied in the following rule (Vol. I. p. 44).

7. **Sambandham anuvartishyatê**; *sambandhânuvṛitti*; *sambandhavṛitti*.[12]—But the objection raised to the validity of the term वृद्धिः of P. I. 1, 1, in P. I. 1, 3, may be met also by another device, which Patañjali has resorted to more frequently. In P. I. 1, 2 the *whole* rule वृद्धिरादैच् may be regarded as valid, and subsequently गुणः and वृद्धिः may be regarded as valid in P. I. 1, 3. The case in fact would stand thus,—

P. I. 1, 1 वृद्धिरादैच्.

P. I. 1, 2 अदेङ्गुणः;—वृद्धिरादैच् valid from the preceding.

P. I. 1, 3 इकः;—गुणः and वृद्धिः valid from the preceding.

8. **Maṇḍûkagatayô 'dhikârâḥ**;[13] *maṇḍû-*

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[11] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 44, 482; Vol. III. pp. 25, 162, 315.

[12] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 44, 190, 457, 482; Vol. II. pp. 127, 151, 267, 390, 372; Vol. III. pp. 25, 52, 8, 148, 268, 271, 410, 445, 451, 488.

[13] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 44, 457, 482; Vol. II. p. 372; Vol. III. pp. 25, 161, 314.

kapluti.—And there is even a third way of meeting the same objection. There is no reason at all why वृद्धिः of P. I. 1, 1, should be valid in P. I. 1, 2. Like a frog, it may leap across P. I. 1, 2 and alight on P. I. 1, 3. This device has been resorted to by Patañjali seven times.

9. **Ishṭavâchî paraśabdaḥ.**[14]—In I. 4, 2 Pâṇini prescribes that of two conflicting rules the subsequent (*para*) rule, in the order of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, shall take effect in preference to the preceding rule. Now Kâtyâyana on various occasions shows that Pâṇini's rule is not universally true, and he points out a number of *pûrva-vipratishêdhas*, *i.e.* instances in which the preceding rule must take effect in preference to the subsequent rule. According to Patañjali, on the other hand, the special rules given by Kâtyâyana are unnecessary, and the objections of that grammarian only show that he has not fully understood the word *para* in P. I. 4, 2. *Para*, amongst other things, also means 'desired' (*ishṭa*), and what Pâṇini really teaches is, that of two conflicting rules it is the *desired* rule that should take effect, *i.e.* that rule, whatever be its position in the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*, the application of which will lead to correct words. Here again, then, we ought to possess a perfect knowledge of the language, if we would rightly apply the rules of Pâṇini's grammar.

10. **Pratyâhâragrahaṇa.**[15]—A term ending with an Anubandha, which at first sight would appear to denote a single suffix, root, etc., is occasionally by Patañjali explained to be a collective term denoting a series of suffixes, roots, etc. Thus मातच् in P. IV. 1, 15 is not, as might be supposed, the suffix मातच् taught in P. V. 2, 37, but is taken to be a *Pratyâhâra* or collective term, formed of मात in P. V. 2, 37 and the Anubandha च् of अयच् in P. V. 2, 43, and denoting, accordingly, all suffixes from मातच् in the former up to and including अयच् in the latter rule (Vol. I. pp. 106 and 138). The most interesting example occurs in Vol. I. p. 289, and again in Vol. II. p. 47. In the older works of Sanskṛit literature the Periphrastic Perfect is formed only with कृ; and this is exactly what Pâṇini teaches in III. 1, 40, where he says, that कृञ्, *i.e.* कृ which has the Anubandha ञ्, is employed in the Periphrastic Perfect. Patañjali, however, desirous of accounting by Pâṇini's rules for Perfects such as ईहामास, ईहांबभूव, explains कृञ् in P. III. 1, 40 to be a Pratyâhâra, formed of कृ in P. V. 4, 50 and the Anubandha ञ् of कृञ् in P. V. 4, 58, and including therefore भू and अस्, which in P. V. 4, 50 follow immediately upon कृ.

11. **Praślishṭanirdêśa.**[16]—A long or even a short vowel often results from the coalition of two or more vowels. How this simple fact may be turned to account in grammatical discussions, may be seen from the following examples. In Vol. I. p. 501, Kâtyâyana states that the single vowel आ (डा), which by P. II. 4, 85 is substituted in the Periphrastic Future for the ordinary personal terminations ति and त, takes the place of the *whole* original terminations (and not merely, according to P. I. 1, 52, of their *final* letters), because आ may be regarded as a combination of the two vowels आ + आ; and that for this reason Pâṇini is justified in not attaching the Anubandha श् to the substitute डा (compare P. I. 1, 55). According to Patañjali, Pâṇini might similarly have omitted the Anubandha श् of the term अश् in P. II. 4, 32 (Vol. I. p. 481), and of the same term अश् in P. VII. 1, 27 (Vol. III. p. 251), because even (short) अ may be regarded as a combination of अ + अ. According to Patañjali, again, लोक° in P. II. 3, 69 may be regarded as the result of the combination of ल + उ + उक°, and no additional rule is required to teach that words like चिकीर्षु, which are formed with उ, are not construed with the Genitive case (Vol. I. p. 469).

12. **Êkaśêshanirdêśa.**[17]—Pâṇini, according to the commentators, also employs other terms once only, instead of repeating them. An instance is afforded by the same rule P. II. 4, 85, which has been mentioned under the last heading. In that rule Pâṇini teaches that डारौरसः, *i.e.* as one would say, डा, रौ, and रस्, are substituted for the third personal terminations of the Periphrastic Future. Here it may be objected that, as there are six such termina-

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[14] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 46, 194, 306, 404; Vol. II. pp. 237, 279, 337; Vol. III. pp. 18, 99, 134, 201, 238, 276.

[15] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 106, 138, 141, 289, 470, 488; Vol. II. pp. 47, 130, 208.

[16] Kâtyâyana in Vol. I. p. 501. Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 47, 88, 139, 140, 469, 481; Vol. II. pp. 46, 52. 184, 408; Vol. III. pp. 151, 212, 251, 273, 312. Compare *vikâranirdêśa*, Kâtyâyana in Vol. I. p. 202.

[17] Kâtyâyana in Vol. I. pp. 261, 350, 369; Vol. III. pp. 167, 467. Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 88, 156, 212, 500.

tions, three in the Parasmaipada and three in the Âtmanêpada, and only three substitutes, the rule P. I. 3, 10, which determines the order in which substitutions take place, would not be applicable, and that Pâṇini therefore ought to have shown in some other way, how the substitution should take place. Such objection is met by the statement that डारौरसः is an *ékaśésha-nirdéśa*, for डारौरसः + डारौरसः *i.e.* डा रौ रस् + डा रौ रस्; and the number of substitutes having thus been shown to *be* six, the order of substitution is after all regulated by P. I. 3, 10 (Vol I. p. 500). To P. I. 1, 27 सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि Kâtyâyana wishes to append the note that सर्व etc., when used as proper names, are *not* termed *Sarvanâmâni*. Such a note, however, is by Patañjali regarded as superfluous, because सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि may be taken to stand for सर्वादीनि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि सर्वनामानि. 'सर्व etc., are (termed) *Sarvanâmâni*; (and the) सर्व etc., (here spoken of) are nouns denoting anybody' (not proper names). (Vol. I. p. 88).

13. **Avibhaktikô nirdêśaḥ.**[18]—Pâṇini on rare occasions does put down in his Sûtras certain terms without the case-terminations, which we should have expected him to attach to them.[19] But this will hardly be considered to justify the commentators in assuming an *avibhaktika nirdéśa*, 'the employment of a term without termination,' in instances like the following. The wording of P. VII. 3, 82 and 83 is मिदेर्गुणः जुसि च, or, when the two rules are joined according to the rules of euphony, मिदेर्गुणोजुसि च. To meet certain objections, Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 47 takes the first rule to consist of the three words मिद् एः गुणः, where the base मिद् would stand for the Genitive case मिदः ('Guṇa is substituted for the इ of मिद्'); and in Vol. III. p. 335 he further divides गुणोजुसि च into गुण + उजुसि च, where the base गुण would stand for the Nominative case गुणः ('Guṇa is also substituted before जुस्, when जुस् commences with उ').

14. **Luptanirdishṭa.**[20]—Occasionally a consonant (usually य् or व्) is supposed to have been elided in the text of the Sûtras. Such consonant would of course have to be replaced, when explaining the text. On P. I. 3, 7, Kâtyâyana demands a special rule, to teach that, contrary to Pâṇini's rule, the initial च् of the suffixes चुञ्चुप् and चणप् is *not* an Anubandha. According to Patañjali, no such rule is required because the two suffixes really begin with the letter व्, which has been elided in the text (Vol. I. p. 263).

15. **Dvi-kârakô nirdêśaḥ.**[21]—More often Pâṇini is supposed to have employed a double consonant, where the actual text of the Sûtras has only a single consonant. On P. VIII. 3, 5, समः सुटि Kâtyâyana suggests that, before the augment सुट् (in सम् + स्कर्ता), स् (not रु) should be substituted for the final of सम् (=संस्कर्ता). According to Patañjali, Kâtyâyana's remark is superfluous, because the substitution of स् has been taught in Pâṇini's own rule, the wording of which really is समः स्सुटि (or समस्स्सुटि), *i.e.* 'स् is substituted for (the final of) सम् before सुट्' (Vol. III. p. 425). Theoretically it is perfectly true that, by the rules of euphony, original समः स्सुटि might have been changed to समः सुटि, but how little importance can be attached to Patañjali's remark, may be seen from the fact that quite a different meaning has been assigned by him to the same rule समः स्सुटि in Vol. III. p. 94.

16. **Anvarthasaṁjñâ.**[22]—Technical terms are employed for the sake of economy or brevity. When, then, Pâṇini uses other than short technical terms, he does so to show that the application of those terms accords with their etymological meaning. On the rule I. 1, 23, in which Pâṇini teaches that बहु, गण, etc. are termed *Saṅkhyâ*, Kâtyâyana would wish it to

[18] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 21 25, 47; Vol. II. p. 46; Vol. III. pp. 242, 335, 414.

[19] Compare *e.g.* P. III. 3, 17 सृ; III. 3, 36 स्तु; III. 3, 48 वृ; VI. 1, 184 and VI. 4, 6 नृ; VI. 3, 62 एक; VI. 4, 142 ति.

[20] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 49, 263 (twice); Vol. II. p. 52; Vol. III. pp. 43, 245, 267. The letters supposed to have been dropped are य्, व्, and once न्.

[21] Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 139; Vol. III. pp. 94, 254, 425; (*dvisakârakô nirdéśaḥ*);—Vol. I. p. 155; Vol. II. p. 68; Vol. III. pp. 37, 188, 266; (*dvila°*);—Vol. I. p. 170; (*dviśa°*);—Vol. II. p. 30; (*dvicha°*);—Vol. III. pp. 48, 250; (*dviḍa°*);—Vol. III. pp. 103, 410; (*dvina°*); Vol. III. p. 257; (*dvima°*);—Vol. III. p. 351 (*dvita°*, *trita°*). This is perhaps the right place for the remark that the wrong reading क्ङिति च of the rule P. I. 1, 5 (क्ङिति च) owes its origin to Patañjali's suggestion in Vol. I. p. 209 and Vol. II. p. 122, ककारे गकारश्चर्त्वभूतो निर्दिश्यते. Compare a similar expression in Vol. III. p. 110.

[22] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 81, 89, 96, 215, 324, 346, 373; Vol. II. pp. 3, 76. Compare *anvarthagrahaṇa* in Vol. I pp. 88, 209, 227, 229, 237, 472; Vol. II. pp. 203, 416; Vol. III. pp. 93, 128, 415.

be distinctly stated that the ordinary numerals एक, द्वि, etc. also are termed *Saṁkhyâ*, because otherwise these numerals would not in Pâṇini's grammar be denoted by the term *Saṁkhyâ*. But Kâtyâyana's suggestion is rejected by Patañjali, on the ground that *Saṁkhyâ* is an *anvartha-saṁjñâ*. The term *Saṁkhyâ* denotes the ordinary numerals एक, द्वि, etc., because संख्या is derived from सम्+ख्या 'to count together,' which is exactly what the ordinary numerals do (Vol. I. p. 81).

17. **Tadvadatidêśa.**[23]—Or it may be said, that in the rule mentioned Pâṇini has used the word संख्या in the sense of संख्यावत्. Pâṇini does not say at all that बहु, गण, etc., are *termed Saṁkhyâ*; what he teaches is, that बहु, गण, etc., are treated *as if they were* numerals[24] (Vol. I. p. 81).

18. **Prakarshagati.**[25]—As in ordinary life, so here, sometimes the mere fact that Pâṇini employs a word is sufficient to show that particular stress is laid on such word; that the word has reference to things which under all circumstances, or in a high degree, or more than other things (*sâdhîyaḥ*), are what the word means. When in I. 1, 56 Pâṇini uses the term *al-vidhi* 'an operation depending on *a letter*,' he means such operations as depend on letters as such, not operations which depend on suffixes that happen to be letters (Vol. I. p. 136). When in III. 1, 94 he speaks of *asarûpa* (*i.e.* not uniform) suffixes, he must mean suffixes which are *asarûpa* in the ordinary language as well as in the language of grammar, because in the latter *all* suffixes are *asarûpa* (Vol. II. p. 80). And when in I. 3, 3 he speaks of a *last* consonant, he must be understood to mean the final consonant of complete roots, suffixes, etc., and Kâtyâyana need not have attempted to improve on Pâṇini's rule (Vol. I. p. 261).

19. **Akârô matvarthîyaḥ; matublôpaḥ.**[26]—To meet objections of various kinds, a noun ending in the vowel अ is occasionally regarded as a derivative noun formed with the possessive suffix अ; or it is stated that the possessive suffix मतुप्, which should have been added, has been dropped. A simple instance is furnished by the word अनुदात्त in P. VI. 1, 158. As the meaning of that rule (अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्) is, that 'with the exception of one vowel, a word contains only *anudâtta* vowels,' one might have expected Pâṇini to say (not अनुदात्तं पदम्, but) अनुदात्ताः पदे or अनुदात्ताः पदस्य. The actual wording of the rule is nevertheless correct, because अनुदात्तम् does not mean *anudâtta*, but means 'containing *anudâtta* vowels;' either the possessive suffix has been dropped, or the final अ of अनुदात्त is the possessive suffix अ. (Vol. III. p. 97.)

20. **Tâdarthyât tâchchhabdyam;**[27] **sâhacharyât tâchchhabdyam;**[28] **tâtsthyât tâchchhabdyam.**[29]—Things subservient to something else, or things which are in company with something else, or things which are in a particular place, may be called by the names of the things to which they are subservient, or in company with which they appear, or of the place where they are. It is thus that the term समास in P. I. 2, 43, denotes *the rules* which teach the formation of compounds (*samâsârthaṁ śâstram;* Kâtyâyana, in Vol. I. p. 214); and that तत्पुरुषः in P. I 2, 42 means the words forming a Tatpurusha-compound (Patañjali, against Kâtyâyana, in Vol. I. p. 214). Thus, too, the rule P. I. 1, 30 तृतीयासमासे is supposed to account for the fact that, *e. g.*, in मासेन पूर्वाय देहि the word पूर्व does not follow the pronominal declension. (Vol. I. p. 92.) And, by a similar reasoning, suggestions of Kâtyâyana have been rejected by Patañjali in Vol. II. p. 388 and p. 437.

As might have been expected, most of these devices which I have collected from the Mahâbhâshya, have been made use of also in the **Kâśikâ-Vṛitti**. In addition to them, the compilers of that commentary have employed other devices among which the two following, with which I conclude this list, are perhaps those most commonly resorted to.

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[23] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 81, 191, 469. *Vatinirdêśa* in Vol. III. p. 272.

[24] Accordingly, Hêmachandra in his rule I. 1, 39 has वत्यतु संख्यावत्.

[25] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 136, 261, 283 (twice), 329, 355, 379, 380; Vol. II. pp. 80, 334; Vol. III. pp. 164, 369, 430.

[26] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 156, 208; Vol. II. pp. 104, 179, 376, 377; Vol. III. pp. 30, 97, 104, 171.

[27] Kâtyâyana in Vol. I. p. 214; Vol. II. p. 312. Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 91, 92, 214, 225, 332, 452, (twice); Vol. II. pp. 283, 331, 338, 359; Vol. III. p. 32.

[28] Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 180, 202; Vol. II. pp. 284, 309, 360, 388.

[29] Patañjali in Vol. II. p. 437. Compare also Vol. II. p. 218, l. 15. *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* on P. III. 1, 144.

21. Vyavasthitavibhâshâ.[30]—When Pâṇini teaches that an operation takes place optionally, we naturally understand him to mean, that such operation may or may not take effect in every individual instance which may fall under the rule. This, too, is clearly the opinion of the earlier commentators, as may be seen from various critical remarks which they have appended to some of Pâṇini's optional rules. To obviate such remarks, and generally with a view to account by Pâṇini's own rules for the actual facts of the language as known to them, later grammarians have invented the device of *vyavasthita-vibhâshâ*. An optional rule need not be optional in every case, but may be taken to teach, either, that an operation in particular instances necessarily must take place, while in others it is not allowed to take place at all; or, that the operation is really optional in a limited number of instances only, while in other instances, as the case may be, it must necessarily take place or may not take place. In I. 2, 21 Pâṇini teaches that in certain forms roots with penultimate उ optionally take Guṇa;—द्युत् thus forms द्युतित or द्योतित. According to Kâtyâyana, Pâṇini's rule is too wide; it should have been limited to roots of the first class only. According to the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*, the rule affords an instance of *vyavasthita-vibhâshâ*; the operation taught by it optionally takes place in roots of the first class; in the case of other roots it does not take place at all. By P. III. 1, 143 ग्रह् forms either ग्रह or ग्राह; but, the rule being a *vyavasthita-vibhâshâ*, ग्रह् forms only ग्रह in the sense of 'a planet,' and only ग्राह in the sense of a 'shark.' According to P. I. 4, 47 the verb अभिनिविश् governs the Accusative case; Jayâditya, in order to account by Pâṇini's rule for the Locative case which also is found occasionally with the same verb, makes the rule optional by supplying for it (by *maṇḍûka-pluti*) अन्यतरस्याम् from P. I. 4, 44, and he then declares P. I, 4, 47 to be a *vyavasthita-vibhâshâ*. अभिनिविश् in some phrases governs only the Accusative, in others only the Locative. The interpretation of Pâṇini's rules is again dependent on and regulated by the actual usage of the language.

22. Anuktasamuchchayârthaś chakâraḥ.[31]—On P. I. 3, 93 लुटि च क्लृपः, Patañjali shows that the च of that rule is superfluous, because even without it the term स्यसनोः of the preceding rule would be valid in the rule under discussion; and he adds the general remark that in like manner all the particles च of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî* may be dispensed with (Vol. I. p. 295). In other places meanings have been assigned by him to च, which that particle does not convey ordinarily. Thus च is taken in the sense of एव (*avadhâraṇârtha*) in Vol. I. pp. 381 (P. II. 1, 17); 392 (P. II. 1, 48), 406 (P. II. 1, 72); in the sense of इति in Vol. I. p. 415 (P. II. 2, 14). More strange even Patañjali's proceeding must appear to us, when we see him refute certain criticisms of Kâtyâyana by means of the particle च in P. II. 4, 9 and P. VI. 1, 90,—a proceeding which, I may add, has been imitated by Jayâditya on P. II. 3, 16 and P. III. 1, 2. But there is one meaning which Patañjali has never assigned to च, and which in grammar has to my knowledge been assigned to it first by the authors of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*,—the meaning indicated in the above heading *anuktasamuchchayârthaś chakâraḥ*. The word च serves the purpose of adding to the words actually enumerated in a rule others that have not been mentioned; or, in other words, Pâṇini indicates by the particle च, that his rule applies to other words besides those actually mentioned by him. On P. V. 1, 7 खलयवमाषतिलवृषब्रह्मणश्च, Kâtyâyana has the note that रथ takes the same suffix as the words enumerated (Vol. II. p. 339). According to the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*, the particle च at the end of the rule is by Pâṇini meant to show that the suffix taught by the rule is added to other words *besides* those actually enumerated, and the word which Pâṇini had in view in thus employing च is said to have been रथ. On P. III. 2, 30 नाडीमुष्ट्योश्च, Patañjali adds to the word given by Pâṇini घटी and others (Vol. II. p. 102); in the *Kâśikâ* we are told that these very words घटी etc., are suggested by the particle च of Pâṇini's own rule. In P. IV. 4, 29 Pâṇini has परिमुखं च; the corresponding rule of Chandra's grammar is परेर्मुखपार्श्वात्; according to the

[30] See *e.g.* *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* on P. I. 2, 21; I. 3, 70; I. 4, 47; II. 3, 17; 60; III. 1, 11; 90; 143; III. 2, 124; III. 3, 14; III. 4, 85, 86; VI. 1, 27, 28, 51.—Compare also *Mahâbhâshya*, Vol. II. p. 165; III. p. 350.

[31] See, *e.g.* *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* on P. II. 4, 18; III. 1, 126; III. 2, 89, 138, 188; III. 3, 119, 122; IV. 1, 74, 96, 128; IV. 2, 82; IV. 4, 29; V. 1, 7; V. 4, 25, 145; VII. 1, 48; VII. 2, 16.

Kâśikâ, the particle च of Pâṇini's rule shows that the suffix taught by the rule is added to other words besides परिमुख, and the word which Pâṇini had in his mind, when thus employing च, is the very परिपार्श्व which is actually given by Chandra. According to the Kâśikâ, the च of P. V. 4, 145 shows that one also says आहिदत् or अहिदन्त, मूषिकदत् or मूषिकदन्त etc.; अहि, मूषिक etc., are the very words which the corresponding rule of Chandra actually enumerates, in addition to the words अग्र, अन्त etc., which are enumerated by Pâṇini. Unluckily we do not possess yet a complete copy of Chandra's grammar; but judging from what we do possess of it, I feel little hesitation in saying that, wherever the device of which I am speaking is resorted to in the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*, the words which Pâṇini is supposed to suggest by the employment of the particle च, have invariably been taken by the compilers of the *Kâśikâ* from the Vârttikas, or from the Mahâbhâshya, or from the grammar of Chandra. The compilers have invented nothing; not caring for, or having no notion of, the history of grammar, they have tried to show, how Pâṇini's own rules can be made to account for a number of words, for which Pâṇini's more immediate successors had given additional rules.[33]

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 171.—BHOPAL PLATES OF UDAYAVARMAN.—VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1256.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from some copper-plates which appear to have been found about twenty-five years ago, during survey operations, in a field at the village of 'Uljamun'[1] in the Shamsgaḍh Parganâ of the **Bhôpâl State** in Central India, and have been since then in the treasury of H. H. the Bêgam of Bhôpâl. I obtained them, for examination, through the kindness of Col. Kincaid, until recently Political Agent for Bhôpâl.

The **plates**, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 12⅜″ by 9½″. The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing;[2] and the inscription is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. Only a few letters, here and there, have been slightly damaged by rust. The plates are fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, though tolerably deeply engraved, do not shew through on the reverse sides of them at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of most of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two **rings** to connect them. But the rings, with any **seal** that may have been on one of them, are not now forthcoming. In the lower part of the second plate, however, in a rectangle about 3⅜″ broad by 3⅝″ high, there is engraved a representation of Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling to the front, with his head turned over his right shoulder.—The **weight** of the two plates is about 6 lbs. 3¼ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$.″ The **characters** are those of the northern Dêvanâgarî alphabet, of the period to which the inscription refers itself.—The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, with the exception of two invocatory verses in lines 1 to 3, and one of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses in line 16-18, and eleven in lines 28 to 40, the record is in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of *j* for *y* in *jauvana*, line 16; (2) the use of *v* for *b*, throughout, *e.g.* in *vibhartti*, line 1; *śavda*, line 7; *vrâhmaṇa*, line 10; and *vôdhayati*, line 11; and (3) a frequent confusion between the sibilants; *e.g.* in *kêsa* for *kêśa*, line 1, and *sirasâ* for *śirasâ*, line 2; and, on the other hand, in *śamasta* for *samasta*, line 10, and *śaha* for *saha*, line 24; it is, however, always difficult to say how far this is only due to imperfect knowledge on the part of the drafter of a grant, or carelessness

[33] See a paper on *cha* and *iti* by Dr. Bühler in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. I. p. 13.

[1] The 'Uljama' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 7′ N.; Long. 77° 15′. About seventeen miles south-west of Bhôpâl, and nine miles south-east of Sihôr.

[2] But, since the time when I first saw these plates, in March, 1884, the rims have been cut off: making the plates quite smooth, in order to put them in frames in which they can be hung up on a wall.

on the part of the writer or the engraver of it.

The inscription commences with two verses in praise of the god Śiva, under the names of Vyômakêśa, or 'he who has the sky for his hair' (line 1), and Smarârâti, or 'the foe of the god of Love' (l. 2.)

It then mentions the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara* **Yaśôvarmadêva** (l. 4); and his successor, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara* **Jayavarmadêva** (l. 5). From the 'Pipliânagar' grant, published in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 377 ff., we learn that Jayavarman,—or Ajayavarman, as he is there called, if the published reading in verse 11 is correct, —was the son of Yaśôvarman; and that these two kings belonged to the **Paramâra** family, and were descendants of **Bhôjadêva** of **Dhârâ**. It then mentions the *Mahâkumâra* **Lakshmivarmadêva** (l. 6), who had attained the *pañchamahâśabda*; and his successor, the *Mahâkumâra* **Udayavarmadêva** (l. 8), the son of **Hariśchandra**, who also had attained the *pañchamahâśabda*. By certain words[3] in line 5, **Udayavarman** is referred to a time when the reign,—or, more probably, part of the reign,— of **Jayavarman** had passed away. It then proceeds to record that **Udayavarman** issues a command to all the residents, neighbours, and officials at the village of **Guṇaûrâ** (l. 9) in the **Vôḍasirâsatka** Forty-eight (circle of villages) (l. 9) belonging to the **Narmadapura** *pratijâgaraṇaka*,[4] in the **Vindhya** *maṇḍala*, to the effect that, in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1256 (l. 11-12), having bathed in the river **Rêvâ**, *i.e.* the Narmadâ, at the bathing-place called **Guvâḍâghaṭṭa** (l. 13), having put on a white upper and lower garment, having done worship to the gods, the sages, and mankind, and the god Śiva under the name of the divine Bhavânîpati (l. 14), having done sacrifice to Fire or to the god Agni, having made an offering to the sun, and having three times walked round and touched a tawny-coloured cow (l. 15), for the increase of the religious merit of his parents and of himself (l. 19), he has granted the said village of **Guṇaûrâ** (l. 22), in perpetuity to the **Brâhmaṇ** Mâlûśarman,[5] the son of Yajñadhara, (l. 21), belonging to the Garga *gôtra* (l. 20), with the three-fold *pravara* of Garga, Śainya, and Âṅgirasa, and a religious student of the Vâjasanêya *śâkhâ*. The special terms and privileges of the grant are recited in lines 22 to 24. Lines 25 to 27 contain the customary order to the residents and officials, to be obedient to the grantee, and to render him his dues. Lines 27 to 40 contain an injunction to future kings, to continue the grant, followed by ten of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, and an eleventh, introduced in a prose passage. And the inscription ends with the words "this is the sign-manual of the *Mahâkumâra*, the illustrious **Udayavarmadêva**" (l. 40 f.), referring probably to the representation of Garuḍa that is engraved here; followed by the record that the *Dûtaka* is the illustrious *Maṇḍalika* **Kshêmvarâja** (l. 41).

Of the places mentioned in this charter, the village that was granted, **Guṇaûrâ**, seems to be undoubtedly the modern '**Ganora**' of the map,[6] seven miles south-west of Hôshaṅgâbâd. **Narmadapura** is, I should think, the ancient name of **Hôshaṅgâbâd**; the only other possibility seems to be that it is '**Narwar**,' about thirty-three miles almost due east of Bhôpâl; but this place is over thirty miles away from the Narmadâ, and therefore could hardly be suitably called Narmadapura. And the **Guvâḍâghaṭṭa** is possibly represented by the modern village of '**Guaria**,' on the left bank of the **Narmadâ**, two miles to the west of Hôshaṅgâbâd. For **Vôḍasirâsatka**, I cannot find any representative in the map.

The full details of the date, which is given in both words and decimal figures (l. 11ff.) are Vikrama-Saṁvat 1256, perhaps mentioned as an expired year; the month Vaiśâkha (April-May); the bright fortnight; the fifteenth solar day in the fortnight; the full-moon *tithi*; the **Viśâkhâ** *nakshatra*; the **Parigha** *yôga*; and Ravidina, or **Sunday**. Having regard to the locality to which this grant belongs, and to the fact that the capital, **Dhârâ**, of the dynasty by a feudatory of which the grant was made, is well to the north of the Narmadâ, the year ought, *primâ facie*, to be

[3] *Jayavarmmadêva-râjyê vyatîtê.*

[4] This territorial term, a derivative from *pratijâgṛi*, 'to watch beside', requires proper explanation. Monier Williams gives it, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as meaning 'a district.'

[5] Or perhaps Mâlhûśarman.

[6] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53, S.E. Lat. 22° 41' N.; Long. 77° 48' E.

the northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1256, the month Vaiśâkha of which fell in A.D. 1199. But, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the given *tithi* then ended on Monday, the 12th April, A.D. 1199. If, on the other hand, we treat the year as the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1256, of which the month Vaiśâkha fell in A.D. 1200, then I find, by the same Tables, that the given *tithi* ended on **Sunday, the 30th April, A.D. 1200**; and, as the preceding new-moon *tithi* ended on Saturday, the 15th April, the given *tithi* ended on the fifteenth solar day in the fortnight, as denoted by the use of the abbreviations *śu di.* Also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me that the details of the **Viśâkhâ nakshatra** and the **Parigha yôga** are correct only for the 30th April, A.D. 1200; and not for the 12th April, A.D. 1199; nor even for the given *tithi* in the Vaisâkha that fell in A.D. 1201. There can, therefore, be no doubt as to the correct English equivalent of the given *tithi.* And the date can be interpreted as a northern date, only if we look on the text as meaning the full-moon *tithi* of the month Vaiśâkha in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1257 current, after the expiration of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1256; and if we then treat Vikrama-Saṁvat 1257 itself as an expired year, for the purposes of calculation according to the present Tables.

TEXT.[7]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[8] II Svasti jayô=bhyudayaś=cha II Jayati[9] Vyômakêsô(śô)=sau yaḥ sarggâya vi(bi)bhartti tâṁ I aiṁdavîṁ

2 si(śi)rasâ lêkhâṁ jagad-vîj-âṁkur-âkritiṁ II Tanvantu vaḥ Smarârâtêḥ kalyâṇam=aniśaṁ jaṭâḥ I ka-

3 lpânta-samay-ôddâma-taḍid-valaya-piṁgalâḥ II Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramê-

4 sva(śva)ra-śrîmad-**Yaśôvarmmadêva**-pâd-ânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsva(śva)-

5 ra-śrîmaj-**Jayavarmmadêva**-râjyê vyatîtê nija-kara-krita-karavâla-prasâd-âvâpta-nij-âdhipa-

6 tya-samasta-praśast-ôpêta-samadhigatapaṁchamahâśavd(bd)-âla[ṁ*]kâra-virâjamâna-mahâkumâra-śrîmal-**La-**

7 **kshmîvarmmadêva**-pâd-ânudhyâta-samasta-praśast-ôpêta-samadhigatapaṁchamahâśavd-(bd)-âlaṁkâra-virâjam[â*]-

8 na-mahâkumâra-śrî-**Hariśchaṁdradêva**suta-śrîmad-**Udayavarmmadêvô** vijay-ôdayî II[10] **Viṁdhya**-maṁḍalê

9 **Narmmada**[11]**pura**-pratijâgaraṇaka-**Vôḍasirâsatk**-âshṭachatvâriṁśan-madhyê **Guṇaürâ**-grâma-nivâsi-

10 naḥ pratigrâma-nivâsinaś=cha śa(sa)masta-râjapurusha-vi(vai)shayika-paṭṭakila-janapad-âdîn=vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôt[t*]a-

11 rân=vô(bô)dhayaty=Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ II[12] asmâbhiḥ śrî-Vikrama-kâl-atîta-shaṭ-paṁchâsa(śa)d-adhika-dvâda-

12 śa-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsar-ântaḥprâ(pâ)ti aṁkê 1256 Vaiśâkha su(śu) di 15 paurṇṇamâsyâṁ tithau Visâ(śâ)khâ-nakshatrê Parigha-yô-

13 gê Ravi-dinê mahâ-Vaisâ(śâ)khyâṁ parvvaṇi **Guvâḍâ-ghaṭṭê Rêvâyâṁ** snâtvâ sina-pavitra-vâsasî paridhâya dêva-

14 rishi[13]-manushyân=saṁtarpya charâchara-guru[ṁ*] bhagavantaṁ Bhavânîpatiṁ sam-abhyarchchya samit-kusa(śa)-til-ânn-âshṭâhutibhir=hira-

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[7] From the original plates.

[8] This word is expressed by a symbol, not in writing.

[9] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh.)

[10] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[11] The engraver seems to have formed *dâ*, and then to have cancelled the *â*.

[12] This mark of punctuation, again, is unnecessary.

[13] In the case of a final *a*, followed by an initial *ṛi*, it is usual to join the vowels in regular *saṁdhi*. But Dr. Hultzsch has drawn my attention to the fact that the commentary on Pâṇini, vi. 1, 128, *ṛity=akaḥ*, states that the *saṁdhi* here is in accordance with the opinion of Śâkalya, and thus seems to intimate that, according to other grammarians, the *saṁdhi* is optional, and a hiatus is equally permissible.

Bhopal Plates of Udayavarman.—Vikrama-Samvat 1256.

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J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .60

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

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15 ṇyarêtasaṁ hutvâ bhânavê=rghaṁ vidhâya kapilâṁ triḥ pradakshiṇîkṛity=ôpaspṛisya-(śya) cha saṁsârasy=âsâratâṁ drishṭvâ nalinî-

16 dala-gata-jala-lava-taralataraṁ jau(yau)vanaṁ dhanaṁ jîvitaṁ ch=âvêkshya । uktaṁ cha । Vât[14]-âbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-âdhipa-

17 tyam=â-pâta-mâtra-madhurô vishâ(sha)y-ôpabhôgaḥ । prâṇâs=tṛiṇ-âgra-jala-viṁdu-samâ narâṇâṁ dharmmaḥ sakhâ param=a-

18 hô paralôka-yânê ॥ Bhramat-saṁsâra-chakr-âgra-dhârâṁ=imâṁ śriyaṁ prâpya yê na dadus=têshâṁ paschâ(śchâ)ttâpaḥ paraṁ pha-

19 laṁ i[15]ti jagatô vinasva(śva)raṁ rûpaṁm[16]=âkalashṭa(yya) mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha yasa(śa)ḥ-pu-

Second Plate.

20 ṇya-vivṛiddhayê tila-yava-kuś-ôdaka-pûrvvaṁ Gargga-gôtrâya Gargga-Sai(śai)ny-Âṅgiras-êti-

21 triḥ[17]-pravarâya Vâjisavêya[18]-sâ(śâ)khinê agnihôtṛi-Yajñadhara-suta-dvivêda-purôdhâsa-Mâlâ(?lhâ)-

22 śarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya uparilikhita-Guṇaürâ-grâmô nidhi-nikshêpa-kalyâṇa-dhana-sahitaḥ sa-vṛiksha-mâlâ-

23 kulô chatush-kaṁkaṭa-visu(śu)ddhô vâpî-ku(kû)pa-taḍâg-ârâma-nadî-śchôtra-vâ(vî ?)ḍa-vâṭik-âdy-upayuktaḥ sarvv-âbhyantara-siddhyâ

24 śa(sa)ha yâvach=cha[ṁ*]dra-divâkara-samudra-sarê(ri)d-ashṭakulaparvvat-âshṭakulanâg-âshṭaudigtaj-Êchcha-Upidra[19]-siddha-vidyâdhar-âdi-

25 bhiḥ sahitâ vasumatî tishṭa(shṭha)ti tâvach=chhâsanîkṛitya pradattaḥ ।(॥) Tad=atra grâma-nivâsi-paṭṭakil-âdi-lôkais=ta-

26 thâ karshakaiś=cha yathôtpadyamâna-bhâgabhôga-kara-hiraṇy-âdika[ṁ*] âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidh[ê*]yair=bhûtv=âtra-grâmîyaṁ sarvvam=a-

27 smai pradâtavyam ।(॥) sâmânyaṁ ch=aitat=puṇya-phalaṁ va(bu)ddhvâ asmad-vaṁśa-jair=anyair=api bhâvi-bhôktṛibhir=asmat-pradatta-dharsmâ(rmma)dâyô(yô)=

28 yam=anumaṁtavyaḥ pâlanîyaś=châ(cha ।) yatô [।*] Va(ba)hubhir[20]=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhû-

29 mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [॥*] Bhûmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛih[ṇ*]âti yas=tu bhûmi[ṁ*] praya[ch*]chhati ubhau tau puṇya-karmmâṇau niyataṁu(taṁ) sva-

30 rga-gâminau ।(॥) Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-âsanaṁ chchhatraṁ var-âsva(śvô) vara-vâhanaṁ bhûmi-dânasya chihnâni phalam=êtat=Pura[ṁ*]dara ।(॥) Harttâ hâ-

31 rayitâ bhûmi[ṁ*] maṁda-vudhis[21]=tamô-vṛitaḥ sa va(ba)ddhô Vâruṇaiḥ pâśê(śai)s=tiryagyônêḥ prajâyatê ।(॥) Sva-dattâ[ṁ*] para-dattâṁ châ(vâ) yâ(yô) harêta vasuṁdha-

32 râṁ shashṭi-va[r*]sha-sahasrâṇâ(ṇi) vishṭîyâ[ṁ*] jâyatê kṛimiḥ ।(॥) Suva[r*]ṇṇaṁ=êkaṁ gâm=êkâ[ṁ*] bhûmêr=apy=êkam=aṁgula[ṁ*] haran=varakaś=âptatê[22] y[â*]vad=â-bh[û]-

33 ta-sa[ṁ*]plavâ(vaṁ) [॥*] Triṇy=âharati dânâni gâvaḥ pṛith[v*]î sarasvatî â-saptamaṁ punaṁtty(ty)=êtâ dôha-vâha-nivêdanaiḥ ।(॥) Yân[23]=iha dattâni purâ nar[êṁ]-

34 drair=dânâni dharmm-ârtha-yasa(śa)s-karâṇi nirmmâlya-vâṁti(ta)-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ pu-

35 nar=âdadîta ॥ Sarvvân[24]=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârthivêṁdrân=bhûyô-bhûyô yâchatê Râma-bhadraḥ sâmâ-

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[14] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[15] This initial *i* is imperfect, one of the upper circles having been omitted.

[16] Read *rûpam*. [17] Read *tri*. [18] Read *vâjasanêya*.

[19] Read *ashṭadiggaj-Êṁdr-Ôpêndra*.

[20] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next six verses.

[21] Read *buddhis*.

[22] Read *narakam=âpnôti*.

[23] Metre, Indravajrâ. [24] Metre, Śâlinî.

36 nyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nripâṇâṁ kâlê-kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ ı(ıı) Mad[25]-vaṁsa(śa)-jâḥ para-ma-
37 hîpati-vasa[26]-jâ vâ pâpân=nivṛitta-manasô bhûvi bhâvi-bhûpâḥ ı yê pâlayâ(ya)ṁti mama
38 dharmmam=ahaṁ tu têshâṁ pâdâraviṁda-yugalaṁ si(śi)rasâ nanâ(mâ)mi ı(ıı) Ity=ârshêya-vachana-kra-
39 mam=avagamya kamala[27]-dal-âmvu(mbu)-vi[ṁ*]du-lôlâm śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jîvitaṁ cha ı sa-
40 kalam=idam=udâhṛitaṁ cha vudvâ[28] na hi purushaiḥ para-kîrttayô vilôpyâ iti ıı Sva-hastô=
41 yaṁ mahâkumâra-śrî-Udayavarmmadêvasya ıı Dû[29] śrî-maṁḍalî(li)ka-Kshêmva-rajaḥ ı(ıı) Śrî [ıı*]

MISCELLANEA.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

A WORD IN SEASON, HOW GOOD IS IT!

There are many verses on this text current in the mouths of Maithilî Paṇḍits. The following are samples:—

अवसरकथिता वाणी
गुणगणहीनापि शोभते नितराम् ।
वामे गर्दभनादो
यथा प्रयाणे हि मङ्गलं वदति ॥

'A word in season, even when not very wise shines forth as excellent, just as an ass's bray heard on the left hand, promises a prosperous journey.'

खिद्यति सुजनो ऽपि भृशमनवसरज्ञेन याचितः सुहृदा ।
सुरतान्तरे रुदन्तं प्रियमपि पुत्रं शप्यति हि जननी ॥

'Even a virtuous man is annoyed when asked for something by a friend who is exceedingly ignorant of the time for doing so.

'A mother will scold even a favourite son, when he is tormenting her on certain occasions.'[1]

पिकः कृष्णो नित्यं परमरुणया पश्यति दृशा
परापत्यद्वेषी सुतमपि न वै पालयति यः ।
तथाप्येषो ऽमीषां सकलजगतां वल्लभतमो
न दोषा गण्यन्ते मधुरवचसां केनचिदपि ॥

'The cuckoo is black, and always looks at another with a red (*or* angry) eye. It hates the offspring of other birds, and does not rear even its own young: yet still it is the beloved of every world, for the faults of those with sweet voices are never counted.'

THE FIVE WAYS OF WORLDLY WISDOM.

The following lines are very popular in Mithilâ. I think I have met them somewhere, but have not been able to identify the passage:—

देशाटनं पण्डितमित्रता च
वाराङ्गना राजसभाप्रवेशः ।
अनेकशास्त्रस्य विलोकनं च
चातुर्यमूलानि भवन्ति पञ्च ॥

'Travelling, friendship with learned men, courtezans, entering the royal council, and acquaintance with a wide range of literature, are the five roots of worldly wisdom.'

The following rhyme, current all over Tirhût, gives the popular verdict on female beauty in Southern India:—

दक्खिन कन्या कन्यकुमारी ।
आगू थलथल पीछू भारी ॥

The pretty girls of the South, are pendulous in front, and are heavy behind.'

The following curious verses, half Sanskṛit, half Bihârî, were noted in Tirhût, where they are well known. They represent a conversation between a girl and a beggar.

दरिद्र झम जासि गग्गर गले बध्वाम्बुधौ बूड़ि रे
मोहि तो भल आँखि धोय देखले अस्मिन् महीमण्डले ।
तोरहि बापक वृत्तियां शृणु सखे त्वत्पूर्वजैः पालितः
त्वं चेत् कुप्यसि छोड़ि जाइँ कहमा त्वद्देहली मद्गतिः ॥

She.—'O beggar, depart, or I will tie a water-jar round your neck, and drown you in the sea. You stare fixedly at me (*lit.* you have washed your eyes and look at me), although there is the whole world before you.'

He.—'Hear (*the cause of this action of mine*) which was the doing of your father. I, my friend, was brought up by your ancestors. If you are angry, whither shall I go, for my footsteps are directed to your threshhold.'

In the above, I do not know the meaning of झम, nor have I met any one who could enlighten me. देहली, seems to be a corruption of देहली through confusion with गेह.

G. A. GRIERSON.

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[25] Metre, Vasantatilaka.
[26] Read vaṁśa.
[27] Reading *iti kamala*, &c., with the omission of the intervening *ârshêya-vachana-kramam=avagamya*, this is a verse, in the Pushpitâgrâ metre.
[28] Read *buddhvâ*.
[29] i.e. *dûtakaḥ*.
[1] Not an exact translation.

ARABIC AND PERSIAN REFERENCES TO GIPSIES.

BY G. A. GRIERSON; B.C.S.

In a review of some books dealing with Gipsies printed in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XVI. p. 35ff., reference was made to Prof. De Goeje's researches regarding the idéntification of the Gipsies with the Jaṭṭs of India. Not being an Arabic Scholar myself, I was unable to check the Professor's references to Arabic and Persian authorities. I however referred the matter to Maulavî 'Abdu'l Ḥai, Head Maulavî of the Calcutta Madrassa, who kindly gave the following extracts bearing on the subject, but who could not find a copy of the *Muḥît* in Calcutta.

(1). (القاموس)

الزُّطُّ بالضم جِيْلٌ من الهند معرّبُ جُتَّ بالفتح
والقياس يَقْتَضِي فتح معرّبه ايضاً الواحدُ زُطّيٌّ

Az-Zuṭṭ with a *samma*—an Indian tribe. Arabicised from *Jaṭṭ* with a *fatḥa*. According to rule, it should be *zaṭṭ* with a *fatḥa*. Singular—*Zuṭṭî*. *Al-Qâmûs*, printed in Calcutta, 1817, page 942.

(2) (برهان قاطع)

لوری بمعنے بی حیا و بی‌شرم باشد و نام طائفهٔ
هم هست که ایشانرا کاولي میگویند و سرود گوي
وگدایے کوچهارا هم گفتہ اند— لولی بروزن ومعنے
لوری است

Lôri—Unblushing, shameless; name of a tribe called Kâwalî; musicians and beggars of the street. *Lôlî*—in sound and meaning the same as *Lôrî*. *Burhân-i-Qâṭi'*, printed in Calcutta, 1818, page 828.

(3) (حمزة الصفهاني)

بهرام جور بن يزدجرد مرّ يوما بقوم يشربون
علي غير ملهين فقال ليس قد نهيتكم عن الغفلة
من الملاهي فقاموا اليه السجود و قالوا قد طلبناه
بزيادة علي مائة درهم فلم نقدر عليه فدعا بالدواة
والمهرق وكتب الي ملك الهند يستدعي منه ملهين
فانفذ اليه اثني عشر الف رجل منهم ففرقهم علي
بلدان مملكته. فتناسلوا بها واولادهم باقون وان
قلّوا وهم الزُّطُّ

Bahrâm Jôr (Gôr), son of Yazdajird, on his way once met a number of men who were indulging in drinking without having any musicians among them. He said, "Did I not warn you not to neglect music"? They stood up and said, "We sent for musicians and wanted to pay them even more than 100 *dirhams*, but none could be found." He called for ink and paper, and wrote to the king of India for musicians. The king sent to him 12,000 musicians, who were sent by Bahrâm to the different parts of his kingdom. They left descendants, of whom some still remain, though few in number. They are called *Az-Zuṭṭ*. *Ḥamza Iṣfahânî*, printed in Calcutta, 1866, at the Mazharu'l-'Ajâib Press, pp. 47-48.

(4) (شاه نامه)

خواندن بهرام لوریان را از هندوستان
بنزدیک شنگل فرستاد کس
چنین گفت کاي شاه فریادرس
ازان لوریان برگزین ده هزار
نر و ماده بر زخم بربط سوار
فرستی بر من مگر کام من
برآید ازان نامدار انجمن
چو نامه بنزدیک شنگل رسید
سر از فخر بر چرخ کیوان کشید
هم آنگاه شنگل گزین کرد زود
زلوري کجا شاه فرموده بود

(*Substance*) Bahrâm Gôr sent a messenger to his father-in-law Shangul, an Indian king, requesting him to send him (Bahrâm) 10,000 Lôris, or musicians, both male and female. Shangul complied with his request and sent him the number of musicians wanted. *Shâh Nâma*, Vol. III., printed in Calcutta, 1829, at the Baptist Mission Press, pp. 1585-86.

(5) (كتاب معجم البلدان)

ولما كانت سنة ١٨٠ امر الرشيد ببناء مدينة عين
زربى ثم لما كانت ايام المعتصم نقل اليها و الي
نواحيها قوما من الزط الذين كانوا قد غلبوا علي
البطائح بين واسط والبصرة

In the year 180 A.H., Hârûn-ar-Rashîd gave orders to found the town of 'Ainzarba. His son, Al-Mu'ttasim, in his reign settled a tribe of Az-Zuṭṭ in 'Ainzarba and its environs —a tribe who were in the ascendancy in the lowlands between Wâsiṭ and Al-Basra. *Mu'jamu'l-Buldân*, Vol. III., printed in Leipzig, 1868, page 761.

I then referred the matter to Mr. C. J. Lyall, who has had the kindness to write to me as follows: 'I enclose a slip giving the quotation from the *Muḥîṭ* (محيط | مُحيط), which is quite a modern lexicon, though of course based upon ancient materials. This entry about *Zuṭṭ* (زُطّ) is evidently not borrowed from any ancient lexicon, else De Goeje would have quoted the the latter. * * * The occurrence of the word in Dozy's *Supplément* also implies that it is not to be found in the Classical Dictionaries.' The following is the slip referred to:—

Muḥîṭu'l-Muḥîṭ of Buṭrus-al-Bistânî, Vol. I. p. 866 (printed at Beyrout, 1867).

الزُطّ طائفةٌ من اهل الهند معرّب جتّ واليهم تُنسب الثياب الزطيّة الواحد زطّيّ وهم المعروفون في الشام بالنَّوَر وبعضهم يسمّيهم المُطرِبيّة لانّ مهنتهم التطريب بالطبول والزمور والرقص وهم مما يُشتم به فيقال يا زطى وفلانٌ زطيٌّ اي دنيٌّ لئيم

"Az-Zuṭṭ are a tribe of people of Indian race: their name is Arabicised from Jatt. It is after them that certain cloths are called Zuṭṭî. Zuṭṭî is the singular for an individual of the race. They are the people known in Syria as Nawar. Some call them Muṭribîyah (or Minstrels), because their occupation is to play on timbrels and pipes, and to dance. Their name is also used as a term of abuse. You say "O Zuṭṭî," or "So-and-so is a Zuṭṭî," meaning that he is "a mean and vile person."

'In Dozy's *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Vol. I. p. 591, I find the following:

زُطّ, nom d'unité زُطّي, du pers. جت, sont les *bohêmiens ou Tchingianè*, les descendants, à en croire Hamza, 54, 55, de douze mille musiciens que Behrâm Gour fit venir de l'Inde. À Damas ils portent encore ce nom. Bc., Ztschr. XI., 482 n. 9: cf. de Goeje dans les Verslagen en Mededeelingen der kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen IIde Reeks. V, 57, et suiv.

'This may give you some further references: Bc. is an abbreviation of Elias Bocthor's *Dictionnaire Français-Arabe*, Paris 1864. Ztschr. is the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft;* Ḥamza is Ḥamza Isfahânî, an Arabic historian of the 4th century A.H. You will find his book (*Hamzae Ispahanensis Liber*, Ed. Gottwaldt, with a Latin translation) in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.'

In a subsequent communication, Mr. Lyall has made a suggestion which appears to me as original as it is important. It is that possibly the word "**Egyptian**," meaning "**Gipsy**," may be a corruption of *Az-Zuṭṭ* (pronounced *Ez-Zuṭṭ*). This word is not unlike the Italian "Egitto" in sound, which may have first led to confusion, and thence to a false analogy.[1]

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

(*Concluded from p. 242.*)

Sellam had scarcely finished speaking when the royal procession stopped at their very gates. Their fears now knew no bounds and the princess changed colour. She asked Sellam to run down at once and see who it was that had alighted at their gates. Sellam ran down and what was her surprise when she found it was the Tûkkuṭûkki. "Do my eyes deceive me?" she exclaimed: "He was here two *ghaṭikâs* ago washing the utensils; and now he comes, dressed like a king! Can my eyes see straight? Are my senses all gone?"

Nevertheless she could not deny that the person sitting on the threshold was the Tûkkuṭûkki. She ran up and reported to the princess that the king that had come was the satchel-

[1] [If the Italians are in the habit of turning *z* into *j* in borrowing Arabic words the suggestion is a very important one.—ED.]

bearer! The pomp with which he had come and the honour paid to him by all that accompanied him instilled a mysterious awe into the mind of the princess, and forsaking her *gôsha* for the time she ran down to meet him just as he was coming up. They met and saluted and she who commanded him till now found in his countenance an unspeakable majesty, which forced her to obey his orders. He adorned her with jewels from head to foot, while she gladly received the honours thrust upon her and asked him to tell her by what good fortune he had become king. He replied that everything would be revealed in time and that she must start without delay to the temple of Kâli for the Swinging Festival. She could not but obey.

By this time a voice was heard:—"My dear young king, why are you so late?" It was the old king calling! What were the thoughts of the princess now? The Tûkkuttûkki that had but three or four short *ghaṭikâs* ago washed her utensils had become a king, and was being called to in very affectionate terms by the old king! Wonder of wonders! she was impatient to ask, but there was no time. So they all started for the temple of Kâli.

As all the preparations for the feast had been made solely in order to get a view of the princess—now the young queen,—the ministers and others had a very good view of her, as she was kept swinging for a very long time in the swing in which she sat with King Kṛishṇa Singh. The old king threw a very valuable pearl *hâra*[36] over his new king's neck. But he who had once had the patience to run for a whole day before the flying horses now found the *hâra* too heavy, so he took it off and hung it on the branch of a tree near the swing. The feast was kept up for a long while and the party did not return till about the second *ghaṭikâ* of the night. All the way home King Kṛishṇa Singh was praised as the noblest and most intelligent of kings. Here and there a petitioner stood forth and said:—"Good and gracious king, I have been waiting for the whole of the last fortnight, please send me away soon."

The princess could not understand all this. "How was it that he who did not know how to turn to the 11th page was now a king!" thought she. "Let me wait. Let me wait. It was haste that deprived me of my father." As soon as they reached home the princess asked King Kṛishṇa Singh to relate his story. He said he would take off his *aṅgarkhâ* (coat) before telling her, and as he did so to his great vexation he found that he had forgotten the pearl *hâra* that the old king had given him. His face at once changed colour and his wife asked him what was the matter. "I have forgotten the *hâra*!" was his reply, and with that he began to descend hastily. The princess caught his arm and said: "My dear husband, don't you know that I am the daughter of an Emperor? I can get you hundreds of such *hâras*. Don't trouble yourself any more about it. Be quiet and stay here."

Kṛishṇa Singh told her that as she was young and inexperienced she spoke so, and that it was not right for him to neglect a present, even if it were a *kauḍi*.[37] Besides he would be back in a couple of minutes. The princess proposed sending a servant, but he objected that if they did so the neglect might become known some day and vex the old king. So he ran off and reached the grove. It was a very dark night, and a dead silence prevailed in it. Groping his way he crept to the tree on which he had suspended the *hâra*; and put out his right hand to take it. Horror of horrors! A black and hungry serpent that was sitting over it bit him severely and he fell down dead.

Alas! poor Kṛishṇa Singh! There was his newly married wife to whom he had not spoken a word as a husband! There was the old king entirely dependent upon him. He had not had time even to see his father Tan Singh. Poor old emperor, what would his feelings be when he came to know what had happened! Thus, leaving so many people that loved him at the moment of reaping the fruits of his labours, poor Kṛishṇa Singh died! But it was not for ever.

Between the *garbhagṛiha*[38] of the temple of Kâli and the inner chamber of the house of the princess of Pushpapura there was a subterranean passage, through which she used to come daily at midnight and propitiate the

[36] Garland.

[37] *Kauḍis* used as money, one *kauḍi* being equal to a sixteenth of a pie.

[38] The inmost shrine of Hindu temples in which the idol is worshipped.

deity. That day too she came according to her usual custom and worshipped the goddess. After her prayers were over she requested Kâli to give her a good and noble husband and at once a voice was heard in the sky: "There lies a prince in my holy presence. He shall be thy husband." She ran headlong and instead of a man sleeping she found a lifeless corpse. With the true faith of an affectionate wife she began to weep and wail, and at once another voice was heard: "My child, all this is my trick to prove you. Now that you have so successfully stood the test, return to my holy presence and with a handful of the sacred ashes go to him again, sprinkle them on his face, and request him to rise." She obeyed the orders of the Ambikâ[29] and to her joy the man rose up, when she took hold of his hands and humbly asked him to accompany her home, telling him what had happened.

By this time the princess of Dhârâpura, finding that her husband was not returning, suspected something wrong, and flew to the grove with Śellam. When they reached the temple of Kâli, what did they find but another woman asking his hand! After a while the news of all this reached the ears of the old king, who was very glad to think that a divine order had been given to his daughter to marry the young king. But after having celebrated the Swinging Feast he was unable to deny the right of wifeship to the Dhârâpura princess, and so to avoid all misunderstandings he had them both married to Kṛishṇa Singh.

Invitations to the marriage were sent out in all directions. The Emperor of Dhârâpura also, who had by this time come to know everything, proclaimed that he meant to give his daughter Chandramukhî in marriage to King Kṛishṇa Singh in Pushpapura. A closed palanquin, containing nothing, accompanied the female retinue of the Emperor, and in it the princess Chandramukhî was supposed to go to Pushpapura, where the marriage was celebrated with all deserving pomp, for kings bore the marriage palanquins of Kṛishṇa Singh and the two princesses. The Emperor was extremely pleased at the adventures of Kṛishṇa Singh and at his success in having won a kingdom of his own in addition to the empire he got with his wife.

The story is now almost ended, but a word as to what had become of Tan Singh all this while, and of the slippers hidden in the temple of Kâli. Tan Singh, as his son had so intelligently prophesied, became poor very soon after Kṛishṇa Singh left him, and with his wife and two other sons was living in a hole and corner, having been by his own foolishness and extravagance reduced to his original condition of poverty. Kṛishṇa Singh had found this out as soon as he reached Pushpapura, but did not like to disturb his own plans by revealing himself just then. However, now that everything was about to be settled he ordered a palanquin of flowers to be brought to the temple of Kâli, took the slippers with which his father had beaten him out of the hole, placed them on it and brought them to the palace. He then sent word to his father Tan Singh that the king of the town wanted him with all the members of his family immediately. Tan Singh did not understand what the orders meant, but he was obliged to obey them.

Kṛishṇa Singh at once recognised his parents and brothers, but none of them recognised Kṛishṇa Singh in the young king, so he explained before the whole assembly all about his adventures from the time he had been beaten; and, pointing to the slippers he said: "By the good fortune of my father's slippers I am now the husband of princesses. He punished me for having demanded *one*, but as the shoes are a pair they have given me a pair of wives!"

With these words he prostrated himself before his parents and brothers. They all wept for joy and sorrow, and he at once took them into the palace. King Kṛishṇa Singh after this lived a very long and prosperous life with his two beautiful wives, sometimes in Dhârâpura and sometimes in Pushpapura.

The story has ended, and nothing remains to be told except that Kṛishṇa Singh had a number of sons to console the sonless age of the old King of Pushpapura and of the Emperor of Dhârâpura.

[29] Goddess.

AN ORTHODOX LEGEND ABOUT KALI, THE LORD OF THE KALIYUGA.

BY R. D. M.

Those who know the story of **Nala** and **Damayanti**, will remember that **Kali**, the quarrelsome lord of the present, or Iron, Age, after persecuting Nala for years, was at last driven out of his body and compelled by Nala to take refuge in the *vibhîtaka* tree. For this reason every pious Hindu has scrupulously avoided the very shade of the *vibhîtaka* (*terminalia bellerica*, belleric myrobalans); and seldom indeed does he touch its berries, except for medicinal purposes, for fear lest Kali should be transferred from the tree into his own person!

Now Kali is mischief-loving and wicked, always waiting for an opportunity to enter into the heart of somebody who is not careful to be on his guard, and who, when he manages to do so, becomes very wicked, quarrelsome, indolent, and subject to ugly habits. All imaginable misfortunes befall him, and he is very unhappy. It is therefore no wonder that a Hindu does not like to have the honour of becoming the vehicle of this dread personage.

For ages after Nala's death Kali was confined to the *vibhîtaka*, except now and then, when a careless person happened to come within his reach. The hundreds of kings who ruled the earth after Nala were too just and powerful to let Kali have a chance of unchecked movement, and so he had to wait patiently for ages upon ages; but he was not discouraged, for he had a prophetic insight into the future, and was sure that the day would come when he was to have his freedom, and establish his kingdom upon the earth.

At last he thought it had come, but later on he found out his mistake, for even he was liable to make mistakes! **Kṛishṇa**, the incarnation of Vishṇu, had ascended to his heavenly abode, and his devout followers, the sons of **Pâṇḍu**, had also followed him, after installing their grandson and heir, young **Parîkshit**, on the imperial throne of Bhârata. Now the first and most pressing duty of a newly made king in Hindustân in the early times, was to take a journey throughout his domains to subdue unruly vassals, and thus establish order and peace in his kingdom; for it seldom happened that the more powerful feudal chiefs submitted to the successor of a former king, unless they were either attached to him by close personal friendship or near kinship. So as soon as a king was dead they eagerly seized the opportunity of becoming independent, if they were not promptly put down with an iron hand by the new king. Parîkshit, therefore, was not surprised after ascending to the throne to find that many of his father's old vassals had rebelled against him, and that not a few of them were trying to gain independence. However, he immediately set out on his journey round his kingdom, accompanied by a well-trained army, subduing the rebels and even conquering the powerful kings of the neighbouring countries.

He had almost got through his adventures, and, thinking that there remained no more adversaries to encounter, he bent his steps homewards. As he was passing by the sacred river Prâchî Sarasvatî, to his great horror and intense indignation, he beheld a cow and a milk-white ox being tortured to death by one who seemed to be a Śûdra, though he had arrogantly taken on himself to wear royal robes, and was carrying a sceptre in his hand. The ox was in great agony, for the merciless Śûdra had deprived him of three of his legs, and was on the point of cutting off the fourth. The cow also, sad as a bereaved mother, was so lank and lean from starvation that she would have excited pity and compassion in the hearts of the very stones around her, had they been blessed with the power to feel! But the brutal Śûdra irreverently kicked and tormented her incessantly! What could be more offensive and shocking to a pious Hindu than this—the greatest sacrilege and most unpardonable crime possible in a territory ruled by a Hindu prince, whose highest ambition was to obtain the title of "Protector of cows and Brâhmans"?

King Parîkshit, enraged by these pernicious proceedings and ready to punish them by putting the wicked Śûdra to death on the spot, thus addressed him:—"Who art thou, that hast robed thyself in royal garments, but showest thyself by thy vile conduct to be not of the twice-born? Woe unto thee, that after

the departure of Krishṇa and Arjuna, thou art secretly violating the laws of the Âryas in this land, and torturing the good creatures put under my protection! Surely thou deservest to be put to death!" Then turning to the ox he said:—"Who art thou, O white as *mṛinâla*?[1] Thou that hast lost three of thy legs, and art suffering at the hands of this vile Śûdra? Art thou a god disguised under this thy present form? Never before came such misfortune upon any creature in a land protected by the powerful arm of a Bhârata king! Suffer no more, therefore, O thou son of Surabhi. Let thy fear of this Śûdra pass away!" And to the cow he said:—"O mother, peace be unto thee; weep no more, for I, the terror of the wicked, have come to thy rescue. For know, O mother, that the careless king, in whose domain good people are persecuted by the wicked, loses his renown, his fortune, his long life, and above all, his hope of salvation hereafter. To ease the gentle sufferer's misery, terror and torments, is a king's highest duty. I shall, therefore, put this foe of all beings immediately to death. And tell me, O thou son of Surabhi, who hath deprived thee of thy three legs, so that no one creature like thee may suffer injury at the hands of the wicked in a land ruled by one of Krishṇa's followers? Peace be unto you, O ye that are good and innocent; tell me who hath brought this misfortune on you, and a dark spot on the pure renown of the Pârtha dynasty, that the lawless one that hath hurt the innocent may be punished. I will cut his arm off even though he be an immortal."

The ox, however, refused to inform King Parîkshit of the cause of his injuries, for he said:—"*I will not take vengeance on him that hath hurt me*; neither will I tell thee who he is, lest thou kill him!"

On hearing this King Parîkshit guessed who the ox was, and said:—"Surely thou art **Justice**, for thou speakest just things. *It is written that man shall not take vengeance upon his enemy.* He that taketh vengeance is guilty, and he that pointeth out his enemy to another is also guilty. Meditation on right things, purity, mercy, and truth are thy four feet, on which thou didst walk in the first age; but now three of them are broken by pride, impurity, and insolence, the limbs of **Injustice**. Now, thy one remaining leg, truth, with which thou walkest, O Justice, hath become intolerable to Kali (the Iron or dark Age). Injustice would break it also with his weapon of falsehood! And this gentle cow I know is **Mother Earth** herself, mourning and much distressed, because the Lord Krishna hath left her. She is much grieved with the thought that she will henceforward be ruled by impious kings of the Śûdra caste!"

Having thus spoken kind and consoling words to Justice and Mother Earth, King Parîkshit grasped the hilt of his sword, drew it out of its case, and was on the point of putting the Śûdra to death, when lo! the latter threw off his royal robes, placed the sceptre at Parîkshit's feet, and assuming his own true form, prostrated himself before him, begging for mercy; for he was no other than **Kali** himself, who after Krishṇa's departure had come out of the place of his confinement, and had tried to establish his monarchy over Hindustân! The first act that he proposed to himself was to kill Justice by depriving it of its only remaining limb,—*truth*,—after succeeding in which he felt sure of establishing his sovereignty. Mother Earth, seeing her friend Justice suffer at the hands of Kali, had begun to mourn over her fate, because, when Justice is persecuted and wounded by Injustice all happiness, peace and joy fade away from her face, but King Parîkshit suddenly appearing on the scene had relieved her and rescued her friend!

The king, seeing his proud adversary so humbled and prostrated before him as a suppliant for mercy, was filled with compassion for him, and lowering his uplifted sword, thus addressed Kali:—

"An enemy when humbled and supplicating for mercy, need not fear for his life, *for the descendants of Arjuna delight in showing mercy to their enemies.* But thou, being a friend of Injustice, must not remain in my domain, for if thou make thy home in a king's body, there will surely come to dwell with thee Avarice and Falsehood and Theft and Arrogance and Sin, and Misfortune and Deceit and Hatred and

[1] *mṛinâla* is the fine white fibre that is produced from a broken lotus-stem.

Hypocrisy, and the whole host of the family of Injustice. I have no place for thee in my kingdom, which must alone be occupied by Justice and Truth, and in which the good shall offer sacrifice and worship the Lord of Sacrifice."

Hearing this Kali humbly said:—"I will keep all thy commandments, O most august sovereign, please to assign me some place where I may dwell and obey thy orders."

The king then ordered him to take up his abode in gambling-places, in intoxicating drinks, in loose women, and in places of slaughter (hunting, battle, &c.) But Kali was not to be so easily satisfied, and he begged for more places of abode. Parîkshit did not know which to spare next, but at last he decided on one more mansion for Kali, and that was gold! Kali has ever since made his home in these five; they are his strong fortresses, so to speak. Men wishing to obtain the highest bliss should never come near these."

When the descendants of King Parîkshit ceased to rule over Hindustân, Kali made his way again into the earth, established his sovereignty throughout the world, and became the supreme lord of the present age which is after him called **Kali-Yuga.** Now that there is no one like Parîkshit to check his progress, he does as he likes, and hence, strife, poverty, famine, disease, and so on, are prevailing all over the world. But the Hindûs look forward to the coming of **Kalki,** the tenth great incarnation of Vishṇu, who will, it is believed, annihilate Kali and his friends, whence his name, which means the Destroyer of Kali. They do not exactly know when Kalki will come, but, until that time, men wishing to gain the highest bliss know that it is well to avoid the **Five Mansions of Kali.**[9]

THE REIGN OF AHMAD SHAH DURRANI.

Translated from the Târîkh Sulṭânî of Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân Bârukzai.

BY E. REHATSEK.

When Aḥmad Khân ascended the throne in the year 1161 A.H., corresponding to the year 1748 A.D.,[1] he endeavoured to gain the favour of the **Durrânî** nobles and of the **Abdâlî** chiefs, by bestowing upon each of them a title, according to the fashion of **Nâdir Shâh.** Thus, for instance, upon Shâhnawâz Khân Bâmîzai, who was originally a simple Khân, he conferred the dignity of Wazîr with the title of Shâh Wâlî Khân. The Sardâr Jahân Khân Pôpalzai he made commander-in-chief, with the titles of Mîrbâzân and Khân Khanân, and Shâhpasand Khân Isḥâqzai he distinguished by the title of Amîr Lashkarî [Generalissimo]:—

> He became the possessor of the world and was Shahanshâh.
>
> He enjoyed the dignity of the celestial sphere, and the pomp of heaven.

Not possessing the ready cash and the wealth of stores necessary for inaugurating a government, he was, nevertheless, much distressed. It happened, however, by a good turn of fortune that in this emergency Taqî Khân Akhtabêgî Shîrâzî, whom Nâdir Shâh had before his decease sent to Kâbul and Pêshâwar for the purpose of bringing in the revenues, entered Qandahâr with the treasury in the company of **Naṣr Khân.** Accordingly Aḥmad Shâh, keeping in mind the saying that a year which is to be good will be known by its spring, confiscated the whole of it, amounting to two *karôrs* of rupees; whereon his government assumed a perfectly regular character! Some time afterwards **Naṣr Khân** escaped from prison, or was, according to others, permitted to leave it, and went to **Pêshâwar,** where he excited a rebellion. Now Aḥmad

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[9] [There are expressions in the above that remind us strongly of some in Christian teaching. "If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again:" *Exodus* xxiii. 4. "But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use and persecute you." *Matthew*, v. 44. "Bless them that persecute you: bless and curse not. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him: if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head:" *Romans* xii. 14, 20. In the ancient Buddhist *Khuddaka Pâṭha* a similar idea is promulgated. "*Na parô param nikubbêtha, nâtimaññêtha katthachi nam kiñchi; byârôsanâ paṭighasaññâ nâññamaññassa dukkham ichchhêyya. Mâtâ yathâ niyamputtam âyusâ êkaputtam anurakkhê; êvampi sabbabhûtêsu mânasam bhâvayê aparimânam. Mêttañcha sabbalôkasmim mânasam bhâvayê aparimânam, uddham adhôcha tiriyañcha asambâdhamavêram asapattam.* Let no man in any place deceive another, nor let him be harsh towards any one; let him not out of anger or resentment wish ill to his neighbour. As a mother, so long as she lives, watches over her child, her only child; so among all beings let boundless good-will prevail. Let good-will without measure, impartial, unmixed with enmity, prevail throughout the world above, below, around." *Khuddaka Nikâya, Khuddaka Pâṭha, Mêtta Sutta*, 7, 8, 9. These verses, that is the *Mêtta Sutta*, also occurs in *Khuddaka Nikâya, Sutta Nipâta.*—ED.]

[1] Began 2nd January 1748.

Shâh adorned the frontispieces of pulpits, and *dinârs* and *dirhams* with his exalted name thus:—

The order came from the inscrutable Creator to Aḥmad Bâdshâh:
Stamp the silver and the gold currency from Pisces to the moon.

He also had a ring made in the form of a peacock, with the following legend on the beazle of it:—"The government belongs to Allah, O conqueror. Aḥmad Shâh, the Durrânî."[2]

After having put in order the affairs of Qandahâr, he left it when he heard of the revolt of Naṣr Khâṅ, intending to subjugate Kâbul and Pêshâwar. When he arrived in Kâbul, the governor of it being unable to offer resistance and being also an adherent of Naṣr Khâṅ, fled in the direction of Pêshâwar to join him. Naṣr Khâṅ, having got ready for hostilities, made haste first to attack the fort of Ṣamad Khâṅ, who was one of the great chiefs of the Ashanqâr, and who fled in the direction of Jallalâbâd. Here he was honoured by being allowed to pay allegiance in the town of Lâlpûr to Aḥmad Shâh, who enrolled him in the ranks of his great Amîrs. Aḥmad Shâh had, after subjugating Kâbul and arranging the affairs of Khûrd Kâbul, taken with him the troops of that locality for the purpose of annihilating Naṣr Khâṅ, and when he arrived in Lâlpûr, which is situated between Jallalâbâd and Pêshâwar, he received the homage of Ṣamad Khân Muḥammadzai Ashanqârî and bestowed upon him an exquisite robe of honour.

According to some accounts Ṣamad Khâṅ did not wait upon Aḥmad Shâh when he left Kâbul and appointed to the command of the vanguard the Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ Pôpalzai, but joining the latter, marched to attack Naṣr Khâṅ; who, seeing himself without an ally, fled from Pêshâwar without waiting to be attacked, and took refuge in the Chacha and Hazâra country. Aḥmad Shâh ordered the Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ to by no means cease pursuing Naṣr Khâṅ, and entered Pêshâwar with the greatest pomp. There nearly all the Yûsafzai and other chiefs paid him allegiance, all of whom received splendid robes of honour with good appointments.

While these affairs were being transacted, a despatch to the following purport arrived from the Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ:—"After I, your slave, most eager to serve you, had crossed the river Sind [Indus] to punish Naṣr Khâṅ, he felt unable to offer resistance, and, fleeing in the direction of Lâhôr, abandoned his family with all his belongings, and they fell into the possession of the world-conquering army. We are now with body and soul prepared to receive further orders." Aḥmad Shâh, having in so short a period of time seen his affairs prosper beyond all hopes, determined to try his luck further, by undertaking an expedition of conquest. He wrote accordingly in reply:—"Let our people likewise remain till our arrival, and make all necessary preparations for marching. We shall also come in all haste after terminating our affairs." Being satisfied with most of his officers in Pêshâwar, he marched, and having constructed a bridge of boats over the Sind river near the fort of Aṭak, crossed it.[3] At that time Ḥayât Khâṅ, surnamed Shâhnawâz Khâṅ—son of Zakîra Khâṅ, the cousin of Qamaru'ddîn Khâṅ the Wazîr—was governor of Lâhôr on behalf of the Pâdshâh of Dehlî. He wrote a letter at once to his maternal uncle Qamaru'ddîn Khâṅ in the capital, informing him of the invasion of Aḥmad Shâh and asking for aid; but the reinforcements from Shâhjahânâbâd [Dehlî] had not yet arrived when Aḥmad Shâh Abdâlî made his apppearance in those regions. Shâhnawâz Khâṅ, trusting in the numbers of his army, marched from Lâhôr with great pomp, and pitched his camp on the river Chinâb. Aḥmad Shâh, who had taken up a position on the other side of the river, was considering how to act, and it occurred to him to imitate the mode of attack used by Nâdir Shâh in the war of Baghdâd, when he crossed the Tigris. Accordingly he started before dawn with ten thousand picked *sawârs* towards the ford, which was several *farsakhs* above the camp. Trusting in Allah he crossed the river and marched in the direction of Lâhôr. When Shâhnawâz Khâṅ perceived the vanguard of the army of Aḥmad Shâh, which he did not expect would arrive so quickly, the verse "and He cast terror in their hearts,"[4] became verified; and he, abandoning all his

[2] From *durr*, a pearl. Aḥmad Shâh is called both Durrânî and Abdâlî. European authors generally prefer to use the latter epithet; in our text they occur promiscuously. He is also often known as Aḥmad Shâh Ghilzai.

[3] "The season of 1747-48 is memorable in Hindustân, by its being the period of the first invasion of Aḥmad Shâh Abdâlî."—*Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.* London, 1826. Vol. II. p. 27.

[4] *Qurân*, ch. lix. v. 2.

camp and baggage, retreated with some of his men towards Dehlî. When the flight of Shâhnawâz Khâǹ became known next morning to his own troops, they imitated his example, and Aḥmad Shâh took possession of all the property, artillery and baggage of the camp, transferred the whole of his own the next day to the other side of the river, and marched with great pomp into the city of Lâhôr. As Shâhnawâz Khâǹ had left a great deal of camp equipage, artillery, and many elephants, all of which fell into the possession of Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, they contributed greatly to augment his pomp and glory. He received also the allegiance of the Râjas of Jânû, of Bâmû,[5] and of all the other Râjas of the Pañjâb.

Muḥammad Shâh Gûrgânî [the Emperor], however, who governed Dehlî, had ere this despatched a numerous army in command of his own son, Aḥmad Shâh—with Nawâb Qamaru'ddîn Khâǹ the Wazîr, and 'Abdu'l-Mansûr Khâǹ Ṣafdar Jang, and Kêsarî Singh Râja of Jaipûr, and Jamâl Khâǹ Tâlpurî and Râi Galla Jagruânî and Âllah[Âlâ] Singh Jaṭṭ Zamindâr of Paṭiâlâ, and 'Abdu'llah Khâǹ and Faizu'llah Khâǹ, sons of 'Alî Muḥammad Khâǹ Rohêla, as chiefs—to annihilate Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî. This army was met by **Shâhnawâz Khâǹ** in his flight, who, fearing to be accused of cowardice and folly, so extolled the strength, perfections, numbers, and excellent arrangements of the Afghâns, that the mere narrative filled the hearts of the Amîrs of the Gûrgânî monarchy with terror, to such a degree as to induce the **Nawâb Qamaru'ddîn Khâǹ the Wazîr,** to send away his family, baggage and property to Sarhand, in charge of 'Abdu'llah Khâǹ and Faizu'llah Khâǹ, the sons of 'Alî Muḥammad Khâǹ Rohêla, whilst he himself marched with his army for the purpose of fighting, in the direction of **Mâchhîvâṛâ.** When Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî was made aware of what had taken place, he sent a numerous force in charge of some of his great Amîrs, to subjugate the district of **Sarhand,** which they did, and brought back into the camp a great deal of booty with the sons of 'Alî Muḥammad Khâǹ, whom they had captured. When this information reached Qamaru'ddîn Khâǹ, he was much displeased, and forthwith marched towards Sarhand; but as Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî was likewise on the road to it, the two armies encountered each other at **Mâhîpûr,** which is six *karas* distant from **Sarhand.** For some days skirmishing only between the outposts took place, till at last **Kêsarî Singh, Râja of Jaipûr,** who was one of the greatest Râjas of India, advanced and attacked Aḥmad Shâh Abdâlî, but was disgracefully beaten and fled.

After this, but during the battle, a cannon ball happened to strike one of the sons of Nawâb Qamaru'ddîn Khân, the Wazîr, and kill him, whereon a hot contest ensued. Although the Durrânî braves overcame the Indians in this battle, a strange adventure operated against them. They had got into their power some artillerists at Lâhôr, whose services they intended to make use of on the present occasion, but as they did not understand their business, they fired in the direction of their own camp, so that many Durrânîs perished, and the rest fled. For this reason Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, who had now become powerless, concluded peace, and the river Sind [Indus] having been constituted the frontier, according to the agreement of Nâdir Shâh, he marched back to Qandahâr.[6] Aḥmad Shâh Gurgânî also returned to Dehlî, and having during the march been informed of the demise of his father Muḥammad Shâh Gûrgânî, ascended the throne[7] as soon as he arrived, and appointed the Nawâb Ṣafdar Jang to be Wazîr, whilst he made Mîr Manû, son of Nawâb Qamaru'ddîn Khâǹ, Ṣubahdâr of Lâhôr and of Multân. Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, whilst marching back, confirmed, in each of the newly acquired districts, his own trusted officials in their positions, and thus reached Qandahâr:—

> By the aid of God, and the power of good fortune
> He became lord of the country, of a diadem and a throne.
> He opened the door of the treasury and called the army
> And poured into its lap gold, silver, and jewels.[8]

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[5] [Who were these?—ED.]

[6] "Mahmud Shah sent a large army against him under the command of his son Ahmud Shah, attended by the vizir Cummer-o'deen Cawn, and his son, Mohin ool Moolk. The Abdalee was worsted, and obliged to fly to his own country."—W. Francklin's *History of the reign of Shah-Aulum, the present Emperor of Hindostan,* &c. London, 1798, p. 1—2.

[7] In the end of April 1748. Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas.* London, 1826, Vol. II. p. 29.

[8] The above verses are taken from Firdausî's *Shâhnâma* without acknowledgment.

The flame of envy being kindled in the breasts of some Afghâns on this account, they conspired to slay Aḥmad Shâh. One of them, however, informed him of their intention, and he, having already been aware of their ill-will, was thereby only the more confirmed in his opinion. Accordingly he ordered Nûr Muḥammad Khâṅ 'Alîzai, and Mîr Khâṅ Afghân, and Muḥabbat Khâṅ Pôpalzai, and Kadû Khâṅ, and 'Usmân Khâṅ Tôpchîbâshî, and some other Afghân Amîrs, notorious for their turbulence and the ringleaders of the plot, to be killed whilst he was riding on the northern side of the city in the vicinity of a hill, which he surnamed on that day **Maqsûd-i-Shâh.**[9]

In the same year, which was the third of his reign, the desire of conquering **Khurâsân** engrossed his mind. Accordingly he marched with a numerous army to Hirât, which city was at that time governed on behalf of **Shâh Rukh** by **Mîr Khâṅ 'Arab**. The latter reported in a letter the intention of Aḥmad Shâh to Shâh Rukh, whilst he himself prepared for defence. After Aḥmad Shâh had arrived he besieged the city for four months, but no reinforcements from Shâh Rukh made their appearance. As the siege then became protracted, the population was distressed by famine and surrendered the Khâkastar Tower to the troops of Aḥmad Shâh, whereon the Durrânîs entered, and Amîr Khâṅ [*supra*, Mîr Khâṅ], who opposed them, was slain. After which the city fell into the power of the Afghâns. The next day Aḥmad Shâh entered the place, but heard, after he had arranged the administration of the district, that Shâh Rukh had raised a general levy of combatants and had reached a place called Turbat-i-Shêkh Jâm. Accordingly he despatched five thousand picked *sawârs* under the command of the Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ Pôpalzai to attack the camp of Shâh Rukh by surprise in the night. When the said Sardâr had reached the just named locality and was informed that Shâh Rukh had determined to retreat and was marching away, he attacked his rear-guard, of which he slew many and captured some, whom he brought in bonds to Hirât, and reported the state of affairs.

After arranging affairs in Hirât, and appointing **Durvêsh 'Alî Khâṅ Hazâra,** to be governor of the city, Aḥmad Shâh marched in person with his army to annihilate Shâh Rukh and to subjugate **Mashhad.** Shâh Rukh, being powerless to wage war, took refuge in the city of Ṭûs, where he remained for some time. Here every day two horsemen sallied forth with some of their retainers, skirmished with the outposts of the Durrânî army, killed many persons and then again returned leisurely to the city. On enquiry it was found that they were two grand-sons of Nâdir [Shâh], Qulî Mirzâ and Naṣru'llah by name.

After a protracted siege a great famine arose in the city of Mashhad, and Shâh Rukh being frightened was ready to conclude peace and to this Aḥmad Shâh consented. Accordingly the **Shâhzâda Tîmûr,** who became afterwards **Tîmûr Shâh,** and who had been kept as a hostage from the time of Nâdir, was released and surrendered to him. He likewise obtained a sum of money for consenting to abandon the siege.

He next marched to **Nishâpûr,** which was in the possession of **'Abbâs Qulî Khâṅ Bayât,** who being under the necessity of defending himself, advanced to meet the Durrânî army, but was defeated in the first engagement, and took refuge in the city of Nishâpûr, where he was besieged. Seeing that Aḥmad Shâh was full of strength, and himself vanquished, 'Abbâs Qulî Khâṅ was perplexed and consulted Saif-u'ddîn Khâṅ, his paternal uncle, an aged man full of resources, who replied :—

"If a foe cannot be broken by force,
The door of trouble is to be closed by stratagem.

Now, as the winter approaches, it will be proper to render the Durrânî army inactive by negotiations for peace until the rigour of the season cools its ardour and deprives it of energy, whereon we shall rush upon it and defeat it :—

When from severe cold and terrible frost,
They are congealed like dead black blood,
We shall on that occasion like the sun,
Suddenly rush forth from the ambush.
The mountains and dales by our assault
Will be filled with shouts and lamentation,
Blood enough will be shed, till like fishes
The seven celestial spheres shall swim together."

'Abbâs Qulî Khâṅ approved of his uncle's advice, and began, with a perfect hypocrisy, negotiations, which he protracted during two

[9] The purpose of the Shâh.

months with many fair promises, till the winter became severe and the coldness of the air increased. Then Aḥmad Shâh knew the true purport of the negotiations, and not caring whether he would be called vanquisher or vanquished, broke up his camp and returned to Hirât.

The winter was indescribably severe, and it is related that when the army made a halt at Kâfir Qil'a, which is situated to the west of Hirât, the cold became so intense during the night as to deprive the people of all endurance, and to cause most of them to rip open the bellies of their camels, in which they ensconced themselves to escape from its sharpness. A number of men, who had started from the said locality to various villages, lost their lives whilst crossing the water of the Hirât Rûd [Harirûd] in search of fire. During that march eight hundred men perished from cold, and the artillery was left behind.

Aḥmad Shâh entered the city of Hirât with the Abdâlî army in the worst of conditions, and having ascertained that Durvêsh 'Alî Khâṅ Hazâra, the Bêglarbêgî of Hirât, intended to revolt, he removed him from his position, and departed to Qandahâr after having appointed the **Shâhzâda Tîmûr** to be governor of Hirât.

Next year, 1165 A. H.,[10] Aḥmad Shâh again sallied forth with his army to subjugate Khurâsân, but more particularly **Nishâpûr.** He did not, however, take any siege guns, their conveyance being too burdensome, but he contrived to load every *sawâr* with one Tabrîzî *man* of metal to be surrendered on arrival at Nishâpûr. From this when the camp was pitched in the plain near that city, a number of Faringî and Hindustânî artizans, having prepared a mould, cast a very large cannon, which was loaded with a ball weighing twenty Tabrîzî *mans.* When hostilities began, this cannon was fired against the rampart and passing—according to the statement of 'Ali Qulî Mirzâ, surnamed 'Atazâdu's-salṭanat—beyond the wall of the fort, across the rampart of the city, and a quarter of a *farsakh* further, buried itself about three cubits deep in the ground. This feat so astonished and disheartened the inhabitants of Nishâpûr that they desired to surrender the place, to which proposal also **'Abbâs Qulî Khâṅ** was ultimately compelled to agree, and having been admitted to the honour of making his *salâm* to Aḥmad Shâh, most humbly apologized for his past transgressions; whereon he was pardoned and given a splendid robe of honour, whilst the valour of the Bayât people met with approbation, and a number of them were deported with their families to Kâbul and to Ghaznîn, where they are still living at the present time.

Aḥmad Shâh also restored 'Abbâs Qulî Khâṅ to his former position and himself departed to Mashhad-i-Ṭûs, but sent the Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ Pôpalzai and Naṣr Khâṅ Balûch with a portion of the army to remove **'Alimardân** the Ḥâkim of Tûn and Ṭabs, whereon they committed numerous murders on the boundary of that country. When 'Alimardân encountered the invaders at the *mû'za* of Kâkhuk and Kiâbâd, an obstinate action was fought, which was begun with volleys of musketry and archery, continued with swords, and ended with a hand-to-hand contest, in which the troops alighted and wrestled, the combatants inflicting wounds, or killing each other, with poniards. 'Alimardân, with many of his people was killed, and those who escaped the sword became prisoners, whereon the abovenamed Sardâr marched victoriously back, and found Aḥmad Shâh engaged in besieging Mashhad.

Aḥmad Shâh next sent five thousand picked *sawârs* commanded by **Pasand Khâṅ Isḥâqzai** to devastate the districts of Sabzawâr and Bostân; and the raid proved successful, because it brought in immense booty. On his return march, however, the said Pasand Khâṅ happened to encounter Qâjâr [Persian] *sawârs* from Astrâbâd, who attacked and defeated him shamefully; many of his soldiers being slain or made prisoners, whilst the rest of them who fled, reached the camp of Aḥmad Shâh in a miserable condition. However, he took no notice of this but continued the siege, which having lasted six months, could no longer be endured by Shâh Rukh; who sent to the camp his own sons with a number of Sayyids and Shekhs of the town and induced Aḥmad Shâh—adjuring him by the sanctity of the Imâm Razâ's tomb, and by the benefits received from Nâdir—to agree to a treaty of peace, and accept a considerable sum of money for the public treasury. He

[10] Began 20th November 1751.

also promised to get the *khutba* read and the coins stamped in the name of Aḥmad Shâh, and to surrender the localities of Jâm, Bakhzar, Turbat, Khawâf, and Turshîz, situated between Hirât and Mashhad. **Shâh Rukh,** having passed the fingers of obedience over his countenance, uttered the words, "We have heard and have obeyed," and stamped the following distich on a *mohar* :—

By the favour of Aḥmad Pâdshâh
Shâh Rukh obtained his seat on the throne.

After the conclusion of peace Aḥmad Shâh returned to Hirât, and went thence to Qandahâr, and after he had been there for some time he heard several times that **Mu'ainu'l-Mulk Mîr Manû,** who was the Ḥâkim of Lâhôr and the son of Qamaru'ddîn Khâṅ, had in the superabundance of his power as Wazîr, deprived Aḥmad Shâh Gûrgânî of sight,[11] but had himself shortly afterwards died of cholera. Thereon **Ṭurrabâz Khâṅ,** a dependent of Mîr Manû, had with his wife, **Mughalânî Bêgam,** assumed the supreme direction of affairs, and was accused by Bikhârî Khâṅ, the son of Raushanu'ddaula, of having administered poison to Mîr Manû. He had therefore been captured and slain by Bikhârî Khâṅ, who had then himself usurped the government. Accordingly Aḥmad Shâh determined to conquer Lâhôr, and marched with a victorious and countless army by way of Kâbul to Pêshâwar.

As Adîna Bêg Khâṅ of the Dûâba,[12] had an eye upon Lâhôr, Mughalâni Bêgam craved the aid of Jahân Khâṅ the Khâṅ Khânâṅ, but Aḥmad Shâh, who had marched quickly, occupied Lâhôr without opposition.[13] After regulating the administration of that district, and perceiving that the Gurgânî monarchy had reached its end, he intended to conquer Dehlî, and succeeded by means of despatching letters to gain over most of the Amîrs to his side. He then marched, and **Najîbu'ddaula** having come to meet him near Karnâl, was allowed to pay his respects. **'Imâdu'l-mulk Ghâzîu'ddîn Khâṅ,** Wazîr of 'Âlamgir II.,—son of Jahâṅdâd Shâh, son of Bahâdur Shâh, son of Aurangzîb, and Gûrgânî Pâdshâh—had the honour of making his *salâm* at Nirauli, which is at a distance of ten *karas* from Dehlî, and having met with a very kind reception entered that capital with Aḥmad Shâh; who took a rest for a few days and then demanded, with the approbation of 'Âlamgîr II., and of the heirs of Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ, fifty lakhs of rupees from **Intizâmu'ddaula,** the other son of Nawâb Qamaru'ddîn Khâṅ, and brother of Mîr Manû, on the condition of making him Wazîr of India, as his father had been. He refused to pay the money, and Aḥmad Shâh ordered the eunuch Muḥarram Khâṅ to make investigations about his property; whereon the latter reported that it amounted to two *karôṛs* of rupees. It was then confiscated and received into the treasury of Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî.

The latter remained about forty days in Dehlî, and recalled the Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ Pôpalzai—whom he had despatched in pursuit after the flight of 'Imâdu'ddîn Ghâzî Khâṅ in

[11] It will perhaps not be superfluous to insert in this place a different account of the manner in which Aḥmad Shâh, the emperor of Dehlî, was deprived of sight, and another set up in his place, as narrated by W. Francklin, p. 3-4 :—"Malhar Row, a Marhatta chief, being at that time in the country of the Rajepoots, where he had been employed in reducing their Rajah, Jeysing, Gazoodeen Cawn invited him to his assistance, which the Marhatta instantly complied with, being (besides the advantages which must naturally accrue to the Marhatta power from these divisions) strongly urged to take the part of Gazoodeen Cawn, from the hatred which he bore to the Jauts, who had slain his son. He accordingly joined Gazoodeen Cawn with his forces; and a solemn treaty was made between them, Malhar Row swearing to regard Gazoodeen Cawn as his son, and the latter to look upon the Marhatta as his father. Everything being concerted between them, they began their march towards the capital, and were met in the way by the king and vizir, who gave them battle, and were defeated. The conquerors proceeded to the city, whither the king and the vizir had retired, and had shut themselves within the walls of the palace with a few followers, their last, but poor, resource. The chief officers of the city, whom Gazoodeen's good fortune had made his friends, readily obeyed an order from him to surround the palace till his arrival, when he commanded the wretched king to be deprived of sight, and imprisoned together with his minister. A prince of the name of Azeezoodeen, being the next in descent of the race of Timur, was taken out of the palace and proclaimed king by the title of Aulumgeer the Second, Gazoodeen Cawn assuming the vizarat. This happened in the month of November 1755." According to the chronological table of the Mughal emperors in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII. p. 445, London, 1807, Aḥmad Shâh was imprisoned and blinded on the 12th Sh'abân in 1167 [2nd June 1754]; on the same day 'Âlamgîr was made emperor, but assassinated at Dehlî on the 8th Rab'iu'ssânî in 1173 [29th November 1759]. There is, however, a slight difference in the date of the blinding of Aḥmad Shâh and the raising of 'Âlamgîr to the throne, between the table in the *Asiatic Researches* and Grant Duff, Vol. II. p. 78, who says of Shahâbu'ddîn, the son of Qamaru'ddîn (who is, however, in our text above called Mu'ainu'l-Mulk), that after obtaining the office of Wazîr from the emperor :—"He next deposed the emperor, raised a grandson of Jehandar Shah to the Imperial dignity, by the title of Alumgeer the Second in the end of May 1754, when the unfortunate Ahmed Shah was confined and deprived of sight."

[12] Any district between two large rivers, as the Ganges and Jamnâ, Satluj and Biyâs, and so on. Here meant to be the Jâlandhar Doâb.

[13] This was the second invasion of India by Aḥmad Shâh, also according to Grant Duff, Vol. II. p. 57.

the direction of Farrukhabâd and the perpetration of a general massacre of Hindus at Mathurâ—to his presence for the purpose of private conversation; sending in his stead the Wazîr Shâh Walî Khâñ to Mathurâ, who was likewise honoured by being called to his presence after he had arranged the affairs of that town.

Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, having espoused the daughter of Muḥammad Shâh Gûrgânî by name **Ḥazrat Bêgam Sâhiba,** and given to his son **Tîmûr Shâh Durrânî,** the daughter of 'Âlamgîr II. and celebrated the two weddings, surrendered the government of Dehlî to the latter,[14] bestowed the office of Wazîr upon **Nizâmu'ddaula,** son of Qamaru'ddîn Khâñ Wazîr, and that of Amîr upon **Nawâb Najîbu'ddaula,** and departed victoriously with perfect satisfaction to Afghânistân.

On his arrival at Sarhand he exalted **'Abdu's-samad Khâñ Muḥammadzai Hashtnagarî** by making him governor of that district, and then went to Lâhôr, and finding the **Shekhs** [Sikhs] at Amritsar, *at present known as Amarsir*, to be generally turbulent, he ordered them to be slain. After they had been massacred and their [sacred] tank filled up, he appointed his son, Tîmûr, to the governorship of Lâhôr, with the Sardâr Jahân Khâñ Pôpalzai for his lieutenant, and Buland Khâñ Sadozai, to be Ṣûbaḥdâr of Kashmîr and Jamû, through which he marched by way of Pêshâwar back to Qandahâr.

He had not been there long, when it was brought to his notice that dissensions had arisen in India among the Sardârs of that country. For when the Râjas of India and the Sardârs of the Pañjâb had, after the departure of Aḥmad Shâh, lost all apprehensions of interference in their affairs on his part, they became more bold; and **Adîna Bêg,** who had during his presence in India remained in concealment among the Siwâlik Hills, watched his opportunity, and now boldly sallied forth with numerous forces he had collected to conquer Lâhôr. Also the Sikhs of Amarsir, favouring his cause, came to his assistance and fought valiantly in several engagements against Tîmûr Shâh, in every one of which they were successful. In Hindustân **'Imâdu'lmulk Ghâzîu'ddîn Khâñ,** who had fled from the Sardâr Jahân Khân to Farrukhâbâd, likewise now made use of the occasion and called for assistance from the Ṣûbaḥ of the Dakhan and other southern provinces, which was given by the Ṣûbaḥdâr Malhar, by Tatpâl the generalissimo of Jânakî Rao, and by Sûraj Mall Jâṭ, who arrived with numerous troops. The Nawâb ['Imâdu'l-mulk] Ghâzîu'l-mulk being thus reinforced, marched to the conquest of Dehlî, and after defeating Najîbu'ddaula beleaguered him; but after the siege had been protracted for some time, the latter fled to Sahâranpûr, whereon 'Imâdu'l-mulk obtained possession of the city.

Adîna Bêg Khâñ marched upon Lâhôr, whereon the Sardâr Jahân Khâñ, and the Shâhzâda Tîmûr, considering that their forces were slender, and those of their opponent numerous, abandoned Lâhôr, retreated to Chârmaḥal and Zînâbâd, where they constructed a strong *sangar*,[15] around their encampment, and waited for the arrival of Aḥmad Shâh. After Adîna Bêg had obtained possession of Lâhôr, he appointed one **Khwâja Mirzâ Jân** to be governor, and marched his army against **Sarfarâz Khâñ,** the Afghân, who was the Ṣûbaḥdâr of the Dûâba on behalf of Aḥmad Shâh between the Satluj and the Biyâs. After a hard struggle he utterly defeated the Ṣubaḥdâr and occupied his district. Adîna Bêg also induced the **Marâṭhâ** army to join him, and with them marched to Sarhand to attack **Samad Khâñ Hashtnagarî.** The bravery and enmity of this leader prompted him, despite of the smallness of his forces, to meet his antagonists, who defeated and captured him, not however without hard fighting and slaying of infidels,—most of his soldiers having attained martyrdom. After devastating the district of Sarhand the whole army entered Lâhôr, whence it marched to Chârmaḥal for the purpose of vanquishing the Shâhzâda Tîmûr, who however fought valiantly, as well as the Sardâr Jahân Khâñ. But the Afghân troops were few, and those of the Indians numerous beyond belief: wherefore the said Shâhzâda, apprehending that he might be captured and thus fall into another calamity, caused his Afghân troops to get ready on the pretext of desiring to make a night-attack; and sallying forth at bedtime, rode and never stopped in any

[14] The name of "the latter" having before ascending the throne been 'Azîz-uddîn, his full name is above given as "'Azîz-uddîn Muḥammad, son of Muḥammad Shâh, son of Muḥammad 'Aâlamgîr."

[15] For the explanation of this word see *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 264, footnote 10.

place till he had crossed the Indus and reached Pêshâwar, whence he sent a despatch on the state of affairs to his father. When the flight of the Shâhzâda became known to Adîna Bêg Khan and to the Marâṭhâ army, they at once mounted their horses, entered the encampments of the Shâhzâda, and, after slaying most of the Musalmâns, plundered it. Those Musalmâns who had been left alive were driven in bonds and with gibes to Amarsir, where they were compelled to clean out all the rubbish with which Aḥmad Shâh had filled the large [sacred] tank. The Shâhzâda was pursued as far as the banks of the river Indus, where Tatpâl left several thousand *sawârs* to guard and prevent any one entering India. Adîna Bêg Khâṅ returned with the Marâṭhâ army and marched to Sarhand; and having appointed **Sadîq Bêg Khâṅ** to be governor of it, went to the Dûâba. Meanwhile the Marâṭhâ army, having gone to Hindustân, beleaguered **Najîbu'ddaula** in the town of **Sakartâl**, with the aid of 'Imâdu'l-mulk and others, and a great confusion arose in various parts of the country. At this time Ghâzîu'ddîn Khâṅ asked aid from the **Nawâb Shuja'au'ddaula**, and Najîbu'ddaula did the same, but the said Nawâb refused it to both. At last, however, he determined to aid the latter, as a measure of precaution, for fear of the acts which Ghâzîu'ddîn Khâṅ had committed against Jangbâr the Afghân; and marching with a numerous force defeated the Marâṭhâ army by his great bravery, during a hot battle in the fort of Sakartâl.

The War of Aḥmad Shâh in India with the Marâṭhâs.

When reports from the Shâhzâda Tîmûr, Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ, and Nawâb Najîbu'ddaula had acquainted **Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî** with the confusion in Hindustân, he collected the forces of Qandahâr and Kâbul, and marched in all haste to Pêshâwar to wage a holy war [*ghazâ*] against the infidels, and to deliver Lâhôr and Dehlî from their power.[16] So when **Tatpâl**, the Mâraṭha, who had made inquiries about the Afghân army, and was guarding the banks of the Indus near Aṭak, heard that Aḥmad Shâh was approaching, he retreated towards India. Meanwhile **Adîna Bêg** died of a mortal disease, and when **'Imâdu'l-Mulk Ghâzîu'ddîn Khân** heard of the coming of Aḥmad Shâh he immediately entered Dehlî and slew **'Azîzu'ddîn Muḥammad 'Âlamgîr II.**, and **Intiẓâmu'ddaula**, the son of Qamar-u'ddîn Khân, alleging that they were in correspondence with the Pâdshâh.[17] He then prepared to fight Aḥmad Shâh, and having despatched **Jânkû** and the Marâṭhâs with numerous troops for a vanguard, he followed in the rear, joining them after he had crossed the Jamnâ in the vicinity of Kunjpûr. He also joined Tatpâl, who had returned from Aṭak after ascertaining the intentions of Aḥmad Shâh, and having halted in the same locality, had constructed a strong *sangar* around his camp.

After crossing the river Indus, Aḥmad Shâh appointed the **Shâhzâda Tîmûr** and **Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ** to the command of the vanguard of his army, and marching after them with his vengeance-breathing troops, entered the city of Lâhôr, where he obtained possession of the person of **Khwâja Mirzâ Jân**, and where were many Afghân Sirdârs and Amîrs, such as **Ḥâfiẓ Raḥmat Khâṅ** and **'Inâyat Khâṅ** his son, and **Dôṇḍî Khâṅ Khatrî**, and others. They met with an honourable reception and were by royal command sent to join the camp of the Shâhzâda Tîmûr, whence they sallied forth with the Rohêla troops towards the *sangar* of the

[16] This was the third invasion of India by Aḥmad Shâh during his reign, or even the fourth according to Grant Duff, Vol. II. p. 130 foot-note*; but neither his nor our text supports that number unless we count also the campaign of Tîmûr, the Shâhzâda, before the war with the Marâṭhâs as one, on the ground that during it undoubtedly reinforcements from Afghânistân arrived, although not led in person by Aḥmâd Shâh.

[17] This murder was committed on the 29th November 1759 as already mentioned in a preceding foot-note, and the following account of it is given on p. 15-16 by W. Francklin:—"Fearing to leave the king behind him in the city, and suspecting that he had leagued with his enemies, and intended to restore Intezamo Dowla in his absence, he desired the king to accompany him on the expedition, which he refused; and the vizir in consequence resolved to rid himself at once of his fears by putting him to death. The bloody resolution being taken, he affected to be satisfied with the king's excuse, marched out of the city and encamped a few cose beyond it; where he waited for the execution of his plot, which was effected in the following manner:—Ballabassrow, an emissary of the vizir, went to the king, and informed him that a fakeer of great sanctity had taken up his quarters at the tower of Feroz Shâh; and partly by persuasion, and partly by force, carried the deluded king to see him, and in the way caused him to be murdered. The vizir having thus accomplished his execrable design, ordered the palace to be plundered, and the sons and relations of the deceased monarch to be stripped of all their jewels, which were converted into money for his urgent necessities. Mehdee Collee Cawn and Coja Bussent were left with the charge of the kella, or fort. The former, by the direction of his master, took a grandson, Cambuksh, the youngest son of Aurengzeeb, out of the palace and proclaimed him king by the name of Shahjehân the Second." Grant Duff's account of this event is very brief, Vol. II. p. 136.

Marâṭhâs, which was on the banks of the river Jamnâ, and began a fierce attack. In this they were, however, worsted, because being on foot they were unable to resist the onslaught of the Marâṭhâ and Jâṭ cavalry, although they were too proud to confess it. On being informed of what had happened to the Rohêlas, Aḥmad Shâh made haste to send numerous cavalry reinforcements, and also arrived quickly himself. After taking cognizance of the position he ordered **Shuhang Khân** to make an attack, which his men accordingly began by alighting from their camels and making a fence of them. By his orders also a detachment of the Ghulâm Corps fired from another fording place of the river Jamnâ at the rear of the *sangar*, so that after a hot contest **Tatpâl** was slain, **Jânkû** wounded, and the rest who had escaped the sword fled. On the other hand, **'Imâdu'l-Mulk Ghâziu'ddîn Khân** became so frightened that he evacuated Dehlî and went the way of [*sic*] **Sûraj Mall Jâṭ**. Aḥmad Shâh, having thanked God, entered the city with flying colours; but on account of the want of discipline in the Afghân army, most of the *bâzârs* in Dehlî were plundered, and during three days it seemed that the time of the last judgment had arrived. On the fourth, however, quarter was accorded to the surviving population.

After the murder of **'Azîzu'ddîn Muḥammad** [**'Âlamgîr II.**] the *khutba* was read and money coined in the name of his son, **Gauhar Shâh**, whom Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî sent for and received with great kindness.[18] Most of the great Râjas of Hindustân, such as those of Jaipûr, Mâṛwâr, and other provinces, when they heard of the arrival of Aḥmad Shâh, sent presents and paid allegiance. When he had arranged the affairs of those regions, he marched with the army of Islâm to annihilate **Sûraj Mall Jâṭ**; and when he reached the fort of Thûbatgaṛh, which contained the treasury of the latter, and was surnamed by him Ârâmgaṛh, he took it after a siege of sixteen days with all the wealth it contained. At the request of 'Imâdu'l-mulk and of Sûraj Mall, **Ḥâfiẓ Raḥmat Khân** thereon waited upon the Shâh and craved pardon for their transgressions. Nawâb **Shujâ'au'ddaula** Bahâdur and Nawâb **Aḥmad Khân Bangash** likewise arrived from Farrukhâbâd to pay homage to Aḥmad Shâh, and by the abundance of his favour he bestowed upon Shujâ'au' ddaula, for the bravery he had displayed with Nawâb Najîbu'ddaula in repelling the army of Adîna Bêg Khân, the title of **Farzand Khânî.**

The rainy season being imminent, Aḥmad Shâh marched to Anûpshahr, and encamped there to spend it. When the Dakhanîs heard of the death of Tatpâl and of the defeat of Bâjî Râo, the smoke of astonishment rose in their brains, and most of their officers marched to annihilate Aḥmad Shâh, and to recover India, under the command of the Marâṭhâ Generalissimo **Bhâo** [otherwise called **Sadâshiv**], the cousin of Bâlâjî Pêshwâ, and other chiefs, such as **Wiswâs Râo**, son of Bâjî Râo, and **Jânkû Râo**, Ṣubahdâr of the province of Bihâr, and **Shamshêr Râo**, a son of Bâjî Râo, who was a Muslim, his mother having been of that religion,—and according to the law of the Hindus, the offspring follow the faith of the mother. With them were ten thousand cavalry and ten Hazârî *palṭans*, nine of them consisting of Englishmen who had come to India (!); also **Ibrâhîm Gârdî** with his brave soldiers and one thousand cannon and *shahangs*, most of the artillerists being Faringîs; also twelve thousand carts, *patôbâs*, and others, infantry and cavalry. The total number amounted to three *lâkhs*, that is it say, three hundred thousand men.[19] When Aḥmad Shâḥ heard of the arrival of the Marâṭhâs he was greatly perplexed, but knowing that Qandahâr was distant and trusting in the all-forgiving mercy of Allah, he made his preparations for the war at the end of the rainy season and marched with the Ṣubahdârs of Hindustân, in company with Najîbu'ddaula, and Ḥâfiẓu'l-Mulk, and **Faizu'llah Khân**, the son of 'Alî Muḥammad

[18] The account of W. Francklin differs considerably from the above, and is on p. 16-17 of his work given as follows:—"From Annoopshehr the Abdallee sent Nussuckchees with letters to Alee Powher and Shuja Dowla offering the throne to the former, and the vizarat to the latter. They arrived first with [*sic*] Shuja Dowla, who dismissed them with letters of his own to the prince, pressing him to seize the occasion, and return to Hindostan. This prince had, notwithstanding his defeat last year, thought himself in a capacity thus to renew his attempts upon the province of Behar, and being invited by Comgar Cawn, the Zemindar of Mey, who had lately escaped from imprisonment and other malcontents, advanced as far as Sasseram when he heard of his father's tragic end. He immediately caused a throne to be made, and assumed the imperial dignity, taking upon him the name of Shah-Aulum."

[19] "Sâdâshêo Râo, the cousin of the Pêshwâ, called the Bhâo, who had succeeded Raghunâth Râo in the command of the Marâṭhâ armies, a command which Raghunâth Râo had thrown up in disgust on being taxed with having expended 80 *lâkhs* in the conquest of the

Khân Rohela. But the Nawâb 'Imâdu'l-Mulk Ghâziu'ddîn Khân, and Sûraj Mall Jâṭ having already before despaired of being pardoned by Aḥmad Shâh, joined the Mârâṭhas and incited them to occupy Dehlî. Whereon **Y'aqûb 'Alî Khân Bâmîzai,** the governor of that city —who had been living in Shâhjahânpûr and had been appointed to that post by the **Wazîr Shâh Walî Khân,** because he belonged to his own tribe—was besieged by the Marâṭhâ army, but surrendered the fort of Dehlî in a few days with the approbation of the Wazîr, and departed to the camp. Then Bhâo and other Marâṭhâ chiefs obtained possession of the city, and assured each other in the height of their pride that they would transform the Jâm'i mosque [of Dehlî] into a big temple. They also slew in the most ignominious manner in that locality **'Abdu's-Samad Khân Muḥammadzai Hashtnagarî,** and **Miân Quṭb Shâh,** with other Sardârs. They then marched to the fort Kunjpur, and Aḥmad Shâh, hearing of this movement, immediately hastened to succour the place. When he had reached the Mirzâ Bâqir, and heard of the murder of Ṣamad Khân Hashtnagarî, of Miân Quṭb Shâh and of **Nijâbat Khân,** the Râîs of Kunjpûr,[20] he was filled with grief, and determined to cross the river Jamnâ like a whirlwind and to pour a rain of cannon balls upon the infidels. The river being swollen by the rains, and no boats at hand, he ordered the Corps of Ghulâms to cross the river at once by swimming. Whereon the *sawârs* of the Ghulâmkhâna, who were four thousand in number, at once leapt into the water. Some assert that the first man whom Aḥmad Shâh ordered to throw himself with his horse into the river was **Aḥmad Khân Khaibarî,** who did so with two thousand of his people. When the Marâṭhâ troops, who guarded the banks, perceived this movement they fired upon the Afghâns, and Aḥmad Shâh, becoming aware of the dangerous position of Aḥmad Khân, encouraged the *sawârs* by telling them that the water was not deep, and ordering each of them to take a footman upon his horse. He then himself leaped into the Jamnâ, according to the verse: "In the name of Allah, while it moveth forward, and while it standeth still,"[21] and swam to the other bank. When the cavalry of the army saw the Pâdshâh in the river they all necessarily followed his example.

They hastened as quickly into the river
As if there were no difference between water and land.
The brave warriors passed through that swift water,
The current of the river causing no fatigue.
But though the water did not injure them
The bullets of the infidels sent many to the permanent abode.

The body of the above-mentioned **Aḥmad Khân** was in this way burnt by a musket shot in the water, the dust of his existence was scattered to the winds of non-existence, and the ship of his life sank in the vortex of death.

When the whole Afghân and Indian camp had crossed the river Jamnâ, and the Marâṭhâ guardians of it had been put to flight, Aḥmad Shâh issued orders to the army to dry all the saddles and trappings that day in the sun so as to be ready for battle on the next, and to be on the alert also during the night. He marched next morning as far as the *sarâî* of Sinhâlka, where the tents of the Marâṭhâs stood, and having drawn up his troops in battle-array, got ready to make an attack. He first appointed the **Sardâr Shâh Pasand Khân Isḥâqzai,** who was standing before him, to take command of the vanguard for the day, and to see what account he could give of the Dakhanî army. Accordingly that Sardâr started with his cavalry, which amounted to nearly three thousand, met the outposts, and having

Pañjâb, instead of as usual bringing a substantial contribution from his conquests to the Pêshwâ's treasury, was selected to the task of driving the Afghâns beyond Aṭak, and with him went the Pêshwâ's eldest son, Wiswâs Râo. From the army of the Dakhan, flushed as it was with success, were detached 20,000 picked horsemen under the flower [*sic*] of the old Marâṭhâ families, and a body of 10,000 infantry and artillery, trained and disciplined in the French fashion and commanded by Ibrâhîm Khân Gârdî, an able officer trained under M. Bussy. This division of the Bhâo's army was probably the finest and most formidable body of native troops at that time in India. Messages were also sent to all the Marâṭhâ chiefs to join the commander-in-chief and the Prince, as they marched northwards for what, in the opinion of the whole of Mahârâshṭra, was regarded as an expedition for the final conquest and annexation of Hindustân, and the replacement of the Mughal by a Brâhman dynasty." *Calcutta Review*, 1870, Vol. LI., No. CI., p. 25. The separation of Raghunâth Râo and the 80 *lâkhs* of rupees alluded to above, are recorded also by Grant Duff, Vol. II. p. 132-3.

[20] "Ahmed Shâh was desirous of saving this place but the swollen state of the Jumna prevented his crossing, and when he had discovered a ford, Kunjpura had fallen. He had crossed the whole of his army by the 25th October, and the next day fought an indecisive action with the enemy, who had hurried up to oppose his passage of the river.—*Calc. Rev.* 1870, Vol. LI., No. CI. p. 27.

[21] *Qurân*, ch. xi. v. 43.

put them to flight by volleys of musketry, cut off the heads of the slain, which he exhibited to Aḥmad Shâh, who considered this engagement as a good omen, and invested the Khâṅ with a robe of honour. When the Dakhanî Sardârs were apprised of what had taken place, they abandoned Kunjpûr and marched to Pânîpat. Aḥmad Shâh immediately hastened with the Durrânî cavalry, and surrounded the enemy's camp, so that not a single horseman could leave it; whereon the Marâṭhâs dug a deep fosse around it, to secure themselves from a night attack by the Muslims. When Aḥmad Shâh perceived that they had surrounded themselves with a *sangar*, he was perplexed what to do, because they were so very numerous; but bethinking himself that "war is a stratagem," he retreated two or three *karas*, whereon the enemy imagined that the army of Islâm was not strong enough to fight, and intended by this movement to withdraw and to return to its country. Accordingly they came out from their *sangar* with the intention of plundering, but the **Sardâr Jahân Khâṅ Pôpalzai,** who had with his men been watching the opportunity from the jungle, forthwith rushed upon the Marâṭhâ army, attacked it, and was so successful that he is said to have cut off from five to six thousand heads, which he presented to the Shâh, and obtained a great reward. The next day some Hindustânî Sardârs, such as Nawâbs Shuja'au'ddaula, and Najîbu'ddaula &c., waited upon the Pâdshâh, and reported that the Marâṭhâ infidels had just sent some thousands of cavalry under the command of one **Gôvind Panṭ [Bundêlâ]** as a guard over the women and children, to be ready to sacrifice their lives in case of an engagement in defending them. Aḥmad Shâh, whose zeal became inflamed by this news, ordered **Ḥâjî 'Atâ Muḥammad Khâṅ** and **Ḥâjî Karîmdâd Khâṅ Bâmîzai,** who had on that very day arrived from Qandahâr and were present with him at the time, to mount their horses immediately for the preservation of the honour of the Hindustânî Sardârs, and to capture the said Gôvind Paṇḍit without giving him an opportunity to attempt plundering the Muslims. The Ḥâjîs accordingly marched with their cavalry after the second prayers on that day, taking with them six men as spies and five hundred troopers of the *risâla* of **Nawâb 'Inâyat Khâṅ,** son of Ḥâfizu'l-Mulk Khâṅ, from the royal camp, and betook themselves to the jungle. In the darkness of the night they went to the ford of the Jamnâ which they crossed, and encountering Gôvind Paṇḍit with the infidel forces at the time of morning prayers, surprised them unawares, so that many of them succumbed to the merciless sword, and the rest fled. Having cut off the head of Gôvind Paṇḍit, and seven or eight thousand other heads, they presented them to the Shâh, whereby the credit of the Hindustânî troops was increased, and his heart gladdened.[22]

In short, both the Hindu and the Musalmân armies were for a long time in their *sangars* on the alert during the night and skirmishing with each other by day, two or three thousand Marâṭhâs being in every encounter deprived of life by the swords of the forces of Aḥmad Shâh;—because supreme wisdom required that the army of the infidels should be defeated by that of the Musalmâns, and for this reason also the Muslims became bold enough to wage war. How else could they at a distance from their own, and in a foreign, country, with slender forces, cope with the Marâṭhâ army, which was more numerous than ants and locusts? Verily the designs of the Lord cannot be probed by the intellect of man, and appear strange. Thus it also happened that one night something dark was moving along the flank of the army of Islâm, and puzzled an outpost of Indian *sipâhîs*, which had its *sangar* there. Soon, however, a horseman issued from the dark mass, and asked in the Dakhanî language, to what Sardâr the *pâgâh* or detachment belonged. When the Musalmâns heard the

[22] "The armies in presence at Pânîpat, not counting irregulars, are given at 38,000 footmen with 41,000 cavalry and 70 guns for the Afghâns, and 15,000 foot with 55,000 cavalry and 200 guns for the Marâṭhâs. Strange to say, both sides continued their negotiations, although both must have known perfectly well that nothing but the sword could decide the dispute between them. Sadâshêo Râo speedily felt himself straitened for supplies and at last consented to act against the resources of the enemy. Gôvind Panṭ Bundêlâ was detached for this purpose, but Aḥmad Shâh, seeing that the task had been committed to a force too weak to effect it properly, detached in his turn 'Atâ Khâṅ with orders to pursue the Bundêlâ unremittingly, and, if possible, to destroy him. Gôvind Panṭ was overtaken, surprised, and slain, and this misfortune for the Marâṭhâs was almost immediately followed up by another. A convoy with a supply of treasure for their camp marched (so careless was Sadâshêo Râo of his communications) into the camp of the Abdâlîs and was of course cut off to a man."—*Calcutta Review, ut supra*, p. 27.

Dakhanî language they knew that the approaching force belonged to the enemy. Accordingly they attacked it with their swords, and discovered after slaughtering and wounding many, that it had been in charge of boxes. These were afterwards found to contain a great deal of treasure which had arrived from Dehlî for the use of the infidel army. In the night the escort had lost the road and stumbled upon the outpost of Aḥmad Shâh whom his stars favoured, so that they imagined it to be a Marâṭhâ camp and became prisoners. The enormous treasure which fell into the hands of Aḥmad Shâh, was wholly distributed by him among the troops of Islâm, which consisted of Indians and Afghâns.—(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. V.

(1) *Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archæological Society*, Vol. I. Part 1.

(*a*) *A Chinese Paitsa, or Medal, found in the district of Minusinsk in Siberia, accompanied by a lithograph, by A. Pozdneiev.*—About forty years ago a similar paitsa was obtained by General Rupert in Eastern Siberia. This one is of bronze. The inscriptions on it are as follows:—Obverse, in the old Chinese writing called Shuan, we have the words, "Token given by the Emperor." On the left side of this, "Number 891," of the character *tyao*. On the right, "This must not be used outside the Capital." Reverse, "From the office of the Imperial Cavalry. The guard following the Emperor is to wear this token suspended at his girdle. He who does not wear it is liable to the charge of high treason. He who borrows or lends it is equally guilty." The writer of the paper then proceeds to shew that the "Number 891 of the character *tyao*" would be equivalent to 300, 891. He thinks that the present *paitsa* belongs to the period of the dynasty Yunan, and was given to a member of the Imperial Body-guard. By means of this token he had ingress and egress to and from the Imperial palace, in which the emperor lived secluded. The writer states that while living at Pekin he has seen men wearing tokens of this kind at their girdles. But how was it that this medal was found in the steppes among the Buriats of Siberia? Unquestionably, as the Chinese terms of the inscription shew, it does not belong to the present dynasty. M. Posdneiev thinks it was the property of one of the attendants of some Mongolian Emperor, who had fled from Pekin into Siberia during some popular tumults.

(*b*) *The Very Reverend Bishop Porphyry on Georgian Antiquities, by A. Tzagareli.*—The late Bishop was an enthusiastic collector of antiquities, especially objects relating to the Greek Church and Christians of the Greek faith, *e.g.* the Georgians. He visited Mount Athos, Jerusalem and Sinai; and in the library of the monastery on Mount Sinai he found in 1850 a Georgian psalter on papyrus. The paper also contains a letter from this prelate to the author, written in the year 1883, giving a description of some very old Georgian *icons*.

(*c*) *Arabian narratives of the defeat of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp-Arslan, by Baron V. Rosen.*—In this article a translation is given of the account written by Ibn-al-Aṣîr.

(*d*) *Introductory Remarks upon some Persian dialects, by V. Zhukovski.*—On the way from Isfahân to Najafâbâd one meets on the right and left with some picturesquely situated villages; Najûn, Parûn, Zarûn, Kûkhûn, Liadûn, Sûdûn, Ranûn, Khiziûn, Parishûn, Banasbaûn. 'The three last are called collectively Seh-deh, *i.e.*, the Three Villages.' Their inhabitants are engaged in industries connected with tobacco, wool, &c., and are an object of ridicule to other Persians on account of their coarse pronunciation and provincialisms. Their dialect is so peculiar that the women, who rarely quit their villages, can hardly understand ordinary Persian. But a cognate dialect with the above-mentioned has been found by M. Zhukovski at Kashî—one of the 72 villages scattered round Natanz (about 14 *farsakhs* or 85 *versts* from Isfahân), situated in the mountains. This dialect is a sort of cousin to that of the Three Villages. Another dialect, that of Kokhrûd, resembles that of Kashî very much, especially in the forms of the verbs. The writer has collected some songs in this dialect. There is also another dialect spoken about Rûdasht which belongs to the same group, but it resembles that of the Seh-deh more than that of Kokhrûd or Kashî. One of the villagers from Rûdasht gave the author 900 lines of poetry in that dialect, written by four of their poets. He intends to publish this, and also a dictionary of the dialect, on his return to St. Petersburg. He has also an interesting story on the great famine in Persia, and is labouring at the folk-tales of the people. As yet, he has not been able to collect

any songs of the Seh-deh, but thinks there must be some preserved among the women, who are great singers. The editor (Baron V. Rosen) adds some remarks, calling attention to the three manuscripts in the Gurân dialect preserved in the British Museum. He cites Dr. Rieu's *Catalogue* and the valuable remarks which he has appended on the characteristics of that dialect.

(*e*) *Remarks of V. Tysenhausen on the First Russian Embassy to Hirât.*—This was in the time of the Sultân Abû Sayyid. The Persian historian, 'Abdu'r-Razzâq of Samarqand, mentions the ambassadors of the Russian '*padishakh*' (*i.e.* the Grand Duke Ivan III.), who came to Abû Sayyid at Hirât in 869 A.H. = from 3rd Sept. (O. S.) 1464 to 23rd Aug. (O. S.) 1465. A Persian embassy is mentioned in the travels of the merchant Anastasius Nikitin (edited by Sreznevski).

(*f*) *Archæological Discoveries in the District of Semirechia,* or District of the Seven Rivers (a name given by the Russians to the newly-acquired country near Kâshghar.)—This is an account of a cemetery containing many graves of Nestorian Christians near the town of Pishpak.

(*g*) *Collection of materials for the Study of Ethnology, published by the Dashkov Ethnological Museum. Notices of the Mishari.*—In this "collection of materials" may be mentioned the following, all written by natives of the countries of which they treat:—B. H. Boyev, "On the Marriage Laws of the Bulgarians;" Th. Y. Treuland, "Christening Customs among the Letts;" S. V. Kokiev, "Papers on the Mode of Life of the Ossets;" G. A. Khalatianetz, "General Sketch of Armenian Folk-Tales." Lastly, the little work of E. Malov is devoted to the Musalmân Tâtâr inhabitants of the Russian Governments of Riazan, Tambov, Penza, Nishenovgorod, Simbirsk, Saratov and Samara.

(*h*) *The Self-Instructor in the Sart Language, (The Sarts are a people of Turkistân), by Z. A. Alekseiev.*—The work is confused and a great deal of it taken up with needless disquisitions. It will not be useful to any one desiring to learn the language.

(*i*) *Transactions of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society. Collection of notes on the Government of Kutaïs.*—Two important essays here:—(i.) Shafranov's "Contributions to the geography of the Ancient Colchis;" (ii.) "Description of a church at Mama-Tzminda, with excellently preserved Greek inscriptions."

(*j*) *Concerning Adam, according to the teaching of the Bible and that of the Qurân,* being the discussions of the Priest Erithymius Malov with a learned *mulla.*—Malov lives at Kazan and appears to be a very earnest missionary among the surrounding Tâtârs. Baron Rosen, who writes the article, doubts whether the method employed by the worthy priest is altogether efficacious, as he recommends the *mulla* to betake himself to works on Arabic philology by Russians, whose authority the *mulla* would not recognise. To attack Musalmâns thoroughly, a knowledge of their dogmatic works is necessary and not only of the *Qurân.*

(2) *Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archæological Society,* Vol. I. Part 2.

(*a*) *A Hoard of Golden Dînârs of the Pathân Sultâns of India.*—The original seat of the Bulgarians on the Volga, now represented by such towns as Bulgara and Biliara, is still a great place for finding coins, especially after a period of heavy rains, when they are washed up out of the sand. They are generally found isolated, but sometimes in hoards. The presence of isolated coins may be explained either by accidental loss or by the ancient custom of scattering money among crowds. The coins generally found have been copper or silver: gold have been exceedingly rare. This has resulted from the circumstance that in the oldest days of the trade of the Volga-Bulgarians with Asia, silver money was alone employed. Bulgara (on the Volga), was a great depôt of the trade with the East, whence goods were taken by merchants from Novgorod to the coast of the Baltic and further. Up to this time in Volga-Bulgaria, *dînârs* of the Pathân Sultâns of India are the only gold coins which have been found. But they are so rare that the author of the article, M. A. Likhachev, declares that during his thirty years' labour in collecting, up to the present year he has only got *four.*

The first *hoard* ever found of Pathân *dînârs* was during the year 1884. Not far from the village of Tenishevo is a little lake, very deep. Towards the end of May, in the year 1884, some little peasant children were playing on the bank of this lake. They found seven golden coins, five of which came into the possession of the author, and one was bought by a rich Tâtâr of Kazan. This Mr. Likhachev tried to purchase from the Tâtâr, but was obliged to abandon his plan, as a fabulous sum was asked for it. He, however, took a copy of it. One was sold to a certain gentleman, who happened to be staying in the neighbourhood, and of this he was not able to take a copy. On looking at the six gold coins, he found that two of them were coined in the name of 'Alâu'ddîn Muḥammad Shâh Sikandar As-sânî, who ruled from 695 to 1715 A.H. (=1295—1315 A.D.) The remaining four belong to the reign of Muḥammad I., the son of Tughlaq Shâh, *i.e.* the period 725—752 A.H. (= 1326—1350 A.D.)

Thus the *dînârs* belong to the Sultâns of two separate dynasties, and are separated by a considerable space of time.

(*b*) *The Christian Cemetery near the town of Pishpak (in the district of the Seven Rivers) and the Valley of the Chû, by N. Pantusov.*—A lot of gravestones have been found here, although the cemetery has long been desecrated and ploughed up in parts. No traces of an enclosure are to be found, but there are perhaps remains of a church in two mud walls still standing. The number of stones, as far as is yet ascertained, amounts to 611, but many are probably sunk in the earth and are overgrown with grass. Some of the tombstones have been sent to Russia. No traditions of the origin of the cemetery appear among the present natives of the country. There is also another cemetery of the same kind near the city of Tuqmâq in the same district. Some of the graves in the **Pishpak** cemetery have been opened and skeletons found.

(*c*) *Introductory Remarks on the Syrian Inscriptions found as above in the district of Semirechia, by Dr. Chwolson.*—For deciphering these the author had the following materials:—(1). Three inscriptions in their original form. The stones are deposited in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. (2). Sixteen inscriptions copied by photography. (3). Eight very poor copies, executed by people unacquainted with Syriac. The decipherment of the inscriptions was therefore very difficult. They are written in **Syro-Nestorian** letters, but the writer met with forms which he had never seen before. Moreover, he found two letters which do not belong to the Syriac alphabet, but these occurred in Turkish words, of which there are many. In these he was helped by the eminent Turkish scholar Radlov. The inscriptions are written round the representation of a Cross. Dr. Chwolson then proceeds to go through the inscriptions:—(i.) In the year 1169 (=858 of the Saljûqî era). This is the grave of Mengkutenesh, a believer. (ii.) In the year 1222 (=911).) The little boy Tekîn. (Tekîn is a Turkish proper name, which is often met with). (iii.) In the year 1578 (= 1267), that is, the hare (*i.e.* the year of the hare, the fourth year of Turkish cycle of twelve years). This is the grave of Shâh Malik Periodevt (*i. e.* periodeutês, one who was sent round to visit the churches) son of Jivarjis (George) Altun. (This last word the author is unable to decipher; he thinks it is a proper name). (iv.) In the year 1600 (= 1289), year of the ox (*i.e.* 2nd year of the cycle). Jivarjis (George) the priest, superior of the church, illustrious. (v.) In the year 1600 (= 1289,) year of the ox. This is the grave of the priest Maskhût. (vi.) Year 1603 (=1292), year of the dragon (*i.e.* the fifth of the cycle of twelve years.) This is the grave of the maiden Tûrk. (vii.) In the year 1618 (1307); the year of the ram. This is the grave of Julia, an amiable woman, wife of the Chorepiscopus Jokhanan (John). (viii.) The year 1627 (1316), year of the eclipse, in Turkish the dragon. This is the grave of Shalih, a celebrated *exegetês* and preacher who made all the monasteries bright with his light, the son of the *exegetês* Peter. He was celebrated for his wisdom: his voice was loud as a trumpet. May our God unite his illuminated soul with the saints and fathers; may all glory come to him." (Upon this the author truly remarks that we can see that the stories of the Catholic Missionaries of the thirteenth century about the ignorance of the Nestorian priesthood are not true.) (ix.) In the year 1629 (1318), the year of the horse (the seventh of the cycle of twelve years). This is the grave of Kutluk Tirim, a believer. (x.) In the year 1635 (1324). This is the grave of Lakuida or Kuira, a believer. (xi.) In the year 1638 (1327), the year of the hare, in Turkish *pûchîn.* This is the grave of Yuhanan A. . . . ki Akpâsh, son of Tzaliva, the superior of the church. (xii.) In the year 1644 (1333); the year of the fowl, in Turkish *tagaku.* This is the grave of Sandayuk, the pupil of Patzak-tekîn, of the young girl Mariam, the boy Puaava (tza)gu (?) Musurkan, and Likta-atai (?). (xiii.) In the year 1645 (1334), the year of the mouse, in Turkish *sitzkan.* This is the grave of Sandar (?) Yukai. (xiv.) In the year 1649 (1338). This is the grave of the priest Nestoris (Nestor) the son of Mengkutenesh, a believer. (xv.) In the year 1635 (?), in Turkish *sitzkan* (?) (*i.e.* year of the mouse, first of the cycle of twelve years.) This is the grave of the priest Toli-kutluk. (The Turkish proper name Toli-kutluk signifies 'he whose path in life is prosperous') (xvi.) This is the grave of the believer Kumush. (*Kumush* = 'silver,' and is here the name of a woman.) (xvii.) This is the grave of the youth Aimangu. (xviii.) This is the grave of Tolutan Kushtanatz. (The last name, which has no meaning in Turkî, the writer thinks may be a Syriac transcription of Constantia.) (xix.) The house of rest of Keritlug Jivarjis (George). (xx.) This is the grave of the priest Jivarjis (George) Kbi . . . a (?). (xxi.) This is the grave of Kutluk Sirior. (In the year 431 A.D. the teaching of the Nestorians was placed under anathema, and they took refuge in Syria and especially in Persia. They had a celebrated school at Edessa, but it was closed in 489 by order of the Emperor Zeno.)

(*d*) *Are Objects of Antiquity Fabricated in Central Asia? by Veselovski.*—The author thinks it improbable. The artisans are too ignorant and clumsy in their work, and the demand has not been great enough; nor does he think that it would be worth while for agents to bring fabricated antiquities from India to sell in Turkistân.

(*e*) *Note by Tysenhausen on the Masjid (Mosque) of 'Alî Shâh at Tabrîz.*—He gives an extract from the chronicle of Badru'ddîn Al-'Aînî, dated 855 A.H. (= 1451 A.D.) which is known under the name of the *Chain of Pearls*. Among the celebrities who died in 724 A.H. (= 1324 A.D.) it commemorates the death of **Tâjû'ddîn Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî Shâh** of Tabrîz, who was *wazîr* to the **Hulâkû Sultân Ultaj** (? Uljait) and his son the Sultân **Abû Sa'îd**. In the obituary notice of this official, remarkable among other things for not being able to read or write and for being the only one out of fourteen Hulâkû *wazîrs* who died a natural death, there is a short account of the great mosque erected by 'Alî Shâh in his native town Tabrîz.

(*f*) *A Hoard of Money found in the Government of Tula, by Tysenhausen.*—The author says that Prince S. S. Abamelek Lazarev had shown him a hoard of **Tâtâr** coins of the eighth century A.H., the fourteenth of our era, found in the year 1884 on his estate Krapivinka in the Government of Tula. The hoard was in a copper cup slightly silvered, and covered with a lid, and consisted of 148 silver coins. The greater part were coins of **Tuqtamish** (733-792 A.H.) struck among the Horde at the towns **Kûm** (= Solchana), Azaka, **Julistân**, New **Sarâî** and Khazma. There are three coins of **Uzbaq**, one struck at **Sarâî** in the year 722; ten coins of **Birdibaq** (759—760) struck at **Julistân**; three coins of **Birdibaq** (759—760), struck at **Julistân**; two coins of **'Abdu'llah**, one of which bears no date; and another struck among the Horde in the year 1770; one coin of **Faulâd Khân**, without year or name of the mint; one coin of **Muḥammad Khân**, without date, struck among the Horde; one **Chughatai** coin with the names of **Suyurgatmish** and **Tîmûr** struck at Samarqand in the year 784, and finally 46 imitations of the coins of the Golden Horde.

(*g*) *Archæological Discoveries in the District of the Seven Rivers. An account of some stone idols found by Dr. Poyarkov near Tuqmâq, in the Semirechia* (near Pishpak, already mentioned.) They are eight in number, and were found near some *kurgâns*. Three of them are represented with cups in their hands. They are of very rude workmanship. To what people these carvings are to be assigned is as yet unknown. They certainly already used arms, as one of the figures wears a sword. The custom of placing stone figures near graves is connected with the ancient worship of ancestors, and the burying of their likenesses in the earth. In the interior of Russia, similar stone figures have been found buried in *kurgâns*.

(*h*) *A Chinese Gun, preserved in the Artillery Museum of St. Petersburg, by A. Pozdneiev.*—Fifteen years ago a small gun was removed to St. Petersburg from Orenburg along with some other weapons. Various accounts are given of its origin; it is generally called the gun of Bukhârâ, but the author goes on to show that it is really **Chinese**. The metal is iron, covered over with copper. He then proceeds to translate the inscriptions on it:—"The manifestation of what is warlike. The character *Shen* No. 8, the great, wonderful gun. On a lucky morning of the 7th moon of the 23rd year of the reign of Tzian lun the artisan Ho-chan of the family of Shû, made this—the great, wonderful gun. On a lucky day of the ninth moon of the 28th year of the reign of Dao-huan, the artisan Tian-sin of the family U repaired it anew." The author then explains the custom of giving titles to guns in China, and gives an account of a weapon preserved at Pekin, richly decorated, which has a title; having been used to resist the attack of some rebels in 1814. The gun here discussed was cast in 1759, and was repaired in 1849, the repairing probably being the coat of copper. Up to the middle of the present century there were only two places in China were guns were cast, Pekin and Mukden.

(*i*) *The First Period of Chinese History (to the time of the Emperor Tzin-shi-khwan-di), by Sergius Georgievski*, 1885.—This is a long and learned critique by Posdneiev. The book is the first attempt at a **History of China in Russian**. The author has divided his work into six chapters; in the first four he gives a history of China to the times of Tzin-shi-khwan-di, and in the two last he makes us acquainted with the character of Chinese historical authorities, and finally communicates his own views on the development of the inner life of the old Chinese people. The work is too condensed and without system, but is better than any which has been written in other languages, *e.g.* by Gutzlaff, among ourselves. He is too dogmatic (illustrated by examples). He ought to have divided his history into two parts, —(*a*) legendary, from the beginning of the world to the dynasty of Shû; (*b*) historical, from the dynasty of Shû to Tzin-shi-khwan-di.

(*j*) *A Russo-Kalmuck Dictionary, compiled by order of the Chief Curator of the Kalmuck people. Astrakhân.* 1885. This work,—says the

reviewer, M. A. Pozdneiev,—is probably compiled by some Qalmâq serving as interpreter in the Bureau for the Protection of the Qalmâqs at Astrakhân, a man of limited European education. The dictionary is not arranged alphabetically. The orthography is confused and indeed has never been settled since 1771, when the Qalmâqs, who fled from the Russian territory, took with them all the most important documents of Qalmâq literature. The article goes into many minute details, and gives instances of Russian words borrowed by Qalmâqs.

(k) *The Works of Innokentii, Metropolitan of Moscow; Book* I. Very important as illustrating the doings of the Russians in Asia.

(l) *The Siberian Miscellany. A Supplement to the "Oriental Review,"* Book I., 1886.—The Editors of the "*Oriental Review*" have published this excellent work to inform Russians accurately about the vast Russian possessions in the East. The book winds up with an excellent bibliography of works on Siberia.

(m) *Turkistân.—A Geological and Orographical Description from materials gathered in travels from* 1874 to 1886, *by I. V. Mushketov.* Vol. I. In the first part we have a useful historical summary of works on Turkistân, from the most ancient times to the year 1884. Many valuable antiquarian details are added, such as accounts of a stay at Samarqand.

(n) *Transactions of the Eastern-Siberian Section of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society,* 1884. *Irkustk,* Vol. XV.—Contains among other things a folk-tale of the Yakuts, *Yurung-Yolan,* in a translation to which notes are added. Both the tale itself and the notes furnish rich materials for the linguist, the ethnographer, and the student of folk-tales. Vol. XVI. of the same work contains some curious descriptions of Chinese towns.

(3). *Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Oriental Society.* Vol. I. Part III.

(a). *Meeting, 27th May,* 1886.—N. I. Veselovki reported on the *kurgâns* of the tribes of Central Asia which were either used as graves or places of habitation. Among the natives they go by the name of *Min Tepe* or The Thousand Hills. They are of all shapes. Baron Tysenhausen communicated an account of a Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem, found by him in Al-Kalkashandî, an Arabian writer. It was for a time turned by the Arabian Musalmâns into a mosque, but it was afterwards given back to the Georgians. To this, A. A. Tzagareli added that this monastery was now a Greek ecclesiastical seminary and that it contained about 100 Georgian MSS. Baron V. R. Rosen called attention to information found in the second volume of the Report of the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden, that (to all appearances) the fabrication of Eastern antiquities had begun at Damascus, and was carried on a great deal by Jews.

(b). *Meeting, 6th September,* 1886.—V. M. Uspenski, the Consul at Kulja, had sent twelve coins—some silver and some copper. They were referred to Baron Tysenhausen, who pronounced them of great value. With their help he was able to decipher the inscriptions on some eastern coins, which the late celebrated Frahn could not read. They belonged to the Chughatais. The most curious is one with an inscription in Uighur 4 containing a part of the name . . . . *malyk.* N. I. Veselovski communicated the intelligence that at Pishpak, near the hot spring of Rasant, are some inscriptions on the rocks, which no one can read. Moreover he was told at Kôkan that there was a certain figure of a woman cut in stone, and that the Qalmâqs anoint it with oil. Baron V. R. Rosen reported that Father Nikolai, formerly a member of the mission to Pekin, had brought with him an essay by Father Palladii entitled, "An analysis of Chinese works on Muhammadanism," which contained a survey of Chinese Muhammadan literature from the seventeenth to the present century.

(c) *Essay by N. Veselovski on bâzbands.*—The Musalmân is very fond of amulets, as a charm against death and disease. The demons have then no power against him and he is proof against deadly weapons, wild beasts, &c. He likes having a great roll of charms and prayers written on a roll which he carries in a leather case and calls *bâzband*—more correctly *bâzûband*,—meaning 'armlet,' although it is generally fastened to the neck. Short prayers are sometimes sewn into the clothes. The writer had one shewn him at Samarqand, remarkable from the circumstance that besides the prayers it contained descriptions of their specific virtues. He was told by the natives that in a book called *Dalîlu'l-khairât i.e.* "Guide to Beneficial Actions," various prayers were included with explanations of their importance and value. Baron Rosen thinks this must be *At-Tuzûlî*, many times published in the East, of which Flügel has written. The introduction to the prayers in the case of this *bâzband* is written in the Tâjik dialect, the prayers in Arabic. The name of a former owner has been rubbed out and the inscription still remaining says,—"this *bâzband* belonged to Yûsaf Bê, son of Birda Aksakal." He then gives the text of the Introduction, which he thinks a good specimen of the Tâjik dialect, and a translation.

(*d*). *Contributions to the History of the Development of Buddhism in the Country beyond Lake Baikal* (*Zabakailski*), *by A. Pozdneiev.*—Pozdneiev remarks that he had put into his hands, while in the country, a little packet of papers written in the language of the Buriats. At first they appeared of but little importance, except that he naturally preserved everything in Buriat writing, but on arranging the papers he found that they threw great light upon Buriat life, and especially the development of Buddhism among them. In order to explain matters, he gives a slight sketch of the development of Buddhism among this people from the earliest times. When it was first introduced it is hard to say: the Russians only became acquainted with the Buriat steppes by means of the Cossacks about 1648; *i. e.* the first half century after Buddhism became the dominant faith in Khalkha. The Nomads then dwelling in Zabakailia were called Tungûses and professed the Shaman belief. The Buriats in their chronicles say that when they settled in the country they professed Shamanism. In the earlier period, even if Buddhism was known to them it had but little influence. The first great development was about 1712 when 150 *lâmas* came from Tibet. They gained much influence over the nations by their medical skill. Count Raguzinski did a great deal some time before 1741 to put Buddhism on a regular footing among them, and placed under the protection of the Russian law, Buddhism rapidly increased. In 1767 the chief *lâma* was presented to the Empress Catherine at Moscow, and from her received a yearly pension of fifty roubles, and a gold medal. In 1772 among the Buriats there were 617 *lâmas.* Towards the close of the century many temples and monasteries were built, and these increased to a great extent in the first 20 years of this century. The Russians then began to limit their number, thinking that they would be a heavy burden to the country. The Emperor Nicholas made many efforts in this direction, and the first of these documents is a prayer of the Buriats complaining to one of the Mongolian *khutukhs* of their miserable condition in being deprived of so many of their *lâmas.* The Russian officials were in many cases so ignorant of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism that it was possible for the Buriats to play tricks upon them with regard to their temples &c., so as to conceal their use. The appearance of the clergy among them, who shaved their heads and wore a peculiar dress, could not so easily be hidden, as the upper ecclesiastics were dressed in yellow and the inferior in red. To meet this difficulty, the Buriats directed their priests to confine their hair under a comb; and as the *majority* of their priests were naturally of the lower class they persuaded the Russian governor that *red* was the national dress of the country. After this the Buriats seem to have been for some time unmolested and much intercourse took place between them and their brother Mongolians in the Chinese territory. Another document gives an account of relations between the Buriats and Manchuria. The last is written on yellow satin—the sacred colour. Another letter solicits assistance in building a temple. We find Buriats helping Mongolians for this purpose and Mongolians Buriats. The article winds up with the translation of an interesting letter from a Buriat to a friend in Tibet.

(*e*). *Arabian accounts of the Defeat of Romanus Diogenes by Alp-Arslan. Part II. by Baron V. Rosen.*

The secretary of Salâḥu'ddîn, Ima'du'ddîn of Isfahân, belongs to the rhetorical school of Arabian writers. He groups facts well together and has an elegant style. Unfortunately most of the Arab historians only affected conceits, exaggerated metaphors, &c. In spite of this, many of them, especially when they narrate contemporary events, are invaluable; *e.g.* the well-known history of Mahmûd of Ghaznî, *Târîkh-i-Yamînî*, compiled by Al-Utbî, the history of the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin (Salâḥu'ddîn) and the history of the Saljûqs by Ima'du'ddîn. The latter was written in a style too lofty for the Arabs themselves, and therefore a certain Al-Fatḥ ibn Muḥammad Al-Budârî Al-Isfahânî undertook to edit it in a plainer style. This recension has come down to us in two MSS. the first preserved in the Bodleian and the second in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The text is now being edited at Leyden by Dr. Houtsma. Ima'du'ddîn composed his history in 579 and carries it to the year 575, beginning with the reign of Malik Shâh, *i. e.* 472 (1079-1080). Ima'du'ddîn does not tell us of the source whence he has taken his account of the defeat of the Romans.

(*f*). *A Buddhist Sacred Formula, by Minayev.*

At the end of manuscripts we often find a distich in Sanskṛit or Pâli! These contain the teaching of the four sacred truths which lie at the foundation of ancient Buddhism. The form of this is given in Sanskṛit with notes. It is taken from a manuscript in the Cambridge University Library, mentioned by Bendall in his catalogue, and another manuscript written at Kâṭhmâṇḍu by the celebrated Paṇḍit, Śrî-Guṇânanda, mentioned by Wright in his *History of Nêpâl*.

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(*g*). *Remarks on the Georgians by Al-Kalkashandî, by Baron Tysenhausen.*

Among a multitude of curious facts contained in the large Arabic Encyclopædia of Shahâbu'ddin Al-Kalkashandî (1418), is to be found the following interesting account of the relations between the Mamlûk Sultâns and Georgia in the fourteenth century and of the relations of the latter country with the Khulâqûs at that time ruling in Persia. There are also details concerning the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem.

(*h*). *Nestorian Inscriptions from Semirechia, continued by D. Chwolson.*

No. (xxiii). In the year 1584 (1273). This is the grave of Periodeutês Patzermangu, a humble believer. No. (xxiv). In the year 1607 (1296); according to the Turks the year of the ape (*i.e.* the ninth year of the cycle of twelve years). This is the grave of the young girl Mariam (Mary) No. (xxv). In the year 1624 (1313): that is the year of the ox (second year of the cycle of twelve years). This is the grave of the priest Kutlug. No. (xxvi). In the year 1642 (1331); this is the year of the ram (the fourth of the cycle of 12 years) in Turkish *kui*. This is the grave of the priest Sergis (Sergius). No. (xxvii). This is the grave of the young man Kutlug-Terim. No. (xxviii). This is the grave of the young man Alexander. (In inscription xiv. Prof. Nöldeke conjectures rightly that the words signify: he died of the plague.

(*i*). *The discovery of coins at Kulja, by Baron Tysenhausen.* The Chughatai coins, relating to the years 650-723 A.H. (=1252—1323 A.D.), belong to the class of the rarest and most interesting. They also help to explain two silver coins which the late Academician Dorn considered incapable of being deciphered, though Frähn already conjectured that one of them was Chughatai. The summer residence of the Chughatai Khâns was the town Altalik, as is well known, and therefore reads the inscription 'Belonging to Altalik.' Three copper coins sent by M. Uspenski confirm this explanation, on which we read 'this coin was struck at Altalik,' and a large silver coin with inscription in Uighur, where the letters . . . . *malik* may be clearly read. This last coin is the only one of its kind known as far as the writer's experience goes, and serves as a fresh proof that the Uighur language was used by the Mongol Khâns of the time not only for diplomatic correspondence and the most important official papers, but also for the coining of money.

(*j*). *Chinese Mirrors, found in the City of Kulja, by A. Posdneiev.* In 1885 N. N. Pantusov, sent three circular pieces of metal found in the town of Kulja. Mirror No. 1 is made of brass. To it is attached a fastening, by which apparently it is to be hung up. On this fastening are four Chinese characters, which signify "the birds Lonan and Fyn singing harmoniously." The Lonan is a mythical bird, the appearance of which betokens happiness. According to Chinese belief these birds always fly in pairs, and thus in Chinese literature they are represented as inseparable. The Fyn denotes the female. The two together form among the Chinese the emblem of conjugal happiness. This Mirror was probably either a marriage gift or was included in the bride's dower. The writer has seen similar mirrors fastened on the doors of houses where marriages were being prepared. Mirror No. 2 is of the same description as the first, but a little smaller, with the following inscription,—"for long years never separated." This mirror in all probability is one of the customary presents offered among the Chinese to some old man on his seventieth or ninetieth birth-day. Mirror No. 3 has no inscription on it, but a representation of two dragons playing with the moon. The writer remembers to have seen something of the kind in China offered as a gift in congratulation of long life.

(*k*). *Newly discovered MS. of Ibn-Khurdâdbih, by Baron Rosen.* Only one manuscript was known up to the present time of 'the adventures and countries of Ibn-Khurdâdbih.' This was preserved at Oxford and translated by Barbier de Meinard in 1865. A better MS. was found by Count Landberg in Egypt. This he has since presented to the Imperial Library of Vienna, and it will soon be edited by Dr. de Goeje of Leyden.

(*l*). *On Nalivkin's Short History of the Khanate of Kokan, by V. R[osen.]*—V. Nalivkin, a teacher in the school at Tashkand well acquainted with the native language, has produced a useful book, though in some respects it is a disappointing one. Only in the present century have any native historical writers appeared in Kokan. The history is almost an uninterrupted series of wars.

(*m*). *Tysenhausen on Jacob's—(a) Der Bernstein bei den Arabe in des Mittelalters.—(b) Welche Handelsartikel bezogen die Araber (?) des Mittelalters, aus den Nordisch-baltischen Ländern? Leipzig* 1886.—On the relations between the East and North-Eastern Europe from the seventh to the twelfth Centuries, as shewn by the discovery of coins &c., but in the strict sense of the term not carried on only by Arabians. Dr. Jacob gives a list of objects brought from Russia to the East (gathered from the works of Arabian writers) such as male and female slaves, mammoth-tusks, horned cattle, firs of foxes, sables, ermines, martins, polecats, squirrels, otters, beavers and hares, isinglass, honey, wax, &c. Dr. Jacob does

not think that much amber came from Samland as few Kufic coins are found there. Saveliev has an opposite opinion on this point. The reviewer wonders that no special name has come down in Russia for these Kufic coins (*dirhams*), perhaps they are meant by the word *nogata* used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, corrupted possibly from the Arabic *naqd*.

(*n*). *V. B*[*osen.*] *Compendium libri Kitâbi al-Boldân auctore Ibn-al-Fakîh al-Hamadhân quod edidit indicibus et glossario instruxit M. J. de Goeje, Leyden,* 1885. (*Bibliotheca Geographicorum Arabicorum.*)—**Ibn-al-Fakîh-al-Hamadânî** wrote at the end of the 3rd century of the *hijra* (about 290: A.D. 903) **'a book of countries.'** This has not come down, but abbreviations of it have. One of these was by **Abû'l-Hasan-'Alî-ibn-Ja'far-ash-Shaizârî** compiled at the beginning of the fifth century A. H. (about 1028), and this is published by De Goeje in 5 vols. The work is a very rambling one, but very valuable, giving important accounts of the literature and manners of the period. The article winds up with a list of the contents of the work. It is full of anecdotes, proverbs, tales, &c.

W. R. MORFILL.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.
No. 6.

(1) *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient; 15th August,* 1886.—The number opens with an important paper on the **Spanish troubles on the Rio Grande of Mindanao**, one of the Philippine Islands. The author is Prof. F. Blumentrite. The following extract, referring to the manners and customs of the **Moros**, or **Musalmâns**, of Mindanao, may be found interesting:—

" They call their **Ramazân** *Sambayang*, and it lasts seven days, during which time they only eat once in the twenty-four hours,—at midnight. The *Sambayang* is celebrated in the *lañgâ*, a kind of shed which serves them as mosque. Anyone who can read and write is called *pandita*, and officiates as a preacher. The priest proper bears the title of *sarip*, and the teacher of the *pandita* is named *guru*. After the conclusion of the *Sambayang*, a great purificatory bathing-ceremony occurs, which is followed by a feast at which *poniam* and *sindo* (two dishes of soup strongly enriched with cocoanut oil) play a prominent part. They baptize their children with water, murmuring prayers the while, after which follows a baptismal feast. At the nine-days' sacrificial feast the flock of Believers is called together by the *agung* (a kind of gong). The *pandita* decapitates a hen, praying to Allah that he will protect his worshippers from misfortunes and contagious diseases, and on the completion of the sacrifice, he cries out in his miserable Arabic,—a language which the Mindanao priests literally break upon the wheel—*bismil-la herrac-man-herra h[illegible].*[1] He then throws the head of the fowl under a fire-brand on a little altar, while the congregation remains engaged in prayer. They have adopted a great number of their other habits and customs from the heathen tribes of the interior (the Moros of the Gulf of Dávao, especially the Mandayas), including their marriage customs and the auguries with the *limóco* or *lim[illegible]*, a wood-pigeon, *phabotreron brevirostris*, Schadenberg). On the other hand, they reckon their time not by nights, but by days. The days of the week they call thus: Monday *sapto*, Tuesday *ahat*, Wednesday *isnin*, Thursday *surasa*, Friday *arobaja*. Saturday *cammis*, and Sunday, *diammat*."[2]

A paper by F. Kallenberg, Jun., on the **Trade of Corea** (that *politischer Tummelplatz* or wrestling ground of nations, as the author calls it) follows. The article hardly comes within the province of the *Indian Antiquary*. The two principal articles of export are gold and *chinseng* root (*Aralia quinquefolia*), a medicine in great repute amongst the Chinese. The essay concludes with an interesting note on **Corean Coinage**.

Prof. Dr. Rein follows with a review on Anderson's *Pictorial Arts of Japan*, after which comes a review by Alfred Kirchhof on a work on the Marshall and Gilbert Islands written by Carl Hager (Leipzig, 1886). Both reviews are favourable.

Amongst the miscellanea may be mentioned a description of a series of models of the old **Jewish Temples in Palestine**. They have been made by the well-known Baurath C. Schick in Jerusalem, and are the result of long studies on the spot. Prof. Dr. J. Rein contributes a valuable article on **two species of rice**. Among the many kinds of rice in the oldest tracts in which it is cultivated—the monsoon countries of Eastern Asia, the Hill rice (*Oryza montana*, Lour.) and the Gluten rice (*O. glutinosa*, Rumph) are most worthy of notice. The one, because it prefers a drier soil, and comes to maturity in a shorter time, and the other because its flour gives an extremely elastic glutinous dough, like that of the most glutinous wheat-flour. Gluten rice is called by the Japanese *mochi-gome*, in China *no* and by the Malays *pulut*. The Japanese name refers to the small cakes (*mochi*), which they

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[1] *Bi'smi'llahi-rrahmâni-rrâhîm*, in the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.

[2] The spelling throughout this extract is that given in the original, and the translator is not responsible for it.

make from the dough and fill with a mixture of brown sugar and bean-flour.

The miscellanea conclude with notices of Port Lazarev, translated from the *London and China Telegraph*, and of two new Chinese newspapers, translated from the *North China Herald*.

The book-notices commence with a paper by Dr. Joh. Hanusz, the well-known Armenian Scholar. He deals with three works, *viz.*:—

(1) *A Hazai Örmények Vezeték-és Keresztneve* (The Family and Baptismal Names of the Hungarian Armenians), by Szongott Kristóf. Szamosujvárth, 1884.

(2) *Essays on Armenian Folklore*, By Wilhelm Berger, Koloszvar. London, Trübner and Co.

(3) *Tableau succinct de l'histoire et de la littérature Arménienne.* Venice, 1883.

With regard to the first work the writer says: "Hungarian Armenian is still as little known to philology as all other Armenian dialects. Hence we must welcome this work as giving useful materials, though it must be used with the greatest caution, owing to its being written in Hungarian. Amongst other things, a study of the book shows that Hungarian Armenian in its laws of sound belongs to the West Armenian dialects; at least the previously known changes of *tenues* into *mediæ* and of sonant consonants into non-sonant ones appear to be regularly carried out in all cases. With Polish Armenian this dialect has this in common, that the vowel *e* frequently weakens a preceding consonant, especially in final syllables; e.g., *šev*, 'black,' *myeds* 'great,' *Garabyėd* (Karapiet). The other two works are said to disappoint the expectations raised by their titles. The first contains nine short specimens of Turkish Armenian, and some verses in honour of the national poet Nalbandian. It is given in a bad German transcription, with translations in the same language, and some superfluous notes. The other work is a lecture read in the Armenian Mechitarist College at Paris in the year 1859, and possesses small value.

Dr. Moriz Winternitz reviews an essay on the Kaśmîr recension of the *Pañchâśikâ* by Dr. W. Solf (Kiel, C. F. Haeseler, 1886, pp. xxvi. 34). The author of the essay deals with three recensions of this popular work: the first, the Bengali recension of Bohlen, the second the South Indian recension of Ariel, and the third, the northern recension, discovered by Bühler in a manuscript found in Kaśmîr, and described by him in his *Detailed Report*. Dr. Solf is of opinion that this recension decides finally that the author of the work is Bilhaṇa, and that it is the best text of the *Pañchâśikâ*. Although the writer of the review differs from Dr. Solf as to the translation of certain passages, he reports that, as an essay on textual criticism, his work is excellent.

M. Th. Houtsma, of Leyden, reviews Baron Victor Rosen's Catalogue of Persian manuscripts at St. Petersburg (*Collection scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, III. Manuscrits persan, décrits par le Baron Victor Rosen. S. Petersbourg*, 1886, IV. 369 pp.) The writer considers that, though the number of MSS. is small, the collection of the Institute of Oriental Languages compares well with its sister collections in the value of its contents. There are, it is true, few new MSS., most of the Russian discoveries in this direction being deposited in the Imperial Library, but the collection is peculiarly rich in illustrated and illuminated kalligraphs. The gem of the whole is the autograph copy of Jâmî's collected poems (No. 80). Especial attention is drawn to Baron Rosen's notes on the Pseudo Hâfiz-i-Âbrû (No. 7), Sa'dî's *Kulliyât* (No. 43), and Jâmî's *Dîvân* (No. 80).

The number concludes with a note by Dr. H. Müller on two new Inscriptions at Van, described by Prof. Sayce. One of these Dr. Müller considers a forgery, and he criticizes Prof. Sayce's reading of the other. He concludes with an interpretation of his own of another short Van inscription.

(2) 15*th Sept.* 1886.—The number opens with an account of the microscopic investigation of the paper found at Al-Fayûm. It is the oldest rag paper known to man. As, no doubt, the whole question of the Fayûm MSS. will be dealt with separately in the *Indian Antiquary*, I do not give a *résumé* of the contents of this paper, which forms a portion of the Festival number of the *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, presented to members of the Vienna Congress.

The next paper (by Friedrich von Hellwald) deals with Alexander Hosie's travels in South-Western China as described in the last (article published Sept. 1886) number of the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London. As these proceedings are in English, and readily available, I do not repeat their contents here.

Dr. Ph. Paulitschke contributes a most interesting account of the travels of the Italian explorer Cecchi in Ethiopia. It is founded on "*Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa. Viaggi di Antonio Cecchi, pubblicati a cura e spese della Società Geografica Italiana* [From Zeila to the frontiers of Caffa. Travels of Antonio Cecchi, published by the Geographical Society of Italy], 2 vols. Rome, 1886, pp. 560 and 646, with many illustrations and 3 maps; 8vo.; Ermanno Loescher and Co.

Cecchi, partly with his fellow-countrymen Chiarini and Martini, and partly alone, explored the whole of Shoa, a portion of Amhara, Damot, Gocham, Guragè, Chimma Rare, the kingdoms of Lemmu or Ennaria, Chimma Kaka, Gera, Gomma and Kaffa, also the whole of the mountainous tracts to the south-east and south of Abyssinia and Scho, between the 7th and 12th degrees north latitude, which are inhabited by the peoples of Galla or Oromo. In the book under notice Cecchi also gives a short excursus on the **Somâlis** and **Afârs**. In Shoa the Italian representatives were received with much honour by King Menilek, and much valuable information is given about his dominions. It may be noticed that the most flourishing business there is in the slave traffic. The yearly exchange in slaves is estimated at from three to four thousand souls. The prices are very low. Young children cost 10 to 15 dollars, children of from 10 to 16 years 15 to 20 dollars, virgins for house-work 17 to 18 dollars, old people 4 to 5 dollars. Every year 2500 slaves are said to reach the coast of the Gulf of Aden. At Gera, a rather comical interlude occurred, for the Queen-mother fell in love with our explorer. She was much astonished to find that, being already married, he could not take to himself a second wife. In this country he met the remarkable people known as Janjerò[3] or Zincherò, whose ethnical relations are involved in obscurity. All the men of this tribe, from the king down, are half emasculated. The people speak a language which has no signs for abstract notions, and which is distinct from that of the Guragè, Galla, Warràlà, and Kaffechò. The author of the notice concludes by saying that Cecchi's work offers a rich mine of instructive contents and of valuable scientific materials.

The next article (by Nicolaus v. Nassakin) deals with the **Fair in Nishni Novgorod.** There are three large fairs there every year. The first, principally devoted to traffic in wooden ware, takes place in January on the surface of the frozen river. The second, on the 6th July, is principally for the sale of horses. The third, the renowned Makaryeff fair, the greatest in the world, begins officially on the 27th July, and continues to the 22nd Sept. This is the great entrepôt for traffic between Europe and Asia. Great improvements have of late taken place in the sanitary and police arrangements, so that now the death-rate is low, and thefts are rare. The rest of the article is an interesting description of the principal articles offered for sale, too minute to reproduce here.

In the Miscellanea there is a favourable notice of an exhibition of Central Asian Art Manufactures, collected by Herr Heinrich Moser, author of *À travers l'Asie Central*, and now on view at Geneva. Specially noticeable are the arms, carpets, embroideries, ornaments, and other metal work.

The number concludes with a review in English by Dr. Bühler on Mr. Bendall's recent work describing his tour for MSS. in Nêpâl and India, and with a review by D. H. Müller on a new edition of the **Inscriptions of King Mesa of Moab**, (for Academic Lectures, by Rudolf Smend and Albert Socin, Freiburg, 1886). Both reviews are most favourable.

(3) *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. VIII. No. 1 July—August, 1886.—The number opens with a learned and interesting **Essay on the words Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin,** of *Daniel* v. 25. The contents of it are so of so varied a character, that it is very difficult to give a correct brief account of them. The following will, I believe, be found to contain the main arguments of the article. Without seeking to bring to this philological problem a definite solution, the author is able to give, from the point of view of a student of Ninivite inscriptions, some new information on the subject. The Aramœan original of these words is *mənē mənē theqēl ulpharsīn*. These words he proposes to read as a corruption of *mānā mānā theqāl u pharsīn*, or some such phrase. *Mānā* means the weight called *mina*, *theqāl* is a *shekel*, and *pharsīn* is plural (or dual) of *pherās*, another weight, equal to the half of a *mina*. Literally translated, and taking *u* as meaning 'and,' the phrase means '*mina, mina*, shekel and half-*mina*.' Taking, however *u* as a termination and part of *theqāl*, *theqālū* means either 'they have weighed,' or 'weigh!' (imperative). The whole would then seem to be a proverbial phrase, meaning something like, 'for each *mina* they have weighed two *pherās*,' like our English, 'two and two make four,' or 'six of one and half-a-dozen of the other.' Moreover the two words *mānē* and *pherās*, '*mina* and half-*mina*,' are used metaphorically by Rabbins. A son who is not so good as his father is called a *pherās*, son of a *mānē*. Not improbably this idea was present in the Biblical writer's mind when he wrote the words for Daniel's discourse previous to interpreting the mystic meaning. This discourse commences by recalling the sins, followed by repentance, of Nebuchadnezzar, father of Belshazzar (Balthasar) and concludes with the words "and thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knowest all this," &c. Nebuchadnezzar was a *mānē*, and Balthasar a *pherās*. The above, it need hardly be pointed out, deals only with the

[3] Spelt Dschandscherò in original.

literal meaning of the words, and not with Daniel's mystic interpretation. An interesting reference is also made to a possible connexion with the Egyptian vignettes depicting the throned Osiris watching the soul of the defunct while it is being weighed before him.

The next article is a continuation of M. Senart's **Essays on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi,** which will be dealt with separately.

The last paper is a continuation of M. H. Sauvaire's treatment of the history of the **Numismatics and the Metrology of the Musalmâns,** and it again deals with measures of capacity.

The appendix of this number commences with a review of the gastronomical poems of Abû Isḥâq Ḥallâj Shîrâzî, which I have already mentioned, under the head of the *Revue Critique.* The present review contains a useful list of the words contained in this work, which are not found in native and European lexicons,

M. Darmesteter has made a communication to M. Renan concerning a page in **Zend** hitherto unedited. He gives the text with a French translation. In a subsequent letter he gives an account of **Jamrûd,** and shows how the legend of **Jamshîd** has been attached to it, and has thus been localized in India.

An extract from a letter from M. A. Jeannier to M. Barbier de Meynard gives some interesting particulars regarding the **Arabs of Jeddah.**

The number concludes with an appreciative review of Mr. Robertson Smith's ***Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia.***

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

LANGUAGE OF MAGAHIYA DOMS.

In dealing with the question of Gipsies I have often had occasion to refer to the tribe of **Magahiyâ Ḍôms,** one of the criminal tribes of Bihâr.

Their language, so far as the grammar goes, is ordinary **Bhôjpûrî** (a dialect of Bihârî), but when they do not wish to be understood by outsiders, they have a different vocabulary, closely resembling, in the principles of its formation, the "thieves' Latin" of London.

Bâbu Śiv Nandan Lâl Rây, a Deputy Magistrate at present stationed in Champâran, where these Magahiyâ Ḍôms are specially strong, sends me the following excellent examples:—"A thief, who is, of course, a Magahiyâ Ḍôm, having stolen some utensils will say to the women of his family, '*ḍhal'wâr'tusêchov'san tikun ke chakh'ra lagâ lîhas*;' he has sold the vessels (stolen) from the *kal'war,* and divided them. Here *ḍhal'wâr* is altered from *kal'wâr, tikun* from *bik,* and *chakh'râ* from *bakh'râ.* The termination *'tu* is apparently only a pleonastic addition. Another example is '*khur'kâ kê daukhilâ dasur das.*' Here *khur'kâ* is altered from *ghôrâ,* and *dasur* from *dê. Das* is the ordinary Bhôjpûrî imperative of √ *dê.* The sentence means, 'feed the horse with grain:' (Hindî, *ghôrê kô dânâ khilâ dô*). A third example is '*Nâheb chal'khasu ar'tâ,*' the *sâhib* is coming. Here *sâhib* has been changed into *nâheb, chalasu* into *chal'khasu,* and *bâṭê* into *ar'tâ*; *chalasu bâṭê* is, however, ungrammatical Bhôjpûrî. The grammatical form would be *sâheb chalat bâṭê* or *chalatârê.* Again *darôga,* a police inspector, becomes *narôgâ,* and *jamâdâr,* a head constable, *namadâr'tu.* Constable is corrupted into *ṭhil'nâ.*"

I have asked Bâbu Śiv Nandan Lâl Rây to collect for me a number of these words with their Hindî equivalents, and in the meantime I forward the above interesting communication.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Gayâ, 13th June 1887.

The above note may well be compared with my papers on "the Trade Dialect of the Naqqâsh, or painters on *papier mâché* in the Pañjâb and Kaśmîr," *Journal A. S. B.,* Vol. LIII. pp. 1-24, and on "the Dehlî Dalâls and their slang," *ante,* Vol. XIV. pp. 155-159.

R. C. TEMPLE.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

THE BEE IN THE LOTUS.

The following lines, said to be anonymous, are well known in Mithilâ. They refer to the well-known fable of the bee imprisoned in the lotus, which is released at sunrise.

अशनावसरे प्रियः प्रियाया

गलितो भोजनभाजनेन सद्यः ।

अथ नाथविमोचनाय भेजे

दिननाथं वसती सती वनान्ते ॥

'While eating, the lover was separated suddenly from his beloved, by the (*closing of the*) vessel which contained his food. So to release her lord, the chaste (*female bee*) dwelling in the skirts of the forest adored the lord of day.'

It should be remembered that the lotus closes at sunset, and opens at sunrise.

G. A. GRIERSON.

SOMALI AS A WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

No. II.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. KING, Bo.S.C.

IN the previous article on this subject, *ante*, 242-243, I published an alphabetic system designed to express every ordinary sound in the Somâli Language, as far as possible by means of the Arabic and Hindustani characters, and therefore easy to any intelligent Somâli acquainted with the Arabic alphabet.

The total absence of anything beyond a bare colloquial knowledge on the part of the Somâlis of their own language is the chief source of the difficulties encountered by a philologist bent upon acquiring a critical knowledge of it, in order to give to the world the result of his investigations. But all Somâlis who have lived any time on the coast, or in Aden, are well acquainted with Arabic colloquially, and if you express a sentence in Arabic, and ask them for the corresponding Somâli phrase, they will tell it you without a moment's hesitation. It is not, however, easy to write a Somâli sentence when acquired, as it is often difficult to decide where one word ends and another begins; and any question as to grammar almost invariably meets with the unsatisfactory reply that the language has no grammar.

Even if you are provided with a copy of Colonel Hunter's Grammar of the Somâli Language, and endeavour to analyse any phrase you may have learnt, you will find the process at first very difficult and tedious without some system of writing and transliteration. It often took me days—even weeks—to analyse one short sentence; yet troublesome as the process is, I am convinced that it is the quickest method of learning the grammar and idioms of a language—especially a meagre and illiterate one.

The system of learning Somâli, with the help of a settled script, which I suggest by this article, is by no means new. It is simply a modification of that recommended by Mr. A. H. Bleeck, in his *New Plan for facilitating the Study of Languages*, published in 1857. By this method the student is saved the trouble of wading through grammatical rules, which—without practice in their use—would probably not convey much information to his mind, as his attention is drawn only to those points of grammar which arise in the sentences. If these last be well selected, it is not unreasonable to suppose that after learning two or three hundred of them, he will have acquired a fair knowledge of the grammar, as well as an extensive vocabulary of colloquial words and idioms, and will moreover, have learned how to use them in composition. He will, besides, become enabled, with the aid of Colonel Hunter's *Grammar*, to analyse any sentences which occur in the course of his studies.

In the following sentences, no word is explained a second time, when it recurs; so the grammatical analysis will gradually become less and less lengthy as the work progresses. It will be easy afterwards to prepare an *index verborum*, so that the collection of sentences and their analysis can be made to serve the purposes of a dictionary as well as of a grammar. It should, however, be understood that the set of phrases now given are intended to be used in conjunction with Colonel Hunter's *Grammar*—not to supersede it. The letter H. in the analysis refers to Colonel Hunter's *Grammar*.

COLLOQUIAL SENTENCES.

English.	Somâli.
1.—(*Common salutations.*)	
(*a*).—Are you well?	نَبَدْ مِيّ or مَنَبَدْبَ
(*b*).—I am well.	وَنَبَدْ
(*c*).—Are you well?	مَبَرِدين
(*d*).—I am well.	بَرِني
(*e*).—Are you well?	مَتوسْتوسْتين
(*f*).—How are you to-day?	مائَتَ و سِدے
(*g*).—I am quite well.	أَنِگَ و مِسَن
2.—Whence have you come?	هگے كَكِي
3.—I have come from the *bâzâr*.	سوكي بان كَكِي
4.—Where is your house?	اَقَلكاكي ے

5.—What news is there to-day?	مهامانت ورجر
6.—(Reply)—Good news.	نبد بجرت
7.—What do you want?	مهاد دونيس
8.—I want nothing.	وهب دون مايو
9.—I want some water.	بيان دونی
10.—What is your name?	مگعاء
11.—Where are you going?	هگے تگيس
12.—I am going to my house.	اغلکيگي بان تگی
13.—Speak in the Somâli language.	افکي صومالئيد کهدل
14.—I am unable to speak it.	انگ کهدلي کري مايو
15.—Who taught you the Somâli language?	اياکبتری افکي صوماليئد
16.—Do you know my name?	ادگ مگعئيگي ماتقن
17.—I do not know it.	انگ ماقن

Vocabulary and Grammatical Analysis, with notes and transliteration.

1. (*a*).—**Ma nabaḍ ba?** (The most common of all salutations.) *Ma*, interrog. particle. (H. s. 107.) *Nabad*, s. f. good. *Ba*, a complemental particle, indicating the nominative, which it invariably immediately follows. It appears to be used only when the verb is in the past tense, whereas the particle *wa* is used with all tenses. (H. s. 189 (d), 180 and 182.) The appropriate use of these and other particles constitutes one of the chief difficulties in the language.

Nabaḍ miya; This expression is almost as common as the above, but is not so easy to explain. *Miya* appears to be a corruption of *ma yai?* is it? which again is contracted from *ma yahai?* 3rd pers. sing. interrog. of *ahá*, *o*, to be; derived from the root *ah*. (H. p. 81).

1. (*b*).—**Wá nabaḍ.** This is the almost invariable answer to the two salutations above mentioned. *Wa* is a general pronoun, here supplying the place of the verb of existence. (H. s. 182 and 189 (d)). The *a* in this particle is usually short; but in replying to a question it is always pronounced long.

1. (*c*).—**Ma baríden?** *Baríden* is the 2nd pers. pl. perf. of the verb *bari*, the exact meaning of which is uncertain. The expression corresponds to the Arabic انت طيب *anta ṭaiyib?*

1. (*d*).—**Barinai.** (Answer to the above). 1st pers. sing. perf.

1. (*e*).—**Ma tos tosten?** *Tos*, or *tosan*, adj., straight. *Tosten*, 2nd pers. pl. perf. of *tos*, v. lift. Literally, Have you lifted yourself up straight? This expression is somewhat uncommon; and, from its meaning, appears to be a morning salutation.

1. (*f*).—**Mánta wá sidé?** *Mánta*, adv. today. Here also the *a* in *wa* is pronounced rather broadly. *Sidé*, adv. of manner, how?—(H. p. 39).

1. (*g*).—**Aniga wá sisan.**—*Aniga*, I, pers. pron. defec. (H. s. 51). *Sisan*, adv., well.

2.—**Hagge ka timí?**—*Hagge?*, where? interrog. adv. of place. (H. p. 40 and ss. 57 and 198). The word is compounded of *hag*, s. m. place, and *e* (contraction of *mé*), which gives an interrogative meaning of 'what'? when joined to nouns; so that *hagge* lit. means, 'what place?' *Ka*, prep. from. *Timí*, 2nd pers. sing. perf. of *imo*, come. (H. s. 134).

3.—**Sogkí yán ka-imí.**—*Soq*, or *sûg*, *bâzâr*, market (a corruption of the Arabic سوق.) *Ki*, def. art., (H. s. 141.) *Yán*, I, pers. pron. simple nominative form, assisted by the consonant *y*. *Imí*, have come, 1st pers. sing. perf. of *imo*.

4.—**Aghalkágí mé?**—*Aghal*, s. m. house. *Kágí*, your; possess. pron. (H. s. 55 and 191). *Mé?*, where? Interrog. adv. of place. (H. p. 40).

5.—**Mahá mánta war jira?**—*Mahá?* what?, interrog pron. (H. s. 57 and 197). *War*, s. m. news. *Jira*, from the root *jir*, the ordinary verb of existence.

6.—**Nabaḍ bá jirta.**—*Ba*, like *wa*, is pronounced long in replying to a question. *Jirta*, pres. tense, (irreg.) of *jir*, the verb of existence. The letter *t* is inserted to express the feminine; the nominative *nabaḍ* being feminine.

7.—**Mahád donaisa?**—*Mahád*, compounded of *mahá?* what, and *ad*, pers. pron. 2, simple form. (H. s. 51), *Donaisa*, (vulgarly

pronounced *donisa*), 2nd pers. sing. present tense of the verb *don*, want, wish.

8.—**Wahba doni máyo.**—[In pronouncing this sentence, a strong emphasis would usually be given to the first syllable of *wahba*. It might, perhaps, be more correct to write the word with ح instead of ه.] *Wahba*, anything; compounded of *wah*, s. m. some, and *ba*, explained above. *Doni*; the terminal *i*, here added to the root *don*, implies a future emphatic, or anterior. (H. s. 220). *Máyo*, a neg. aux. verb, 1st pers. sing. (H. s. 89).

9.—**Bíyán donaiya.** This is equivalent to to *Aniga bíyo, donaiya. Biyán* being compounded of *bíyo*, s. m. pl. water, and *yán*, I, simple nominative form of the pers. pron., assisted by the consonant *y*. (H. s. 52).

10.—**Mag'áh?**—*Mag'*, s. m. name. The affix *áh* is the root of the verb *ahào*, to be. (H. s. 257).

11.—**Hagge tagaisa?**—*Tagaisa*, thou goest, 2nd pers. sing. pres. of *tag*, go.

12.—**Aghal kaigí bán tagaiya.**—*Aghal*, s. m. house. *Kaigi*, my; possess. pron. 1st pers. sing. *Bán*, I; pers. pron. 1st pers. simple nominative form, assisted by the consonant *b*. *Tagaiya*, I am going. 1st pers. sing. pres. indic. of *tag*.

13.—**Afkí Somálicd ku-hadal.**—*Af*. s. m. language, dialect; mouth. *Ki* is the def. art. *i*, assisted by the consonant *k*, after a masc. noun. (H. p. 6—7). *Somálicd*, an attributive adj. formed from the noun Somáli by adding the termination *ed*. (H. s. 165). *ku*, a prep. used with the verb *hadal*. (H. s. 259 *et seq.*) *Hadal* v. talk.

14.—**Aniga ku-hadlí karí máyo.** The whole of this sentence is simply the negative form of the potential verb. 1st pers. sing. present.

15.—**Aiyá ku-barrai afkí Somálicd?** *Aiyá*? who? interrog. pron. *Ku*, to thee, pers. pron.(H. p. 13—14). *Barrai*, 3rd pers. sing. perf. of the verb. *bar*, teach.

16.—**Adiga mag'aigi má takan?**—*Adiga*, thou, pers. pron. defec. form (H. s. 51). *Takan*, 2nd pers. sing. pres. of *ukán*, v. know. (H. p. 37).

17.—**Aniga mákan.**—*Mákan* is a contraction for *ma akan*, I do not know.

THE MRITYULANGALA UPANISHAD.

BY COLONEL G. A. JACOB, BOMBAY STAFF CORPS.

Exactly fourteen years ago, the late Dr. Burnell published, in these pages,[1] the text of the **Mrityulâṅgala Upanishad**, as he found it in two of the Tanjore MSS. They, however, represented two different recensions, and were manifestly faulty and incomplete. I have recently collated three manuscripts belonging to the Government collection in this Presidency (one in Poona, and two in Bombay), and as they represent one recension, and are, in some respects, superior to those at Dr. Burnell's disposal, I reproduce the text as they give it. The latter part of it is undoubtedly an improvement on that of the southern codices, but the opening portion is not nearly so good.

The Mantra *Ritam satyam param Brahma*, &c., round which the Upanishad clusters, is, as we all know, the twelfth *Anuvâka* of the Upanishad forming the last Book of the *Taittirîya Araṇyaka*,—but it may not be so generally known that the preceding Mantra, as given in Burnell's text, namely *athâtô yôga jihvâ mê madhuvâdinî | aham êva kâlô nâham kâlasya |* is also found in the **Atharvaṇa** recension of that Upanishad, at the end of the eleventh section.

Nârâyaṇa explains it in his *Dîpikâ* as follows:—**Athâtô yôga** aikyam vyâkhyâyatê | chhândasaḥ sôr luk | **jihvâ mê madhuvâdinî** astu mâdhuryêṇa jihvâyâ yôgô 'stu | **aham êva kâlô** 'ttâ **nâham kâlasya** bhôgyaḥ | ayam âtmakâlayôgaḥ || In the text below, this has been supplanted by a Mantra not to be found in that Upanishad, the latter part of which is ungrammatical and almost without meaning. Yet the MSS. give it without variation. There are other minor divergencies, as well as errors, which it is needless to point out here.

As to the name of the Upanishad, two of the codices give it throughout as **Mrityulâṅgala**. The third agrees with them in one of the four instances in which the word occurs in the body of the text,—but in the other three cases, and

[1] Vol. II. pp. 266, 267.

in the colophon, it has Mrityulâṅgula. There is therefore a decided preponderance of evidence in favour of the name which Dr. Burnell adopted, and which also heads this paper.

The following is the text:—

Ôm । mrityulâṅgalaṁ vyâkhyâsyâmaḥ । asya mrityulâṅgalamantrasyânushṭup chhandaḥ Kâlâgnirudrô dêvatâ Vasishṭha ṛishir Yamô[2] dêvatâ । mrityupasthânê[3] viniyôgaḥ ॥ Athâtô yôga jihvâ madhumatî vâjiny aham êvâhaṁ kâlaṁ purusham ûrdhvaliṅgaṁ virûpâkshaṁ viśvarûpâya vai namô namaḥ । varavṛishabhâya sphênakapilarûpâya namô namaḥ ॥ Ṛitaṁ satyaṁ paraṁ Brahma purushaṁ kṛishṇapiṅgalaṁ । ûrdhvaliṅgaṁ virûpâkshaṁ viśvarûpâya namô namaḥ ॥ Ôṁ krâṁ krîṁ svâhâ ॥ Ya imaṁ mṛityulâṅgalaṁ trisandhyaṁ kîrttayati sa brahmahatyâṁ vyapôhati suvarṇastêyî astêyî bhavati gurudâragâmî agâmî bhavati sarvêbhyaḥ pâtakêbhya upapâtakêbhyaścha sadyô vimuktô bhavati । Sakṛijjaptêna mantrêṇânêna Gâyatryashṭasahasrâṇaṁ phalâni bhavanti । ashṭau Brâhmaṇân grâhayitvâ Brahmarudralôkam avâpnôti ॥ Yaḥ kaśchin na dadâti sa chitrî kushṭhî kunakhî vâ bhavati । yaḥ kaśchid dîyamânaṁ na pratigṛihṇâti sô 'ndhô badhirô mûkô vâ bhavati ॥ Mṛityâv upasthitê shaṇmâsâd arvâṇ mantrô 'yaṁ naśyati । anêna mṛityulâṅgalâkhyasya mahâmantrasya kṛitajâpyêna[4] bhagavân Dharmarâḍ Yama[5] prîyatâm ॥ Ôm । ṛitaṁ nashṭaṁ yadâkâlê shaṇmasêna marishyati । satyaṁ tu pañchamê mâsi paraṁ Brahma chaturthakê । purushaṁ cha tṛitîyê vai dvitîyê kṛishṇapiṅgâlam । ûrdhvaliṅgaṁ tu mâsêna virûpâkshaṁ tadarddhakê । viśvarûpam tṛitîyê 'hni sadyaś chaiva namô namaḥ । sadyaś chaiva namô nama iti ॥

[2] So all the MSS. although the *dêvatâ* has already been named.

[3] So MSS.; but no doubt *mrityûpasthânê* is meant.

[4] Instead of this compound, two MSS. read *kṛitêna*.

[5] So all the MSS.; but the nominative is required.

RESCUING THE SUN AND MOON.

BY R. D. M.

It is a custom among all classes of Hindus to bathe, pray, and give alms when either the **Sun** or the **Moon** is eclipsed. These acts are done in order to rescue the Sun or the Moon, when either of them is attacked by his mortal enemy **Râhu**, who, it is believed, tries to swallow up both his rivals whenever he meets them, taking revenge for old wrongs. The devout Hindus try to repel the dangerous foe of the ruling lights by virtue of their meritorious acts, which are believed to become powerful weapons of defence to assist the Sun and Moon. How and when the enmity was established between these personifications is explained in the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas*. The legend is as follows:—

The gods and demons, being mortal enemies, were ever engaged in fighting each other, and the loss was very great on both sides; more so on the side of gods, for the gods were by no means superior in strength to the demons, and since they were all mortals, they were being gradually reduced to insignificant factors, and were in danger of losing their position altogether. So the gods held a council on the summit of **Mount Mêru**, to consider how they should be able to gain the victory over their enemies. The four-headed **Brahmâ** wisely advised them to consult **Vishṇu** on this all-important matter, for he was the most faithful and the wisest friend of gods. Accordingly they called at **Vaikuṇṭha**, the beautiful mansion of Vishṇu, and besought him to graciously assist them in their efforts. He promised to do so, advising them at the same time to secure the alliance of the demons; "For," said he, "you will have to **churn the ocean** to obtain the drink by which you will get your immortality. But it is not possible for you alone to churn the ocean. The demons must do it along with you, for they have much physical strength in them."

Thereupon **Indra**, king of gods, negotiated with the demon-king **Bali**, who agreed to give his assistance on condition that the immortalizing drink obtained by churning the ocean should be equally divided between gods and demons. Indra good-naturedly agreed to this, as he was advised by Vishṇu, but he knew full well how the demons should have in the end their labour as their only reward.

Preparations were now made by the united

forces of gods and demons for the great enterprise that they were to enter upon. They brought all kinds of drugs from all over the earth and cast them into the great **Sea of Milk.** Mount **Mandara** was fixed upon as the churn-staff, and **Vâsuki**, the serpent-king, consented to become the churn-rope provided that he should share the precious drink with gods.

Now began the churning of the ocean, the gods and demons did their best to uphold the prodigious churn-staff, but it was too heavy, and began to sink into the fathomless Sea of Milk. Vishṇu seeing the difficulty, took at once the form of a great turtle, dived in the ocean and supported Mount Mandara from beneath to the great joy of the churners. By and by, when all the drugs were dissolved in the milk, a quantity of deadly poison began to gather on the surface of the sea; the very smell of which was sufficient to kill all mortal beings. Millions of gods, demons, and men fell down dead unable to bear the dreadful odour. The inhabitants of the three worlds seeing the calamity, went in a large body to meet **Śaṁkara** and besought him to rescue them from the danger. **Śiva** was as good as his name signifies, and benevolently offered to consume the poison after consulting his equally good consort **Pârvatî.** All mortal beings were thus gladdened and saved by Śiva, who took the poison into the palms of his hands and drank the burning liquid as if it were delicious wine. Although Śiva was powerful enough to consume the poison without being killed by it, it did nevertheless affect him not a little. He could not digest it, it began to burn him from within, and rose into his throat, making it look black and blue, whence he is called **Nîlakantha,** which title, ugly as it sounds, is more glorious than all the exalting appellations in heaven and earth put together, because he got it for his self-sacrificing charitable deed. Śiva sought to cool himself by wearing the moon—the coldest thing—on his forehead.[1]

The gods and demons, being now free from danger proceeded to churn the ocean with renewed efforts. The nine famous **gems**—so called for their excellence—were thus obtained from the ocean.

The gems are :—

i.—Surabhi, the divine cow.

ii.—Uchchaiḥśravas, the heavenly horse.

iii.—Airâvata, the four-tusked white elephant.

iv.—Pârijâta, the heavenly tree that gives everything wished for.

v.—Apsaras, the dancing-girl of the immortals.

vi.—Lakshmî, goddess of prosperity.

vii.—Vâruṇî, the goddess of wine and spirits.

viii.—Dhanvantari, the divine physician.

ix.—Amṛita, the drink that makes mortal beings immortal.

People differ as to the number of the sea-born gems. In Southern India it is invariably believed that they were fourteen. There the five other gems, are :—

i. Poison, first in order, because it was the first to come out of the sea.

ii. The Moon.

iii. Kaustubha, the famous jewel that adorns Vishṇu's neck.

iv. Alakshmî, goddess of poverty and misery, and elder sister of Lakshmî.

v. Śaṁkha, the favourite conch-shell of Vishṇu.

The Marâṭhâs say, it was not the **Śaṁkha** but the **Whip** that came out last of all. This powerful gem is well-known as the **Fourteenth Gem** throughout the **Marâṭhâ** country, and naughty children become quite quiet at the bare mention of its name!

The gods and demons began to seize the gems as fast as they could, both parties got a few, but at last the vessel containing **Amṛita** (the nectar) was carried off by the powerful demons. They did not drink the precious liquid at once, but began foolishly to quarrel among themselves about who should have more or less.

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[1] It is in remembrance of this, Śiva's good deed, that many women in Southern India, especially among Marâṭhâs, have a crescent tattooed on the lower part of their forehead, but scarcely any one seems to know the meaning. The crescent-like mark made with either sandal-wood paste or ashes on the foreheads of men, worshippers of Śiva, is also in commemoration of his benevolent deed.

It should also be remembered that when Śiva was drinking the dreadful liquid; a few drops fell down from the hollow of his palm, which were consumed by snakes, scorpions, &c.: that is why they are venomous to this day!

In the meantime the disappointed gods complained to Vishṇu of their great loss, who comforted them by assuring them that they should soon have the *amṛita*, and ordered them to be ready to drink it as soon as he should get it from the demons. The demons went on quarrelling, when, behold! there appeared a most beautiful damsel, who won all hearts by her bewitching smiles, graceful movements and charming looks. She seemed to take great interest in the matter, and as the demons wished to get some pretext to address the young lady, they gladly seized this opportunity. They explained the whole thing to her, and asked her to express her opinion on the subject. But she modestly and courteously refused to do so, for she said she was only a woman, and could not presume to give judgment on the conduct of the great **Kaśyapa's** sons. The foolish demons were now more than even eager to get a few more words out of her, her voice was so sweet, her smiles so charming, and her looks so enchanting. They earnestly besought her to settle the quarrel by giving her opinion, promising at the same time to abide by her advice, for they were sure of her superior wisdom. "Well then," said **Môhinî**, for such was her name, "give me the vessel containing *amṛita* and I will do with it as I deem proper. But you must take care not to interfere with me in whatever I may do, though the act may for a time seem to be very unjust." They agreed to this proposal and entrusted her with the precious drink, for which they had worked so hard, and even quarrelled with their own kith and kin! Alas for the poor demons, foolish though they were, they still deserve the sympathy of all true and just hearts, for they were brave and truth-loving men!

Môhinî, now proceeded to execute her task. She made the gods and demons sit in separate rows, and began deliberately to serve out the **Amṛita**. How surprised and indignant the demons were at Môhinî's conduct, when she began to give the *amṛita* to the gods abundantly and pass quietly by the demons without even looking at them, can better be imagined than described! But the demons kept their promise like brave and honourable men, remembering that they were in honour bound, and did not interfere with Môhinî, though they knew well that it meant death and destruction to them.

Seeing his brethren thus treacherously deprived of the precious *amṛita*, **Râhu**, one of the mighty demons, resolved to get a drink of it by some means. He disguised himself in a god's form and sat among the gods, soberly waiting for his turn, but the **Sun** and **Moon** perceived his trick and pointed it out to **Vishṇu**; for who but Vishṇu of all the gods could so perfectly disguise himself in a woman's robes and play his part so well? It was Vishṇu in fact that had appeared disguised as Môhinî and had deceived the demons. He concluded his work by instantly cutting the head off **Râhu's** body just as he had taken a sip of the *amṛita*. His body fell down dead for he had not time enough to swallow the *amṛita* before his head was cut off. The **head**, however, became immortal, darted upwards, and became a great planet in the heavens. The gods drank all the *amṛita*, and felt very proud of the victory they had so foully obtained over their cousins, the demons, who bravely fought for their rights, but were soon reduced to submit to the circumstances. But Râhu, or rather his head, still stands as a champion of the demons, fighting the gods with all his might. He takes revenge on his old enemies the Sun and Moon, trying to swallow them whenever he comes near enough to get a bite at them. When the Sun and Moon are either partly or completely hidden in Râhu's mouth, they are said to be eclipsed. There is no danger of their being digested by Râhu since he has no stomach, but this fact renders his jaws all the more dangerous. For his teeth, being indestructible might at any time grind the two ruling lights under them, if they were not interfered with in their fearful proceedings by the powerful weapons shot from all over India!

But the Hindus do not always put their trust in their arms, they also believe in a peaceful policy. They try to **please Râhu**, by giving alms to the otherwise despised and shunned **Bhanghî** on these occasions. **Râhu**, as every-one knows, is of the **Chaṇḍâla** caste, and is no doubt much pleased to see his Bhanghî brethren occasionally honoured by the proud high-caste Hindu!

THE VIRTUE OF ASTIKA'S NAME.

BY R. D. M.

There is a superstitious belief among almost all the Brâhmans in Southern India, that when any person pronounces aloud the name of **Astîka** three or four times, he or she is then free from any danger caused by venomous serpents. The origin of this belief is to be found in the *Mahâbhârata*. The legend relating to **Astîka** is as follows:—

Kaśyapa, a son of the four-headed Brahmâ, and one of the nine patriarchs, had thirteen sisters for his wives. Kaśyapa had the power of granting as many children to his wives as he chose, and of the kind that they wished to have. He was once on a time very much pleased with his two younger wives, **Kadrû** and **Vinatâ**, and wished to reward them as they deserved. Kadrû chose for her boon one thousand powerful sons, all venomous snakes, but Vinatâ in her turn asked for only two sons who should be mightier than the thousand snakes and be kings of all birds. Not very long after both the sisters laid eggs, Kadrû one thousand and Vinatâ only two. Kadrû's one thousand sons hatched in time, filling the mother's heart with triumphant joy. Vinatâ waited patiently for five hundred years, but neither of her eggs hatched.

Now that her co-wife had so many sons playing about her, Vinatâ could no longer bear to wait. She ventured to chip one of the eggs when, lo! a mighty eagle of superior splendour and glorious appearance sprang out of it, but the mother beheld to her great grief that her son had no talons. The new-born bird was filled with wrath, and said to his mother:—

"O thou impatient woman, thou hast caused my unfortunate deformity by chipping the egg to satisfy thy curiosity. Thy crime shall not go unpunished. Thou shalt for several centuries be a slave and serve her, of whom thou art so jealous. But if thou be patient and let this my younger brother alone, he will in time fully develop and be as mighty as thou didst wish him to be, and shall emancipate thee."

So saying the bird flew out of his nest and soared upward into the boundless heaven till he reached the solar world, where he was cordially welcomed by the sun and at once appointed his charioteer. This great eagle was named **Aruṇa** (i. e. the Red) for he was so much enraged by his mother's rash act that he grew red all over and still retains his colour. The sky looks red at the dawn, for the **Red Charioteer** driving the fiery horses of the sun appears first.

Vinatâ was very sad after the departure of her elder son, but took great care not to disturb the younger son, still reposing in the egg.

Once she accompanied Kadrû on a pleasure excursion. On their way, they saw the horse **Uchchaiḥśravas** grazing on the distant shore of the **Sea of Milk**. His body was all white, but the two sisters could not quite agree as to the colour of his tail. Vinatâ said it was white, but Kadrû contradicted her, saying that it was black. They could not settle the dispute then and there, but agreed to go near him on another day to examine the colour of his tail; and that if the assertion of either proved to be false, the defeated sister should then be a slave of her opponent for five centuries.

Vinatâ went home without suspecting any calamity to come from this source, for she was quite sure the horse's tail was white; she had seen him several times before. Kadrû, on the contrary, was much troubled with all sorts of misgivings, she *knew* the horse's tail was white; but she wished very much to avenge herself of the wrong she had suffered from Vinatâ, who beat her in obtaining two sons mightier than her own thousand snakes! She therefore resolved to beat Vinatâ on this occasion. On reaching home, she called her thousand sons and ordered them to be transformed into black hair and cover the tail of Uchchaiḥśravas; for she said she must needs play this trick in order to beat her opponent. But the sons refused to obey this unjust order of their mother, whereupon Kadrû, much enraged, cursed her sons, and said that they should all be burnt in the great **Serpent-sacrifice** that King **Janamêjaya** would offer to revenge his father's death caused by snake-bite. Now the thousand mighty brothers were frightened at this horrible doom. They took council among

themselves and resolved after much deliberation to obey their mother in order to avert her anger.

On the morrow, the two sisters set out on their journey to the shores of the Sea of Milk there to examine the much-discussed horse's tail. When they reached the shore, they saw with much surprise that Uchchaiḥśravas' tail was covered with coal black hair. Kadrû's triumphant joy knew no bounds, and poor Vinatâ was doomed to be a slave and serve her cruel rival for five long centuries. But she was not angry with Kadrû, for she at once knew that it was the punishment of her own crime, as above related.

In the meantime, Vinatâ's other son hatched. He was so handsome and had such beautiful feathers and such grand wings that all people agreed to name him **Garutmat (Garuḍa).** Vinatâ waited till he grew old enough to deliver her, and did not acquaint him with her degradation and sorrow. But he soon found out that his mother was a slave, and won a great victory over **Indra**, the king of gods, thereby obtaining the nectar necessary to obtain his mother's freedom. After which he was crowned king of all birds by the four-headed Brahmâ.

The thousand snakes, Garutmat's cousins, had hoped to become immortals by drinking the nectar thus procured by the valiant Vainatêya, but little did they know how they would be defeated by Indra, who thought it dangerous to let the terror of mortal beings become immortal. He stole the vessel containing the nectar which was placed in the midst of the sacred *kuśa* grass until the snakes could purify themselves and be ready to drink it. So they found the place empty when they came there, hoping to drink the nectar.

The poor disappointed snakes licked the grass on which the vessel of nectar was placed, hoping that there might by chance have fallen a drop or two of the immortals' drink. But vainly do people try to defeat destiny, the snakes instead of tasting of the nectar by this means, hurt and disfigured their tongues, which were torn asunder by the sharp edges of the *kuśa* grass. This is the reason why all snakes, unlike any other creatures, have two tongues!

Being thus defeated on all sides, the snakes petitioned to Brahmâ to know if there was any means by which to escape the dreadful doom pronounced on them by their mother. Brahmâ advised them to marry their sister **Jaratkâru** to a sage having the same name, and told them that her son would be their saviour. The snakes obeyed the order, and thus Astîka, the future deliverer of the snake-tribe was born and bred in snakedom, much honoured and loved by his powerful maternal uncles.

Now it happened that when **Astîka** was only twelve or thirteen years of age, king **Janamêjaya** resolved to burn the whole serpent-tribe in his **Serpent-sacrifice** to revenge his father's death, which was caused by snakebite. Thousands upon thousands of the venomous snakes were dragged out of their hiding-places and burnt in the sacrificial fire by the officiating priests at the request of the king. **Vâsuki**, the king of snakes, and eldest son of Kadrû, told the old story to his nephew, and entreated him to deliver his uncle's tribe from this danger. Whereupon Astîka set out on his journey to **Hastinâpura** to do the great deed for which for he was destined by the Creator. On reaching the sacrificial ground, he was refused admittance into the king's presence, but he composed some *ex tempore* verses in praise of the great king, and sang them so pleasantly that the king was quite pleased with him, and told him to ask for anything he would like as his reward. Astîka, faithful to his uncles, requested the king to graciously stop burning any more snakes. The king tried to tempt him by offering him all riches and even his whole kingdom if only he would let him burn the snakes—the enemies of his father and of mankind in general. But Astîka would not listen to this. He wished to deliver the snake-tribe, and as the king was bound to fulfil his promise, he at last yielded to Astîka's entreaties, much against his own wishes, and ordered the priest to stop sacrificing more snakes.

Astîka's uncles were overjoyed at their nephew's success and desired him to ask for anything he liked as the reward of his beneficent services. He requested that any person begging for protection in his name should not be hurt by any snake whatsoever, and thus the doubly meritorious act of delivering snakes and at the same time of procuring protection for mankind from the dreaded snake-tribe was accomplished by good Astîka.

The following is the prayer by which any

person may hope to be free from danger caused by snakes :—

"He, the renowned son of the two Jaratkârus (*i.e.* his parents were both named Jaratkâru) who delivered you from the snake-sacrifice, in his name do I ask you, O ye gracious snakes, not to kill me! O blessed serpent, go thou out of my way. O thou venomous snake, remember the request of Astîka at the conclusion of the serpent sacrifice. The snake who does not withdraw after hearing Astîka's name, shall surely have his head broken in a thousand pieces like the *śimba*-fruit!"

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

XXI.—*The Brahmarâksha and the hair.*

In a certain village there lived a very rich landlord, who owned several villages, but was such a great miser that no tenant would willingly cultivate his lands, and those he had gave him not a little trouble. He was, indeed, so vexed with them that he left all his lands untilled, and his tanks and irrigation channels dried up. All this, of course, made him poorer and poorer day by day. Nevertheless he never liked the idea of freely opening his purse to his tenants and obtaining their good will. While he was in this frame of mind a learned *sanyâsî* paid him a visit, and on his representing his case to him, the holy man said :—

"My dear son, I know an incantation (*mantra*) in which I can instruct you. If you repeat it for three months day and night, a Brahmarâkshasa will appear before you on the first day of the fourth month. Make him your servant and then you can set at nought all your petty troubles with your tenants. The Brahmarâkshasa will obey all your orders and you will find him equal to a hundred servants."

Our hero fell at his feet and begged to be instructed at once. The sage then sat facing the East, and his disciple the landlord, facing the West,[1] and in this position formal instruction was given, after which the *sanyâsî* went his way.

The landlord, mightily pleased at what he had learnt, went on practising the incantation, till, on the first day of the fourth month, the great Brahmarâkshasa stood before him.

"What do you want, sir, from my hands?" said he, "what is the object of your having propitiated me for these three months?"

The landlord was thunderstruck at the huge monster that now stood before him and still more so at his terrible voice, but nevertheless he said :—"I want you to become my servant and obey all my commands."

"Agreed," answered the Brahmarâkshasa in a very mild tone, for it was his duty to leave off his impertinent ways when any one who had performed the required penance wanted him to become his servant; "Agreed. But you must always give me work to do, when one job is finished you must at once give me a second and so on. If you fail I shall kill you."

The landlord, thinking that he would have work for several such Brahmarâkshasas, was pleased to see that his demoniacal servant was so eager to help him. He at once took him to a large tank which had been dried up for several years, and pointing to it spoke as follows :—

"You see this large tank, you must make it as deep as the height of two palmyra trees and repair the embankment wherever it is broken."

"Yes, my master, your orders shall be obeyed," humbly replied the servant and fell to work.

The landlord, thinking that it would take several months, if not years, to do the work in the tank, for it was two *kôs* long and one *kôs* broad, returned delighted to his home, where his people were awaiting him with a sumptuous dinner. He enjoyed himself amazingly with his wife, but when it was approaching evening the Brahmarâkshasa came to inform his master that he had finished his work in the tank! He was indeed astonished and feared for his own life!

"What! finished the work in one day, which I thought would occupy him for months and

[1] This is always the course followed when a *guru* (moral teacher) instructs his *sishya* (disciple) in any *mantra*.

years; if he goes on at this rate, how shall I keep him employed. And when I cannot find employment for him he will kill me!" Thus he thought and began to weep. His wife wiped the tears that ran down his face, and said:—

"My dearest husband, you must not lose courage. Get from the Brahmarâkshasa all the work you can and then let me know. I'll give him something that will keep him engaged for a very very long time and then he'll trouble us no more."

But her husband only thought her words to be meaningless, and followed the Brahmarâkhsasa to see what he had done. Sure enough the thing was as complete as complete could be, so he asked him to plough *all* his lands, which extended over twenty villages! This was done in two *ghaṭikas*! He next made him to dig and cultivate *all* his dry and garden lands. This was done in the twinkling of an eye! The landlord now grew hopeless.

"What more work have you for me?" roared the Brahmarâkshasa, as he found that his master had nothing for him to do and that the time for his eating him up was approaching.

"My dear friend," said he, "my wife says she has a little job to give you; do it please now. I think that that is the last thing I can give you to do and after it in obedience to the conditions under which you took service with me I must become your prey!

At this moment his wife came to them, holding in her left hand a long hair, which she had just pulled out from her head, and said:—

"Well, Brahmarâkshasa, I have only a very light job for you. Take this hair and when you have made it straight bring it back to me."

The Brahmarâkshasa calmly received it and sat in a *pîpal* tree to make it straight. He rolled it several times on his thigh and lifted it up to see if it had become straight: but no, it would still bend! Just then it occurred to him that goldsmiths, when they want to make their metal wires straight, have them heated in a fire. So he went to a fire and placed the hair over it, and of course it frizzled up with a nasty smell! He was horrified! "What will my master's wife say if I do not return her the hair she gave me?" So he became mightily afraid and ran away!

This story is told to explain the modern custom of nailing a handful of hair to a tree in which devils are supposed to dwell to drive them away.

XXII.—*The Beggar and the Five Muffins.*

In a certain village there lived a poor beggar and his wife. The man used to go out every morning with a clean vessel in his hand, return home with rice enough for the day's meal, and thus the pair lived on in extreme poverty.

One day a poor Mâdhava Brâhmaṇ invited them to a feast, and, among Mâdhavas, muffins (*tôśai*) are always a part of the good things on festive occasions. So during the feast the beggar and his wife had their fill of muffins. They were so pleased with them that the woman was extremely anxious to prepare some more muffins in her own house, and began to save every day a little rice from what her husband brought her for the purpose. When enough had been thus collected she begged a poor neighbour's wife to give her a little black pulse, which the latter—praised be her charity—readily did. The faces of the beggar and his wife literally glowed with joy that day, for were they not to taste the long-desired muffins a second time?

The woman soon turned the rice she had been saving and the black pulse she had obtained from her neighbour into a paste, and mixing it well with a little salt, green chillies, coriander seed and curds, set it in a pan on the fire; and with her mouth watering all the while prepared five muffins! By the time her husband had returned from his collection of alms, she was just turning out of the pan the fifth muffin! And when she placed the whole five muffins before him his mouth, too, began to water. He kept two for himself and two he placed before his wife, but what was to be done with the fifth? He did not understand the way out of this difficulty. That half and half make one and that each could take two and a half muffins was a question too hard for him to solve. The beloved muffins must not be torn in pieces; so he said to his wife that either he or she must take the remaining one. But how were they to decide which should be the lucky one?

Proposed the husband:—"Let us both shut our eyes and stretch ourselves as if in sleep each on a verandah on either side the kitchen. Whoever opens an eye and speaks first gets only two muffins; and the other gets three."

So great was the desire of each to get the three muffins that they both abided by the agreement, and the woman, though her mouth watered for the muffins, resolved to go through the ordeal. She placed the five cakes in a pan and covered it over with another pan. She then carefully bolted the door inside, and asking her husband to go into the east verandah, lay down in the west one. Sleep she had none, and with closed eyes kept guard over her husband: for if he spoke first he would have only two muffins and the other three would come to her share. Equally watchful was her husband over her.

Thus passed one whole day,—two—three! The house was never opened! No beggar came to receive the morning dole. The whole village began to enquire after the missing beggar. What had become of him? What had become of his wife? "See whether his house is locked on the outside and whether he has left us to go to some other village," spoke the greyheads. So the village watch came and tried to push the door open, but it would not open! "Surely," said they, "it is locked on the inside! Some great calamity must have happened. Perhaps thieves have entered the house and after plundering their property murdered the inmates."

"But what property is a beggar likely to have?" thought the village assembly, and not liking to waste time in idle speculations, they sent two watchmen to climb the roof and open the latch from the inside. Meanwhile the whole village, men, women and children, stood before the beggar's house to see what had taken place inside. The watchmen jumped into the house and to their horror found the beggar and his wife stretched on opposite verandahs like two corpses. They opened the door, and the whole village rushed in. They, too, saw the beggar and his wife lying so still that they thought them to be dead. And though the beggar pair had heard everything that passed around them, neither would open an eye or speak. For whoever did it first would get only two muffins!

At the public expense of the village two green litters of bamboo and cocoanut leaves were prepared on which to remove the unfortunate pair to the cremation-ground. "How loving they must have been to have died together like this!" said some of the greybeards of the village.

In time the cremation-ground was reached, and the village watchmen had collected a score of dried cowdung-cakes and a bundle of firewood from each house for the funeral pyre.[3] From these charitable contributions *two* pyres had been prepared, one for the man and one for the woman. The pyres were then lighted, and when the fire approached his leg, the man thought it time to give up the ordeal and to be satisfied with only two muffins! So while the villagers were still continuing the funeral rites, they suddenly heard a voice:—

"I shall be satisfied with two muffins!"

Immediately another voice replied from the woman's pyre:—

"I have gained the day; let me have the three!"

The villagers were amazed and ran away. One bold man alone stood face to face with the supposed dead husband and wife. He was a bold man, indeed, for when a dead man or a man supposed to have died comes to life village people consider him to be a ghost. However, this bold villager questioned the beggars until he came to know their story. He then went after the runaways and related to them the whole story of the five muffins to their great amazement.

But what was to be done to the people who had thus voluntarily faced death out of a love for muffins. Persons who had ascended the green litter and slept on the funeral pyre could never come back to the village! If they did the whole village would perish. So the elders built a small hut in a deserted meadow outside the village and made the beggar and his wife live there.

Ever after that memorable day our hero and his wife were called the muffin beggar and the muffin beggar's wife, and many old ladies and young children from the village used to bring

[3] The village custom in South India when a death occurs in the village.

them muffins in the morning and evening, out of pity for them—for had they not loved muffins so much that they underwent death in life?

XXIII.—*The Brâhmaṇ Priest who became an 'Âmildâr* *

In the Karṇâṭadêśa there reigned a famous king named Châmuṇḍa, who was served by a household priest, named Guṇḍappa, well versed in all the rituals at which he officiated.

Châmuṇḍa, one day, while chewing betel-leaves, thus addressed Guṇḍappa, who was sitting opposite him:—

"My most holy priest, I am greatly pleased at your faithfulness in the discharge of your sacred duties; and you may ask of me now what you wish and I shall grant your request."

The priest in his elation replied: "I had always a desire to become the *'âmildâr** of a district and to exercise power over a number of people; and if Your Majesty should grant me this I have attained my ambition."

"Agreed," said the king, and as at that time the *'âmildârship* of Naṅjaṅgôḍ happened to be vacant, His Majesty at once appointed his priest to the post, thinking that a priest, who was so intelligent in his duties, would do well in the new post. Before he sent him off, however, he gave Guṇḍappa three bits of advice:—

(1). *Mukha keppage irabêku.*

(2). *Ellâru koviannu kachchi mâtan âḍu.*

(3). *Ellâr juṭṭu kayyalî irabêku.*

Meaning:—

(1). You should always keep a black (*i.e.* frowning) countenance.

(2). When you speak about State affairs you should do it biting the ear (*i.e.* secretly—close to the ear).

(3). The locks of all the people must be in your hand (*i.e.* you must use your influence and make every one subservient to you).

Guṇḍappa attended carefully to the advice so kindly given by the king, and the way in which he listened to it made His Majesty understand that he had taken it to heart. So with a smiling face the king gave the letter containing the appointment to Guṇḍappa, who returned home with a happy heart.

He told his wife about the change that had come over his prospects, and wished to start at once to take charge of the new post. The king and his officers at once sent messengers to Naṅjaṅgôḍ informing the officers of the *'âmildârî* there that a newly appointed *'âmildâr* would be coming soon. So they all waited near the gate of the town to pay their respects to the new *'âmildâr* and escort him into it.

Guṇḍappa started the very next morning to Naṅjaṅgôḍ with a bundle containing clean clothes, six and twelve cubits long, on his head. Poor priest! Wherever he saw the *kuśa* grass on the road, he was drawn to it by its freshness, and kept on storing it up all the way. The sacred grass had become so dear to him, that, though he would have no occasion to use it as *'âmildâr* of Naṅjaṅgôḍ, he could not pass by it without gathering some of it. So with his bundle of clothes on his head and his beloved *kuśa* grass in his hands Guṇḍappa approached the city of Naṅjaṅgôḍ about the twentieth *ghaṭikâ* of the day.

Now, though it was very late in the day none of the officers who had come out to receive the *'âmildâr* had returned home to his meal. Every one was waiting in the gate, and when Guṇḍappa turned up, no one took him to be anything more than a priest. The bundle on his head and the green ritual grass in his hands proclaimed his vocation. But every one thought that, as a priest was coming by the very road the *'âmildâr* would take, he might bring news of him—whether he had halted on the road or might be expected before the evening. So the officer next in rank to the *'âmildâr* came to the most reverend priest and asked him whether he had any news of the coming *'âmildâr*; on which our hero put down his bundle and taking the cover out of it—containing the order of his appointment with a handful of *kuśa* grass, lest his clothes be polluted if he touched them with his bare hands, informed his subordinate that he was himself the *'âmildâr*!

All those assembled were astonished to find that such a stupid priest was appointed to so responsible a post, but when it was made known that Guṇḍappa was the new *'âmildâr* the customary music was played; and he was escorted in a manner due to his position into

* A Kanarese tale related by a *risâldâr*.

* A chief revenue officer.

the town. He had been fasting from the morning, and a grand feast was prepared for him in the house of the next senior official, which Guṇḍappa entered to dine and take rest. He there informed the officials that he would be at the office at the 25th *ghaṭikâ* of the evening. From the way in which he issued the order all thought that he was really an able man, and that he had come in the guise of a simple priest in order to find out the real state of his district. So every officer went home, bathed, ate his meal in haste and attended at the office.

The chief assistant took the *'âmildâr* to his house, and entertained his guest as became his position. Guṇḍappa, being a priest, was a very good eater, for never for a day in his life he had spent money out of his own pocket on meals, so what reason had he to enquire about the price of provisions? It was at the expense of others he had grown so fat! After doing more than full justice to all the good things, much to the secret amusement of his host and assistant, Guṇḍappa rose up from his food, and washed his hands. He then wanted betel-leaves, though to ask for these before the host offers them is very impolite. But his subordinate interpreted it as an order from a master and brought the platter containing the necessary nutmeg, mace, nuts, leaves, and *chunam* (lime).

Where is the *dakshiṇa*?* next asked the *'âmildâr*. His host did not quite understand whether this was meant in earnest or in joke, but before he could solve the question in his mind:—

"Where is the *dakshiṇa*?" reiterated the *'âmildâr*, and his assistant, thinking that his new superior was prone to taking bribes, at once brought a bag containing 500 *mohars* and placed it in the platter. Now, a *dakshiṇa* to a Brâhmaṇ is not usually more than a couple of rupees; but should an *'âmildâr* ask for one his assistant would naturally mistake him, and think he was hinting at a bribe!

Guṇḍappa, greatly pleased at a princely *dakshiṇa* such as he had never seen before in all his life, at once opened the bag and counted out every gold piece in it, carefully tying them up in his bundle. He then began to chew his betel, and at one gulp swallowed up all the nutmeg and mace in the platter! These acts made his assistant strongly suspect the real nature of the new *'âmildâr*; but then there was the order of the king, and it must be obeyed! Guṇḍappa next asked his assistant to go on in advance of him to the office, saying that he would be there himself in a *ghaṭikâ*. The assistant accordingly left a messenger to attend on the *'âmildâr*, and being very anxious to see things in good order left his house for the office.

Guṇḍappa now remembered the three bits of advice given by the king, the first of which was that he should always put on when in office, a black countenance. Now he understood the word "black" in its literal sense and not in its allegorical one of "frowning," and so, going into the kitchen he asked for a lump of charcoal paste. When this was ready he blackened the whole of his face with it, and covering his face with his cloth,—as he was ashamed to show it,—entered the office. With his face thus blackened and partly covered with a cloth the new *'âmildâr* came and took his seat. Now and then he would remove the cloth from his eyes to see how his officers were working, and meanwhile all the clerks and others present were laughing in their sleeves at the queer conduct of their chief.

The evening was drawing to a close, and there were certain orders to be signed. So taking them all in his hand the assistant approached the *'âmildâr* and stood at a respectful distance. Guṇḍappa, however asked him to come nearer, and nearer the assistant came.

"Still nearer," said Guṇḍappa, and nearer still came the assistant.

The second bit of advice from the king now rushed into the *'âmildâr's* mind that he should bite the ears of his officials when he enquired into State affairs, and as Guṇḍappa's want of sense always made him take what was said literally, he opened his mouth and bit the ear of his assistant, while in a muffled voice he asked him whether all his people enjoyed full prosperity! The assistant, now in very fear of his life, roared out that all the people were in the fullest prosperity. But Guṇḍappa would not let go his ear till the poor assistant had roared out the answer more than twenty times. The assistant's ear soon began to swell

* *Dakshiṇa* (fee given in donation to Brâhmans) is ordinarily given to priests after feasting them.

enormously, and leaving the office in disgust, he started to report to the king the insane acts of the new *'âmildâr.*

Two out of the three bits of advice from the king had now been duly obeyed, but the third—that the locks of all the people must be in his hands—remained unfulfilled, and Guṇḍappa wished to carry out that also quickly. Night had now set in, and as the *'âmildâr* still remained in his seat all his officers were compelled to do the same. In this way the tenth *ghaṭikâ* of the night approached, and still the *'âmildâr* would not get up, but sat with his black face secured in his cloth, now and then peeping out to see whether they were all asleep or awake. The fact was he was waiting for an opportunity to have all the locks of his officers in his hands! As soon as all his officers fell asleep he intended to cut off all their locks, understanding as usual the words of the king in their literal sense! At about midnight, never dreaming of the stupid act that the *'âmildâr* was contemplating in his mind, every one fell asleep, and Guṇḍappa rose up and with a pair of scissors cut off all the locks of his officers. He then tied them all up in a bundle and returned to his assistant's house late at night, where the servants gave him something to eat; after which he started with his bag of *mohars* and bundle of locks to his king to inform him of how well he had obeyed his orders!

In the early morning he reached the presence of His Majesty only a *nimisha* (minute) after the assistant had arrived. Seeing the *'âmildâr* the poor wretch was too afraid to lodge any complaint, but his swollen ear drew the attention of every eye in the assembly.

Guṇḍappa now stood before the king with the charcoal still on his face and said:—

"Most noble king, you ordered me to blacken my face for my new duties. See, I have not even yet removed the dye! You ordered me next only to speak while biting an ear. Look, please, at my assistant's ear, who stands before you and tell me whether I have not obeyed you!! And as for having the locks of my officers in my hands; why here they are in this bundle!!!

Never before had the king seen an instance of such remarkable stupidity, and the thought that Guṇḍappa had shorn so many respectable heads of their locks, and had really bitten the ear of a worthy gentleman, brought much shame to his heart. He begged the pardon of the injured man and from that day forward was ever careful in the choice of his officers! Poor Guṇḍappa was dismissed even from the priestship, and his belly grew lean from having no longer the privilege of eating rich food at another's cost!

THE REIGN OF AHMAD SHAH DURRANI.

Translated from the Târîkh Sulṭânî of Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân Bârukzai.

BY E. REHATSEK.

(*Concluded from p. 274.*)

The Marâṭhâs being unable to come out of their *sangar* for fear of being attacked and plundered by the Muslims, there was a great scarcity of provisions in their camp; and when the siege had been protracted during five lunar months, the famine increased to such a height, that they were under the necessity of grinding the bones of most of the animals they could get hold of, like flour, and consuming them. Their cattle were also starving for want of grass.[1] At last they concluded that it would be better to perish in battle than by hunger, and, preparing for a sally, marched out from the *sangar*, whereon the army of Islâm rushed upon them. In the first encounter the infidels surrounded 'Inâyat Khân, a Hindustânî Sardâr and son of Dôṇḍî Khân, like hunted game, and would have finished him, had not Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî noticed his plight, and despatched 'Aṭâ Khân Qandahârî at the head of some cavalry to rescue him; but as by the decree of fate the provision of food and drink to be consumed on this earth by the last named Khân had come to an end, death had taken hold of his skirts and dragged him gradually until he was struck by a lethal bullet, and surrendered his life to the grasper of souls. After that Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî quickly sent three or four large detachments of troops after each other to succour 'Inâyat Khân, and as they gradually

[1] "Both armies suffered great privations, the Marâṭhâs were however the most tried, the wasteful habits of their soldiers, and the imprudence of their generals enabling the king, although with more slender means, to provide by comparison more effectually for his army." *Ibid.*

arrived in sight of the enemy they fired their muskets and halted whilst another detachment came up and did the same. Whereon all advancing simultaneously poured showers of bullets upon the Marâṭhâs, so that **Bhâo**, who was the greatest of their Sardârs, as well as **Wiswâs Râo**, who was another of them, surrendered their souls to the possessor of hell. Being wounded by balls and also frightened by the tumult the elephants broke their ranks and fled in all directions; and as victory and conquest depend upon divine aid and not upon the strength of human arms, the confusion in the camp of the defeated infidels became even greater than the turbulence of the elephants, when the Durrânî cavalry, in spite of their slender numbers, attacked the discomfited Dakhanî army,—according to the verse, "How often hath a small army conquered a great one,"[2]—with the greatest display of bravery. The Hindustânî Muslims were likewise not remiss in slaying the infidels. In short, the army of Islâm was till evening engaged in slaughtering the infidels, so that not one of the Marâṭhâ chiefs escaped with his life, except **Malhar Râo** [Hulkar] who took refuge in the *sangar* of the Indian Musalmâns, but being unknown to everybody left it again unharmed. Also another chief, namely, **Mahâjî Sindhiâ**, the paternal uncle of **Daulat Râo**, although wounded, succeeded in his flight. It is a fact that the number of infidels slain, when mentioned, causes the narrator to be suspected of falsehood, because it amounted to not less than one *lâkh*. The whole plain of **Pânîpat** was strewn with corpses, but many chiefs were taken alive, one of them being **Ibrâhîm Khân Gârdî**, who, having been brought into the presence of Aḥmad Shâh, was ordered to be killed, in spite of Shujâ'au'ddaula's pleadings for mercy, because he had several times before refused Aḥmad Shâh's invitation—conveyed by a mutual friend—to side with him.[3]

The booty taken on this occasion was enormous, and every Sardâr of the Hindustânî Muslims obtained a dress of honour. Aḥmad Shâh complimented 'Inâyat Khân on his bravery, and then turning to the others said to them that this great victory was none of his own doing, that was only a handful of earth, but had been granted by the mercy of the Almighty, who had thus delivered the Musalmâns from the power of the sanguinary infidels. He told them that now, as Hindustân had been liberated from the rebels, gratitude to God was incumbent not only upon Islâm, but upon the whole population, which ought to live in peace and tranquillity, and to pray for the prolongation of the God-given government, as he would now depart from Hindustân and take with him the **Nawâb Shujâ'au'ddaula**, the Ṣûbaḥdâr of Lakhnau, whom he had adopted for his son. In reply the Sardârs unanimously represented that as the exalted banners were to return to their own country, the said Nawâb ought to be left there, in order that he might, in concert with them, protect them from the wickedness of the infidels. Whereon the Pâdshâh consented to the proposal and bestowed the government of Dehlî upon the Shâhzâda [of high lustre] **'Alî Gauhar**, son of 'Azîzu'ddîn, surnamed **Shâh 'Âlam**, who was, however, in Bengal. Accordingly his son was made his lieutenant in Dehlî, the office of *wazîr* being given to **Shujâ'au'ddaula** and that of *amîr* [generalissimo] to **Najîbu'ddaula**. After this Aḥmad Shâh departed in the year 1174 A.H.[4] to Qandahâr, and never went again to Dehlî, although he undertook two more invasions of India, in which he did not pass beyond Ambâlâ and Sarhand, as will be narrated further on.

After Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî had during the just-named year returned with Solomon-like pomp from India and had entered Qandahâr, he conceived the idea of destroying the town of **Nâdirâbâd**, on account of the unpleasantness of the surrounding country and the insalubrity of its air, and of building in lieu of it another town in an agreeable locality. For this purpose he first dug a deep canal on the western side of the **Arghandâb River** towards the plain, but as the place selected belonged to the Ghanîkhânî sept of the Alukzâi tribe, who disliked to see a town founded in their neighbourhood, he gave up this intention. When, however, his mother died, he caused her to be interred in that locality and surnamed

[2] *Qurân*, ch. II. v. 150.

[3] This great battle was fought on the 7th January 1761, and is described with many details by Grant Duff, Vol. II. p. 149, 155.

[4] Began 13th August 1760, and ended 1st August 1761. This date is vague; Grant Duff does not mention the time when Aḥmad Shâh left India, and W. Francklin is equally reticent; but there is no doubt from the above that he departed in 1761, before the month of August.

it the **Rauza.**[5] He then desired to build a town to the west of the village called **Mardqulî'âi,** and to cause the water of the **Tarnak,** which rivals in sweetness that of the Tasnîm and Kauṣar,[6] to flow through the streets, but here again the Bârukzâi tribe objected like the Alukzâis. Accordingly Aḥmad Shâh, who was of a meek disposition, abstained also from offending it, and waited till the Pôpalzâis, who were his kindred and sympathized with him, told him to build a town in any part of their possessions he might approve of.[7] Aḥmad Shâh, pleased with the offer, selected twelve acres of land whereon to settle and to build houses, and fraternally invited men of the Durrânî and other tribes to do so also. He got some builders of Hindustân and of Irân, who were at hand, to construct a very strong wall around the habitations, and a large dome over the centre of the town where four streets met, the foundation of the tower being thirty cubits in length and as many in breadth. I have, however, heard, that the chief architect, who was an Indian and an excellent geometrician, had, after he built up the tower and erected the scaffolding for the dome, refused to construct it, and when Aḥmad Shâh greatly pressed him, he secretly fled in the direction of Nishâpûr. After that the Shâh invited others to complete the dome, but its span being so great, all declared their inability to attempt such a task. Accordingly the edifice remained in this unfinished state, till six months afterwards, when the former architect again made his appearance, and averred that the dome would have tumbled down, if he had constructed it before the due settlement of the foundation, but that as that had now taken place, he would finish his work. Accordingly he constructed a very strong dome and was handsomely rewarded. When the rampart, the tower, and the fosse had been completed, the Shâh convoked Shêkhs, Sayyids, 'Ulamâ, and Faqîrs, to whom he made presents, and offering his vows he uttered the invocation:— "Lord make this a territory of security, and bounteously bestow fruits on such of the inhabitants as believe in Allah and the last day; and Allah replied, And whosoever believeth not, I shall bestow upon him but little; afterwards I shall drive him to the punishment of [*hell*] fire and an ill journey shall it be."[8] After finishing the town he named it **Aḥmadshâhî,** and lived in it at ease and with comfort.

The following year he sent his Wazîr, **Shâh Walî Khân,** in command of six thousand cavalry with orders to subjugate the districts of **Balkh** and **Badakhshân,** but after the departure of the Wazîr, **Shâh Murâd Khân,** the Ḥâkim of Bukhârâ marched to the aid of the people of Balkh, and the said Wazîr reported the movement by letter. The Pâdshah, having despatched another force to Balkh, himself then marched by the Hirât route, and having crossed the Marv Rûd, conquered Maimana, together with Andikhû and Shabarghân, and ordered Shâh Walî Khân to subjugate Qunduz and Badakhshân, whilst he himself intended to take Bukhârâ. Shâh Murâd Khân on his part advanced with a numerous army as far as Qarshî to attack Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, but the latter found it convenient as a measure of precaution to broach negotiations; and a treaty of peace was concluded, making the river Amûya [Oxus] the boundary between the two States, with a stipulation to send the **cloak**[9] **of the apostle of Allah** (the benediction of Allah be upon him and upon his family),—which had been in the possession of **Sultân Vais Qarnî,** but had during the lapse of time been appropriated by the rulers of Bukhârâ,—to Aḥmad Shâh for the purpose of venerating it.

Accordingly Shâh Murâd despatched the blessed cloak with all due honours and pomp to Aḥmad Shâh, who [apparently] looked upon it as a great acquisition and celestial favour, and after presenting gifts and bestowing alms, considered it a high honour to venerate it; although he knew that no cloak of the prophet was in the possession of any man, and that a person who kept one in honour and venerated it, did so only for the sake of the profit to be derived therefrom! He took the garment and departed therewith to Qandahâr, but the guardians of this blessed cloak, most of whom were Azbaks, perceiving beforehand what was going to take place, opened the holy casket one night and cutting out a patch, which had come in contact with the blessed seal of

[5] Meaning a garden, and hence a mausoleum generally surrounded by a garden. The word is used in this derived sense also all over India.

[6] Names of two rivers in Paradise.

[7] [It should be remembered that this is a Bârukzâi's version of the affair.—ED.]

[8] *Qurân*, ch. ii. v. 120.

[9] *Khirqat*, a garment made of shreds and patches, a religious habit or cloak.

prophecy[10] from between the shoulder pieces of the cloak returned to Bukhârâ. Aḥmad Shâh conveyed the sacred cloak by way of Kâbul to Qandahâr, but before doing so left it for some time in the place called Maidân [the plain near the city] to enable the population of Kâbul and of Khûrd Kâbul to perform a pilgrimage to it, so that even down to our times the *mazâr* [place of pilgrimage] which was then made in the said locality within the precincts of the mosque, is in existence. It is said that the blessed cloak remained there for some time, and having afterwards been brought to Qandahâr was during the Shâh's life-time kept in the old Jâmʿî mosque, situated on the south side of the Burdurânî Maḥalla. After his demise, Tîmûr Shâh his son, having constructed on the east side of his father's tomb a mosque with a dome and tank, transferred it to that place, where it now is.

The said Wazîr Shâh Walî Khân subjugated Qunduz, Baqlân, and Badakhshân, appointed governors in those provinces, and waited on his return upon Aḥmad Shâh, who was highly pleased and bestowed gifts upon him; whereon he took rest from the fatigues of his campaign for some time in Aḥmadshâhî till the year 1178.[11] At this time news arrived that the sect of the Sikhs had united from the whole Pañjâb to the number of nearly seventy thousand, and were besieging the fort of Chanḍâlâ, about seven *karas* distant from the town of Amṛitsar, and that the whole of the Pañjâb was in a state of rebellion. Aḥmad Shâh ordered his Wazîr Shâh Walî Khân Bâmîzâi to collect all the forces as quickly as he could, and afterwards himself marched to the Pañjâb.[12] When the Sikhs heard,—after he had crossed the Sind [Indus] river,—of the approach of the Durrânî army, they abandoned the siege and fled, but disquieted Zain Khân Mohmand, and Bahikun Khân Mâlîrî, and Murtaẓa Khân Barêchî, and Qâsim Khân, and others who were, on behalf of Aḥmad Shâh, the governors of various districts. He, however, sent word by a courier to Zain Khân, who happened to be in a village named Kâp, not to be disheartened, but to fight the Sikhs boldly, as he would by the help of Allah on a certain date annihilate the Sikhs. After that he marched himself, and happened to arrive just at the time when the Sardârs were engaged in a hot struggle with the Sikhs; but thus reinforced they soon gained a complete victory. It is said that on this occasion nearly twenty thousand Sikhs were slain and made prisoners, while the remainder fled. Having offered thanksgivings to Allah, and rested a few days, Aḥmad Shâh returned to Afghânistân after re-installing Zain Khân Mohmand in his position of governor, and arrived in Qandahâr.

Next year when information arrived that the population of Amṛitsar had rebelled, and, after being day and night engaged in plundering, had reduced Zain Khân Mohmand to great straits, Aḥmad Shâh marched in the winter season to India.[13] After arriving in the city of Lâhôr and punishing the Sikhs of the district, he marched as far as Ambâlâ where the Nawâb Najîbu'ddaula was honoured by being admitted to an audience; but the Nawâb Shujâ'au'ddaula, Ṣubahdâr of Lakhnau, feigning sickness despatched abundant presents, but refrained from making his appearance. After having regulated the administration and taken some rest, he graciously bestowed the governorship of Sarhand upon the said Nawâb Najîbu'ddaula, and that of Lâhôr according to the desire of Shâh Walî Khân upon Amar Singh Sikh, who was so extremely anxious to display his loyalty, that in the plenitude thereof he called himself Amar Singh Bârakzâi.

When Aḥmad Shâh returned to Qandahâr, the Khâns of that locality went out to meet him, pay their respects, and keep him company. He then spent several years in perfect comfort and great tranquillity—

> Like the ocean he spread the table of liberality,
> And abolished from the world the custom and name of mendicity.

After he had reigned twenty-four years, the disease of cancer, to which he had been formerly subject, again returned, and devoured his

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[10] A fleshy protuberance on the body of Muḥammad was thus surnamed, but it was never considered to be an actual seal.

[11] Began on the 1st July 1764.

[12] According to our text this was the fourth invasion of India by Aḥmad Shâh, and a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, 1870, Vol. LI., No. CI. p. 39, alludes to it: but Grant Duff never even mentions the word Sikh in his whole work of three volumes, which are, as is well known, admirable in other respects. [In the Pañjâb, however, there is, and naturally, a very vivid recollection of this invasion.—ED.]

[13] This was the fifth and last expedition to India.

whole *dimâgh*.[14] The skill of good physicians having proved ineffectual to cure him, he first went on a pilgrimage to Mulla Naṣar and Akhund Badhla, situated north of Aḥmadshâhî. After his return the doctors advised him to go for a change of climate to some pleasant locality which was clean and had pure air, so he went to **Mount Jûba**, which is above all other places celebrated for its good climate; but as the time of his death, decreed by fate was at hand, the change of air, and the treatment of physicians proved of no avail, and according to the verse :—"Say, verily the death from which you flee will surely meet you,"[15] he expired on Friday, the twentieth of the honoured month Rajab in the year 1184 A.H.[16]

When Aḥmad Shâh expired, **Yâqût Khân**, the eunuch, who was his confidential and special chamberlain, kept his death secret, and conveyed his corpse with the treasury and the harem in such a manner to Aḥmadshâhî, that no one became aware of it. When the **Shâhzâda Sulaimân**, who was the son-in-law of the Wazîr Shâh Walî Khân came to the city [of Qandahâr ?] he took the body of the Shâh and buried it in a garden situated on the west side of the citadel.

Aḥmad Shâh had no second or equal to him in character; in spite of his perfect dignity he assumed the manners of a *faqîr*, and his extreme meekness, which was known everywhere, gained universal approbation. It is said to have extended so far that when during the siege of **Nishâpûr** the troops were kept without pay and conjointly plundered the Shâh's treasury, the keeper of it complained of the robbery, and receiving no answer, began to use disrespectful language towards Aḥmad Shâh, who then said :—"Ignorant fool! I am also one of them, and have attained this dignity by their consent, and with the help of their swords; I have called them partners in my monarchy, so that whenever they require some of my property—which is their own—and I refuse to grant it, I shall incur the blame of the Creator as well as of men."

Blessed is the Pâdshâh who after death
Leaves such a record behind him.

Some of his ordinances were as follows :—A widow must be taken care of by the heirs of the deceased husband, and by no others. To divorce a wife is to be considered a very wicked act. He also instructed his son to prohibit those who were admitted to an audience, from performing the salutation in vogue, which resembled an act of adoration, but to order them simply to touch their heads; further, not to allow others to sit in their presence except the *'ulamâ* and *faqîrs*; also to invite respectable *'ulamâ* every Friday evening and also aged *shêkhs*, to hold discussions on the sciences and the history of ancient times, to eat food in their company, and to be present at Friday prayers; and lastly, not to cut off ears and noses for punishments, but to inflict these according to the commands of God. Whilst he was alive he always also himself acted in conformity with these precepts.

As the reign of the Pâdshâh, the asylum of the religion, has been described, it will be proper likewise to record his descent and genealogy :—It is well known that originally all the Afghâns are the descendants of **'Abdu'rrashîd Paṭhân**, who had three sons; the first being Sara, the second Shêkh Mabit, and the third Ghurghusht, who is by the Afghâns also called Ghurghuch. According to the account given in the history of the Durrânî tribes, the **Abdâlîs** are the descendants of Tarîn, whereas the Sadozâi tribe is a branch of the Paiza tribe. Pôpal and Nârak and Askû were sons of Zîrak, and the pedigree of Aḥmad Shâh is as follows:—Aḥmad Khân, brother of Zu'lfiqâr Khân, son of Zamân Khân, son of Daulat Khan, son of Sarmast Khân, son of Shêr Khân, son of Khwâja Khizar Khân, son of Sado, son of 'Umr, son of M'arûf, son of Bahlûl, son of

[14] According to our text the disease in Arabic is called [illegible], eating, probably because it consumes or eats out the portion of the body which it attacks; but the expression for the part eaten, namely, *dimâgh*, brain, is less intelligible. A writer in the *Calcutta Review, loc. cit.* comes, however to our aid in both respects by alluding to the malady after Aḥmad Shâh's last expedition to India, when he says :—"He devoted himself to consolidating the power he had created, and hence he was called in 1767 to appear once more in the field, for the protection of his Indian dominions. A fresh outbreak of the Sikhs led again to their being driven into the hills, to emerge and renew the war, as soon as the king was once more across the Indus. This was almost the last appearance of the king in the field. His disease was cancer in the jaw, and this now compelled him to trust largely to his lieutenants and to his sons."

[15] *Qurân*, ch. lxii. v. 8.

[16] 17th October 1772. "In 1773 the king retired from the conduct of the kingdom to a mountain retreat where he died early in June at the age of fifty.—*Calc. Rev.* 1870, No. CI. p. 40.

Kunî, son of Bâmî, son of Ḥabîb, son of Pôpal, son of Zîrak, son of ʻAishî, son of Razar, son of Afʻal, son of Tarîn, son of Shêr Khâñ, son of Sara, son of ʻAbdu'rrashîd Paṭhân, a detailed account of whose ancestors is to be found in the genealogy of the Abdâlî tribe.[17] Aḥmad Shâh left the following six sons:—Shâhzâda Tîmûr, Shâhzâda Dârâb, Shâhzâda Sulaimân, Shâhzâda Shahâb, Shâhzâda Sikandar and Shâhzâda Parvîz, all of whom passed away without leaving a name, except Tîmûr Shâh and Sulaimân.

A NOTICE OF THE ZAFARNAMA-I-RANJIT-SINGH OF KANHAYYA LAL.

BY E. REHATSEK.

The style of this poetical work, written in rhyming hemistichs, appears to be in several respects a feeble imitation of Firdûsî's immortal epic, the *Shâhnâma*, with the difference, however, that it sings the praises and narrates the exploits chiefly of one hero. Its title is the same as Sharfû'ddîn ʻAlî Yazdî's *Zafarnâma-i-Tîmûr*, written in the earlier portion of the 15th century of our era. The general prolixity of the work, and the redundancy of praise lavished upon the **Mahârâjâ Ranjît Siṅgh**[1] and others, as well as the long devotional preambles to almost every chapter, must always remain a bar to the full translation of the book; but, by omitting all these superfluities, and retaining only the historical information conveyed therein, a detailed account of it can be rendered; and this I have attempted to do. It is, however, to be regretted that the events preceding the disruption of Ranjît Singh's domains and the annexation of the Pañjâb to the British dominions, are not as extensively dealt with as other matters by the author, who was also sparing in his dates, and used throughout the work the years of the era of Vikramaditya.[2] This **"Book of the Conquests of Ranjît Siṅgh"** was composed in Persian, and was lithographed at Lâhôr in A.D. 1876; but, as the author devotes a short chapter specially to the "occasion of composing the book," in which he mentions his descent and name, they will be noticed further on in the proper place, when each chapter is reviewed in detail, with only its number prefixed. Before doing so, however, an index to all the chapters with their titles is here subjoined, so that the whole contents of the book, which consists of more than 600 pages and contains more than 100,000 distichs, may be taken in at a glance:—

INDEX TO CHAPTERS.

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[17] [None of the above is worth much. The genealogy gives only 23 generations to ʻAbdu'rrashîd, the founder of the Paṭhân nation!—ED.]

[1] Hereafter in this paper this word will be always printed *Singh*.

[2] They are quoted as "the Saṁvat year (so-and-so)." To convert these dates into dates of the Christian era, deduct 57-58. Thus, the Saṁvat year 1858 is equivalent to A.D. 1801-1802.

the Mahârâjâ to the Nawâb Muzaffar Khâǹ the ruler of Multân. 18. Reply of the ruler of Multân. 19. The rest of the relations between the Mahârâjâ and the Nawâb of Multân, after the letter of the former, and the reply of the latter. 20. Conquest of the towns of Jhang and of Ûchh, arrival of the Marâṭhâ Mahârâjâ Jaswant Singh in Amṛitsar; and departure of the Mahârâjâ to the territories of the Râjâs of Paṭiâlâ, and Nâbhâ, and others. 21. The Mahârâjâ marches to the rescue of the Râjâ Sansâr Chand from whose territory he expels the Gôrkhâs. Birth of the prince Shêr Singh, occupation of Kasûr after a contest, and the realisation of tribute from Multân. 22. Taking of *nazarânas* from the governments of Paṭiâlâ and Mâlêr Kôṭlâ; conquest of the forts of Nârâyaṇgaḍh, Paṭhânkôṭ and Siâlkôt; submission of Jasrôṭâ, Chambâ, and Daskâ; reception of tribute from Ṣâḥib Singh Gujrâtî with the cannon of Aḥmad Shâḥ; and occupation of the fort of Shêkhupura after a hot contest. 23. Arrival of Metcalfe Ṣâḥib the English Envoy in Lâhôr, who constitutes the river Satluj the boundary between the two governments; accounts of conquests on the other side of the Satluj and expulsion of the Nêpâlî troops for the second time from Kâṅgṛâ. 24. Conquest of Jammûṅ, Wazîrâbâd, Gujrât, Islâmgaḍh, Jallâlpûr, Khushâb, Bhimbar, the fort of Kank, Palûl, and Jâlandhar, and interview with Shâh Shujâ'a and Shâh Zamân the exiled *pâdshâhs* of Kâbul. 25. The Mahârâjâ despatches an army to Kaśmîr for the purpose of aiding Fatḥ Khâṅ, obtains possession of the diamond Kôh-i-Nûr from Shâh Shujâ'a and takes the fort of Aṭak from 'Âṭâ Muḥammad Khâṅ after defeating the Afghân forces. 26. The Mahârâjâ invades Kaśmîr but returns without effecting his purpose; the *zamîndârs* of the *'ilâqa* of Makhad rebel and are punished. 27. The Mahârâjâ attacks Multân twice and conquers it; the Nawâb Muzaffar Khâṅ, governor of Multân, is slain with his sons, except the Nawâb Sarfarâz Khâṅ, and Multân is plundered. 28. The Mahârâjâ marches to Pêshâwar and to Kaśmir, both of which he reduces. 29. The Mahârâjâ marches to Mankêrâ and conquers it; arrival of a *nazarâna* from Bahâwalpûr; murder of the Dîwân Râm Diyâl, and imprisonment of the Rânî Sadâ Kaṅwar. 30. The Mahârâjâ demands the horse Lailî from Yâr Muḥammad Khâṅ, the governor of Pêshâwar, but the latter rebels by the aid of the Sayyid, Aḥmad Jihâdî, and is killed; the prince Shêr Singh [son of the Mahârâjâ] slays Sayyid Aḥmad. 31. The Mahârâjâ sends presents to London to the government, and others are despatched in return. Interview of the Mahârâjâ with the Governor-General of India near the town of Rûpaṛ. 32. The interview of the first day. 33. The second day. 34. The third day, 35. The fourth day. 36. The fifth day. 37. The leave-taking of each other on the sixth day. 38. Expedition to Ḍêrâ Ghâzî Khâṅ, when the Khâṅ of Bahâwalpûr, who had rebelled, repents on the approach of the army. The wedding of Kaṅwar Nau Nihâl Singh [a grandson of the Mahârâjâ] takes place, and the Sardâr Harî Singh is slain in Pêshâwar. 39. Arrival of the English Envoy to ask for aid in the Kâbul war, and interview between Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, and the Mahârâjâ at Fîrôzpûr. 40. The Mahârâjâ is struck by a disease called *laqwa* and paralysis, from which he dies. 41. The Mahârâjâ Khaṛak Singh succeeds to the *masnad*, but is superseded by his son Nau Nihâl Singh, and after the death of both, the Rânî Chand Kaṅwar assumes the supreme power, from which she is ousted by the Mahârâjâ Shêr Singh, who occupies Lâhôr after a hot contest. 42. The Mahârâjâ Shêr Singh takes possession of the *masnad* and assumes the government of Lâhôr, but is killed by the Sindhaṅwâliâ Sirdars, who are in their turn deprived of life by the troops. 43. The Mahârâjâ Dalîp [Dhuleep] Singh is placed upon the *masnad* with Râjâ Hîrâ Singh for his *wazîr*, whose chief counsellor was Paṇḍit Jallâ. The Râjâ Suchêt Singh is killed; the troops rebel against Râjâ Hîrâ Singh the *wazîr* and murder him, 44. The Sardâr Jawâhir Singh [maternal uncle of the Mahârâjâ Dalîp Singh] becomes *wazîr*; the prince Pêshaurâ Singh is killed by his orders, on which the troops slay him likewise and prepare to wage war against the English. 45. The Sikh troops attack the English on the other side of the Satluj, and are defeated, whereon the latter enter the Pañjâb. Events which take place at the disruption of the Sikh power.

REVIEW OF EACH CHAPTER IN DETAIL.

1. The heading is the usual *Bi'smi'llah*, as if the author had been a good Muslim, but no allusions to particular doctrines occur, and the whole address is according to the Ṣûfî fashion.

2. This is a little chapter of thanksgivings for the blessings the author enjoys, and a confession of monotheism, which appears to me to contrast strangely with the next two chapters.

3. An invitation to the worship of Râm as an incarnation of God. He is said to be obeyed by all men and his whole history is detailed.

4. Krishṇà is extolled likewise as an incarnation of God, and his mythology given.

5. Muḥammad is called the apostle of God, and he who obeys him in the world is said to be obeying God. He is greatly praised, but his biography is not given.

6. Gurû Nanâk, the founder of the Sikh religion, loved all mankind, is said to have professed monotheism, and endeavoured to lead the whole world to it. No biography is given.

7. The virtues of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, the sovereign of England and India are sung. She is said to be beloved in both countries, respected by all foreign potentates, and many good wishes for her prosperity are uttered.

8. In this chapter the author states that he is a native of the town of Jalêsar in the Âgrâ District, whence he went to Lâhôr, where he obtained his education and government employment. In his leisure hours he composed the *Gulzâr-i-Hindî*, the *Bandagî-nâma*, the *Yâdgâr-i-Hindî*, the *Akhlâq-i-Hindî*, and the *Hindî Prayer-book*, and lastly the present work in A.D. 1874 corresponding to A. H. 1290. In the verses appended to the end of the book to commemorate its publication, it is said to have been lithographed A.D. 1876, and the author's name is given as Kanhayya Lâl Ṣâḥib, Executive Engineer of Lâhôr.*

9. Sardâr Mahân Singh, the father of Rañjît Singh became ruler of Gujrânwâlâ in St. 1821 [A.D. 1765], but subsequently extended his power in the Pañjâb, and after his death Ranjît Singh, who succeeded him, obtained possession of Lâhôr in one day. Then he attacked the Sardâr of Gujrât, subdued him, and proceeded to Siâlkôṭ, which was likewise unable to resist his prowess. Then followed the conquests of Multân and Kasûr; and on the revolt of the people of Siâlkôt, he again subdued them. Marching to Amṛitsar he liberated it at one assault from the domination of the Bhangîs, after which he turned his steps towards the river Biyâs, went to Jâlandhar and to Hoshiârpûr, subduing in course of time the whole district between the Satluj and the Biyâs. On endeavouring, however, to obtain an entrance into Kâṅgṛa, he met with much resistance from the Nêpâlîs, but drove them into the mountains and occupied the fort, whereon the Râjâs of Maṇḍî and Chambâ, and other chiefs, paid him allegiance. On his approaching Jammûñ its ruler fled in dismay, and when the governor of Aṭak arrived to make excuses, he purchased the fort from him for one *lâkh* of rupees; but the lord of Kâbul, displeased with the transaction, declared war and was defeated in two engagements by Ranjît Singh, who then marched to Kaśmîr and subjugated the whole of it. He reduced Râwal Piṇḍî with the entire district of the Jhêlam; and the people of Khushâb having revolted he punished them. He obtained possession of the whole district of Bannûñ, partly by force and partly by bribery. He then got a foothold at Mânik and his enemies fled, and when his army reached the Ḍêrâs* victory was the result. When he marched to Pêshâwar all the Afghâns began to wage a holy war [*jihâd*] against him, but were put to flight, and on his government being extended to the Hazâra country, good luck seconded his efforts. He next demanded tribute from Paṭiâlâ and Nâbhâ, whose rulers bowed their heads in obedience. Next Ranjît Singh made an alliance with the English and had an interview at Rûpaṛ with the Governor-General, the latter paying on that occasion a visit also to Amṛitsar. The Mahârâja then built the temple of Râm Dâs on which he spent large sums of money, as well as on the fort of Amṛitsar, which, on being completed, was named Gôbindgaḍh. Thus Ranjît Singh reigned forty

* [He is well-known as a writer in the Pañjâb and also as one of the most successful of native officials under the British Government. I made many extracts from a very popular work by him called the *Târîkh-i-Pañjâb* in the earlier numbers of the *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*. —R. C. TEMPLE.]

* Namely, Ḍêrâ Ismâ'îl Khân, and Ḍêrâ Ghâzî Khân, both on the banks of the Indus.

years as sovereign of the Pañjâb, but fell sick, and leaving this world departed to the abode of eternity.

10. There was in the Pañjâb an ascetic, addicted to solitude, despising the world, not meddling with its affairs, constantly meditating on the unity of God, outwardly poor, but inwardly rich, whose name was **Nânak**, and he preached monotheism to Hindus and to Muslims, enjoying the veneration of both classes. The religious turn of his mind manifested itself when he was yet in the house of his father, Kâlû Khatrî, but when he grew up, it was further developed by his association with holy men, and wandering about preaching and making converts, first among the Bêdîs, his own sept of the Khatrî tribe. He first established his abode at Kartâpûr and afterwards at Ḍêrâ Nânak. He was born in St. 1525 [A.D. 1468] during the reign of the Emperor Bahlôl of Dehlî, and died in St. 1596 [A.D. 1539]; he had therefore attained the age of 71 years. He had two beloved sons, Śrî Chand and Lakhmî Chand, who were however absent when he died, and he made one of his disciples, Lahnâ by name, who was with him, his successor as Gurû, and surnamed him Angad. He also was a pious man, who augmented the number of converts to 100,000, and died in St. 1609 [A.D. 1552] after having occupied the *masnad* 13 years. He was succeeded by Amar Dâs, who died in St. 1631 [A.D. 1574], and was followed by Râm Dâs, a learned and God-fearing man, who enjoyed the protection of the great emperor Akbar to such a degree that the latter supplied him with large sums of money for constructing the sacred tank of Amritsar, where he afterwards found it most convenient to take up his abode. But he remained Gurû only seven years, and died in St. 1638 [A.D. 1581]. His son, Arjun, became the fifth Gurû, but an envious fellow, Dêwâ Chand by name, damaged him in the sight of the mighty emperor Jahângîr, by telling him that Arjun had become extremely wealthy, and was collecting tribute from the population, which obeyed him like a king; and that being, moreover, a dangerous man, he ought to be thrown into prison. This was done, but his confinement in Lâhôr does not appear to have been very close, because we are told, that when going one day in St. 1693 [A.D. 1636] to the river Râvî to perform his ablutions, he disappeared, and was seen no more; his jailors, who diligently searched the river for his body, not being able to find a trace of it. His son, Har Gôbind, succeeded him, but died two years afterwards in St. 1695 [A.D. 1638]. This last Gurû was likewise succeeded by his son, Har Râi, who died in St. 1716 [A.D. 1659]. The eighth Gurû, Har Kishn was placed upon the *masnad* at the age of seven years, and superseded his elder brother. The latter, however, hastened to represent the wrong done to him, to the emperor Shâh Jahân, who thereon summoned Har Kishn to the court, but on arriving in Dehlî he was suddenly carried off by small-pox, making room for Têgh Bahâdur, the ninth Gurû. The elder brother, whose age exceeded also that of the last-named Gurû, now betook himself to the court of Aurangzêb asking for justice at his hands, and representing Têgh Bahâdur to be a warlike and turbulent man, likely to endanger the peace of the country. He was accordingly invited to Dehlî where he would have lost his life, had it not been saved by the kind intercession of the Mahârâjâ of Jaipûr. After this he led thenceforth a migratory life, visiting the *tîrthas* of Hindustân and gathering adherents, but not again returning to the Pañjâb. At last he ventured once more to make his appearance at Dehlî, where he was received with open arms by the population, but the representations of his elder brother, that the Gurû was capable of exciting a rebellion so impressed the Government, that he was summarily decapitated in St. 1732 [A.D. 1675]. Gôbind Singh, the 10th Gurû, who desired to avenge the death of his father, and did his utmost to impart a military training to his followers, now armed them, drilled them, ordered them to keep their hair long, to promise him perfect obedience, and to make the words *Fatḥ Wâh Garûjî*[6] their war-cry. The valiant but inexperienced troops of the Gurû advanced, met the imperial forces and were, after some fruitless battles, dispersed. The four sons of the Gurû having been captured, and afterwards beheaded at Sirhind [Sarhand], he abandoned all further military operations and led a wandering life, going with some of his disciples first to Bengal, and then to the

[6] According to a marginal note said to mean "The Wâh-Gurû, *i.e.*, Nânak, will give you victory."

Dakhan, where he was at last murdered in the town of Râjpîplâ by an Afghân in St. 1765 [A.D. 1708]. On this, Bindâ whom he had designated as his successor, betook himself from the Dakhan to the Pañjâb, where he raised disturbances and committed devastations on two occasions, but fell at last into the hands of the troops of the Emperor Farrukhsiyâr, and was publicly beheaded in the *bâzâr* at Dehlî. He is not considered a Gurû, and the series of ten ended with Gôbind.

11. When the Mughal Empire was breaking up, the reigning sovereign had no power, great confusion prevailed, and depredations were being committed by the leaders of various factions, and the Sikhs imitated their example. **Aḥmad Shâh Abdâlî** having invaded India from Afghânistân[6] and wrested the Pañjâb from the Mughal Government, some kind of order prevailed, but after his death[7] it altogether disappeared, because all connection with Kâbul as well as with Dehlî was then severed. The **Sikhs** then made the best use of the occasion, and subjugated the whole of the Pañjâb, chiefly under the leadership of **Charṭ Singh,** the grandfather of Ranjît Singh and chief of the Sâṅsî Sikhs, who established his residence at Gujrânwâlâ and ravaged the country widely. He was succeeded by his son **Mahâṅ Singh,** who conquered Jammûṅ and shed a sea of blood at Râmnagar. A son having been born to him in St. 1837 [A.D. 1780] he spent large sums in alms and called him **Mahârâjâ Ranjît Singh,** but at the age of five years the boy was, to the immense grief of his father, deprived of the sight of one eye by small-pox. The martial education of Ranjît Singh began at the age of nine years, when he learnt the use of arms and was appointed an officer. The first action in which he took part, was the taking of the fort of Sôhdrâ in which he distinguished himself; but his father, having fallen sick, returned to Gujrânwâlâ where he died, and Ranjît Singh found himself at the head of the government before he had completed his twelfth year. His mother, however, retained a decided authority, and allowed full power to **Lakhpat Râi** the Dîwân and chief adviser of the late Mahâṅ Singh. The young Mahârâjâ could not brook his subordinate position longer than five years, and, on attaining manhood, slew Lakhpat Râi with his own hands; which act, although neither blamed or praised by the author, is compared by him to that of Nâdir Shâh, who, as is well known, had done the same thing to his own son, but in a fit of madness.

12. When Ranjît Singh became the sole ruler of the Sikhs, he strengthened his army, which being, notwithstanding, unable to resist the invasion of **Zamân Shâh,** scattered itself in all directions; in such a manner, too, that when the Afghâns entered Lâhôr, they could find no trace of it. But on their departure, leaving the Pañjâb in charge of a governor, supported by small garrisons in various towns, the Sikhs again concentrated their strength; whereon Zamân Shâh was under the necessity of returning, but this time the Sikhs were victorious, and according to our author, expelled the Afghâns from the land. He admits however that when Zamân Shâh again came back to India the Sikhs fled, and Ranjît Singh took refuge in Gujrânwâlâ. Having put the affairs of the Pañjab in order, Zamân Shâh evacuated the country, but whilst crossing the Chinâb, he lost several pieces of artillery in the river, which was much swollen at the time. He then sent a letter to Ranjît Singh with a request to recover the guns when the waters subsided, and appointed him governor of Lâhôr.[8] Ranjît Singh succeeded in recovering the guns, and sent them with an envoy to Kâbul, where they were received with great joy by Zamân Shâh, who in return sent valuable presents to Ranjît Singh.

13. At that time the inhabitants of Lâhôr were distressed by three tyrannical governors, each of whom ruled over a portion of the city and levied rates. One of them being **Chait Singh,** the other **Ṣâḥib Singh Bhaṅgî** and the third **Mohar Singh.** Having been invited by the population to depose these men and to assume the government, Ranjît Singh marched with his troops from Gujrânwâlâ and when he

[6] The first of the four invasions of Aḥmad Shâh Abdâlî into India, took place A.D. 1747-48.

[7] In 1767 he was once more called to India and quelled a fresh outbreak of the Sikhs, but died in 1773 in his own country.

[8] According to the *Târîkh Sulţânî*, p. 185, Zamân Shâh amazed at the depredations committed by the Sikhs in the Pañjâb, was at a loss what to do, and fearing they would repeat them after his departure, determined to make one of themselves their governor, and appointed Ranjît Singh to that post in Lâhôr A.H. 1212 [A.D. 1797] when he again came to India.

pitched his camp near the town of Vatâlâ, **Rânî Sadâ Kanwar,** joined her troops to his own for the purpose of conquering Lâhôr, and aided him also with treasure. When Ranjît Singh arrived in Lâhôr, he alighted in the Wazîrî Bâgh,* on which the gates of the town were at once closed and preparations for resistance made by the three governors, but the inhabitants having admitted Ranjît Singh the three tyrants fled, leaving all their wealth to the Mahârâjâ, who thus inaugurated his reign in St. 1856 [A.D. 1799]. When the rumour spread that Ranjît Singh had assumed the government of the Pañjâb, three of the Sikh tribes, namely the Bhangîs, the Râmgaḍhiâs, and the Nâikâs, who bore him ill-will, united to oppose him. As his antagonists were marching towards Lâhôr, the Mahârâjâ hastened to meet them, previously securing the fort with its artillery and treasure, but they fled in dismay after their commander **Gulâb Singh Bhangî** had expired in a fit of intoxication at a distance of a few marches from Lâhôr. In St. 1857 [A.D. 1800], a son was born to the Mahârâjâ, whom he named **Kharak Singh,** celebrating the happy event with great rejoicings.

14. **Ṣâḥib Singh Bhangî,** the governor of Gujrât, having revolted and committed depredations with the forces he had gathered, Ranjît Singh marched there and besieged him, when he surrendered and was mulcted in a large sum of money, and then the Mahârâjâ returned to Lâhôr. But the news soon arrived that Dal Singh, the governor of Akâlgaḍh,[10] sympathised with the above named Sardâr of Gujrât, and would soon make common cause with him. Ranjît Singh therefore despatched a letter to Dal Singh, in which he held forth the brilliant future in store for him in the conquest of the whole of the Pañjâb. The bait was taken, and as soon as he arrived, Ranjît Singh imprisoned him and marched to the fort of Akâlgaḍh, to which he was under the necessity of laying siege, because the wife of Dal Singh was not only determined to defend it, but had also invited Ṣâḥib Singh, the Sardâr of Gujrât, and Jôdhâ Singh, the Sardâr of Wazîrâbâd, to come to her assistance. Accordingly Ranjît Singh abandoned the siege of Akâlgaḍh, and devastating the district, marched to the fort of Gujrât, in which he had compelled Ṣâḥib Singh to take refuge. The latter being closely pressed, at last sent out his own namesake, **Ṣâḥib Singh Bêdî,** a descendant of Nânak, to plead for peace, and the Mahârâjâ, yielding to his entreaties, not only abandoned the siege of Gujrât, but gave up also the intention of taking Akâlgaḍh and marched back to Lâhôr. According to our author all this was effected by the gentle suasion of the chief of the Bêdî tribe and descendant of Nânak, Ṣâḥib Singh, but the truth seems to be that the Mahârâjâ was not yet strong enough to overcome the resistance offered by the forts, although able enough to devastate the country round, and making a virtue of necessity, returned to Lâhor, where he was informed that his prisoner Dal Singh had died. The Mahârâja made the best use of this event by forthwith proceeding to Akâlgaḍh and sending into the fort a very friendly message to the widow of the Sardâr, to invite her to surrender, to which proposal she agreed on condition that he should not exact any treasure from her. He consented, but as soon as he had taken possession of the town, he plundered it, and confiscated all the guns, ammunition and treasure he found in the fort. He made, however, arrangements for the support of the two little sons the deceased Sardâr had left, by assigning to them *jâgîrs*.

15. Having subjugated various districts of the Pañjâb, Ranjît Singh convoked a *darbâr*, inviting the chiefs whom he imagined to be friendly to him, to pay him homage. Not one, however, answered the call except **Fatḥ Singh,** the chief of Kapurthalâ, and the Mahârâjâ was so pleased that he bestowed many gifts upon him, and exchanging his own turban with him, called him his brother.[11] To prove his allegiance this chief first of all aided Ranjît Singh during his expedition to **Chiniôt,** the Sardâr of which district defended his fort bravely; and the news having arrived that meanwhile the Sardâr of Kasûr had made use of the occasion to plunder two *mûs'as*, Fatḥ Singh was despatched to Kasûr and was joined by the Mahârâjâ himself, who

* The garden of the Nawâb Wazîr Khân in the locality of Anârkalî.

10 In the Gujrânwâlâ District.

11 It is a custom in Northern India to swear eternal friendship by exchanging turbans. Nâdir Shâh according to a well-known story obtained the Kôh-i-Nûr by such an exchange of turbans.

abandoned the siege of Chiniôt. The governor of Kasûr was driven into his fort by the united forces, after which they plundered the town, making prisoners of many Afghâns with their wives and children, so that the governor at last pleaded for mercy and was graciously reinstalled in his former position by Ranjît Singh, who thereon marched back to Chiniôt, two chiefs of which, Karm Singh and Jasâ Singh, who had accumulated an immense amount of booty, he compelled to surrender and to disgorge their plunder. On his return to Lâhôr the Mahârâjâ indulged for some months in rest and banquetings. At last a messenger arrived from Vatâlâ, bringing the information sent by Sadâ Kaṅwar, that **Sansâr Chand,** having come down from the mountains, was plundering her subjects, and craving the protection of the Mahârâjâ. At this news Ranjît Singh prepared his troops for a march and ordered also Fatḥ Singh to join him with his forces. They both then departed to **Kâṅgṛâ** where the said Rânî was delighted to receive them. When the rumour spread that Ranjît Singh had arrived, the forces of Sansâr Chand dispersed and fled to **Nûrpûr,** which fort, however, he also left on the approach of the Mahârâjâ. Whilst the latter was thus pursuing the enemy the news came that **Subhânpûr** was being plundered. He accordingly at once repaired thither and punished the commander of it by depriving him of the two *qaṣbas* of Dharamkôṭ and Bahrâmpûr, leaving him only the *qasba* of Subhânpûr. Then Ranjît Singh marched to the town of **Bhâgwâṛâ,** because he had been informed that the widow of Chuhaṛ Mall who owned it, was in very affluent circumstances. The lady, greatly frightened by his arrival, abdicated in his favour, begging only to be allowed the expenses of a pilgrimage to Hardwâr, and surrendering all her wealth. This the Mahârâjâ presented to Fatḥ Singh, and then went with him to Kapurthalâ, where he became the guest of the Râjâ. Soon, however, a messenger arrived with the information that the Mahârâjâ **Sansâr Chand** had come down from the mountains, and had established himself in the *qaṣbas* of Bijwâṛâ and **Hoshiârpûr.** Accordingly Ranjît Singh hastened there with Fatḥ Singh, and not finding Sansâr Chand, who had meanwhile fled to the mountains, ravaged both districts, and then returned to Lâhôr, after establishing a Sikh administration in the town of Hoshiârpûr.

16. The Mahârâjâ now undertook, from religious motives, a pilgrimage to the Ganges, marched thither with his whole army, took tribute wherever he passed, and at last arrived at **Hardwâr,** the place of his destination, where he purified himself by ablutions, and distributed large sums of money to the devotees. He, however, soon received a letter by a courier, informing him that dissensions had again broken out among the rulers of Kasûr. **Niẓâmu'ddîn,** the governor of the district, had been slain by the Afghân **Quṭbu'ddîn,** who thereon usurped the power, and plundered not only the family of his victim, but all the notables who were in the possession of some wealth. Hereon Ranjît Singh immediately marched to subdue the usurper, which purpose he effected easily according to our author, whose statement must however be somewhat modified, because he also narrates that Quṭbu'ddîn offered so much resistance, with all the Afghâns he had collected, as to occupy the Sikhs fully three months in driving him into the fort of Kasûr; where he held out till reduced to the last extremity by famine, and at last pleaded for mercy. He sent a letter to the Mahârâjâ in which he excused himself, and explained that not he, but a wretched dependant of Niẓâmu'ddîn, Vâṣil Khâṅ by name, had murdered him, whereon the disorganisation became so great that he was under the necessity of putting himself at the head of affairs, and making common cause with the turbulent population in the attempt to restore order. He moreover averred that he was heartily sorry for the murder of Niẓâmu'ddîn, whose intimate friend he had always been, and apologized in the most humble manner, for the hostile attitude he had been compelled to assume. The Mahârâjâ was not inexorable, and confirmed Quṭbu'ddîn in his position as governor of Kasûr, after extorting from him all the money he could, as well as the promise to send tribute annually to Lâhôr.

Ranjît Singh now proposed a campaign to **Multân,** for which no reason is assigned, but he no doubt intended to subdue the governor of that locality (who was an Afghân), and overruled all the objections of the *amîrs* of his Court, who attempted to persuade him that

after the last expedition, which had lasted several months, the army stood in need of rest. When Ranjît Singh had reached the vicinity of Multân, he perceived that he would meet with resistance, and accordingly indited a friendly letter to **Muẓaffar Khâṅ**, the Nawâb of that province.

17. The letter to the Nawâb informed him that Ranjît Singh, who had attained great power, had nevertheless come as a friend and not to wage war, but he required the allegiance of the Nawâb, and desired admission to the fort of Multân as his guest, and threatened him with hostilities in case of refusal.

18. The Nawâb replied with many polite expressions, but advised Ranjît Singh to remain content with the possession of the Pañjâb, and not to covet his small territory, which he would, in spite of his weakness, defend to the utmost if need be.

19. The Mahârâjâ, displeased with the Nawâb's answer, attacked him and drove him into the fort of Multân, and the Sikhs plundered the town most thoroughly, whereon the Nawâb pleaded for mercy, and promised allegiance. In the end he paid a large sum of money, and Ranjît Singh marched back to Lâhôr, where he spent four months in pleasure, and celebrated the Hôlî festival with great rejoicings. Whilst thus engaged, the Mahârâjâ suddenly received a message that the perverse and envious faction of the **Bhaṅgîs** had rebelled and determined to march from Amṛitsar on the day of the Baisâkhî feast[18] to Lâhôr and to overthrow his government. This information being of the greatest importance, Ranjît Singh communicated it to no one, but waited till his guests at the Hôlî banquet had all dispersed, and none remained, except Fatḥ Singh, whom he consulted. Then he prepared his army and desiring to crush the insurrection in the bud, hastened with the entire force to **Amṛitsar**, the gates of which were immediately locked by order of Gurdâs Singh, the successor of Gulâb Singh. He had, however, with his three hundred adherents been defeated before retiring within the walls, nor could the place long resist the Mahârâjâ, so that he marched in after the Lungadh Gate had been broken in by his troops. The population then paid him homage, and he proceeded to perform his devotions in the temple of Râm Dâs, as well as his ablutions in the sacred tank, bestowing on latter occasion abundant alms upon the needy. Thence he departed to the **fort of the Bhaṅgîs** and being received with a shower of bullets, some of his men fell. On this the Mahârâjâ ordered Fatḥ Singh to aid him in the assault of the fort, and they succeeded in taking it. This great victory, in consequence of which the power of Ranjît Singh increased considerably, took place in St. 1867 [A.D. 1810], and he commemorated it with great rejoicings as well as largesses on his return to Lâhôr.

20. After having rested from his expedition to Amṛitsar, Ranjît Singh was informed that **Aḥmad Khâṅ** the governor of Jhang, had collected troops and was aspiring to independence. Accordingly the Mahârâjâ sent him a letter of admonition, which, proving of no avail, he marched in person towards Jhang, and received on the road all who were inclined to pay him homage. The governor, however, being still ready for hostilities was attacked and driven into his fort, which yielded after a siege of only three days. He was deserted by his adherents, except Naṣrat Khâṅ, who firmly stood by him. At last however both fled and when the Mahârâjâ entered the fort, he found not a living soul in it. All the treasure, artillery, ammunition and horses fell into the possession of Ranjît Singh, who appointed a new governor to the district, and sending all treasure to Lâhôr to be out of danger, continued his march, intending to pursue Aḥmad Khâṅ as far as Multân, where he was supposed to have taken refuge, and to capture him there. He soon crossed the river at the celebrated Trimmûṅ Ferry and arriving near Ûchh sent a message to **Nâga Sultân**, the governor of that place, that, being a Sayyid and a *faqîr*, he ought to abandon the pursuit of worldly affairs and of wealth, by retiring from his post and adopting a religious life. Nâga Sultân being too weak to offer resistance, humbly waited upon the Mahârâjâ to whom he yielded all his wealth, and promised to pay tribute annually, whereon he was confirmed in his post of governor. Ranjît

[18] The first of the month Baisâkh, April-May, when multitudes of Sikhs congregate, for ablution, in the sacred tank of Amṛitsar.

Singh now continued his march towards Multân, and was not more than fifteen miles distant from it, when a courier arrived in great haste from the Pañjâb with the information that **Sindhiâ** and **Hulkar**, Mahârâjâs of Indôr and Ujjain, had arrived as guests in Amṛitsar with an army of many thousand men, to ask for the aid of Ranjît Singh against the English, who had defeated them, and that they had crossed the Satluj and come to Amṛitsar pursued by the victorious Lord Lake. The courier also added that the population was in great terror of the foreign army, and apprehensive that it might indulge in plunder. Ranjît Singh, who had been amusing himself with the chase, immediately detached a portion of his forces, and leaving a trustworthy man, Dal Singh by name, to govern the conquered district of Mahtam, hurried to Lâhôr. He was met before entering the city by an envoy of the Mâhârâjâ Jaswant [Singh Hulkar] who sent a number of valuable presents, and requested his aid against the English, who had driven him from his country. Ranjît Singh answered that he would be unable to concentrate all his forces in less than two months, whereas those of the English were already at the heels of the Mahârâjâ Jaswant; and then marched to Amṛitsar, where he met the latter and entertained him in a royal manner, feasting uninterruptedly during four days and nights. Meanwhile a courier arrived with the information that a great English army had crossed the Satluj and encamped on the Pañjâb side, whilst the commander was yet on the other, but would soon follow. To the request of the Mahârâjâ Jaswant for advice, Ranjît Singh replied that he had no quarrel with the English, that they had become the masters of Hindustân, and that for fear of losing his kingdom the Mahârâjâ ought likewise to seek their friendship and to sue for peace; it being as useless to attempt hostilities against them as to threaten the sun with one's fist. This advice the Mahârâjâ Jaswant accepted, concluded peace with the English, and departed.

When Ranjît Singh returned from Amṛitsar to Lâhôr, he set about augmenting his army to twice its previous strength, and provided it with the necessary artillery and ammunition, for the purpose of subduing the **Nawâb of Multâṇ**, who had become insolent, and had sheltered Aḥmad Khân, the fugitive chief of Jhang. Meanwhile the **Râjâ of Paṭiâlâ** had sent a message that the chiefs of Nâbhâ and Kaithal had made common cause against him and attacked him, because **Nûru'nnisâ**, the widow of **Ilîâs Râo**[13] being *pardanishîn* and unable to carry on the management of her estate, had sold it to them; and lastly that the Râjâ of Jînd had likewise allied himself to the two just mentioned chiefs. The above message being accompanied by a most valuable necklace of precious stones as a *nazarâna* from the Râja of Paṭiâlâ to Ranjît Singh, he lent a more willing ear to the request for aid than he would otherwise have done, and accordingly marched from Lâhôr. After crossing the Biyâs, he was joined by Fatḥ Singh, the chief of Kapurthalâ, and they went together to the fort of **Jâlandhar**. Buḍḍhâ Singh, its commander, locked the gates, but on receiving a friendly letter, including a threat of punishment in case of refusal to wait upon Ranjît Singh, he collected a round sum of money from the inhabitants as a *nazarana* for the Mahârâjâ, who then accepted his allegiance and invested him with a robe of honour. After this the Mahârâjâ went to **Nakôdar**, but amused himself a few days with hunting before he pitched his camp near the town. The inhabitants were frightened and locked the gates, and refused to supply the army with provisions, which thereon plundered and burnt their dwellings. When Ranjît Singh was informed of this state of affairs, he immediately left his hunting ground, hastened to the spot, and reproving his soldiers, put an end to their depredations. When the Mahârâjâ approached **Phillaur** Dharm Singh the Sardâr of that locality came to meet him with a handsome *nazarâna* and afterwards hospitably entertained him. When he crossed the Satluj and arrived in **Lôdiâna** he found that the chief of that locality had fled. He abstained however from plundering it and marched to **Jhagrâwâṅ**. Here he levied tribute and was waited upon by various chiefs, among whom were also the two distinguished lords of Nâbhâ and of Jînd, all bringing *nazâranas*.

[13] Ilîâs Râo had been a *jâgîrdâr* during the Mughal government, but his ancestors having been Hindus, he retained the title of Râo.

There Ranjît Singh administered justice and settled the disputes of the chiefs, giving to the last named the estate of Iliâs Râo. **Sâhib Singh,** the Mahârâjâ of Paṭiâlâ, cheerfully bowed to the decision, whereon Ranjît Singh again became his guest in Paṭiâlâ. When he reached Lôdiâna on his return journey to Lâhôr, the chief of Jînd requested him to bestow upon him the town of Bahlôlpûr, promising to pay an abundant *naẕarâna* and the Mahârâjâ graciously complied, spent some time with him in the chase, crossed the Satluj, and continued his march with the intention of returning to Lâhôr.

21. When Ranjît Singh had departed from the Satluj and was approaching the Biyâs, Fatḥ Chand, the *vakîl* of the Mahârâjâ Sansâr Chand, overtook him, and reported that large forces consisting of savage barbarians from **Nêpâl,** led by Amar Singh, had invested **Kâṅgṛâ** and were devastating it, whilst Sansâr Chand himself was being closely besieged by the **Gôrkhâs.** Ranjît Singh accordingly marched to encounter the Nêpâlîs, and when he reached the mountains the commander of the Gôrkhâs sent a messenger to state that the Mahârâja of Nêpâl had despatched these forces to conquer the said districts, that they had been successful, that very many chiefs had submitted to them, and that only Sansâr Chand was yet holding out, but would shortly surrender. He nevertheless desired the alliance of Ranjît Singh, and promised him double the *naẕarâna* he had hitherto been receiving in this part of the country. Ranjît Singh scornfully rejected the proposal and continued his march to the relief of Sansâr Chand, but when the information arrived that an epidemic had broken out among the Gôrkhâs, and that those of them who had not died were fleeing for their lives, he went in pursuit, determined to attack them. **Amar Singh,** the Nêpâlî commander, having heard of this intention sent an humble message of submission to Ranjît Singh, who in his turn replied that he was not desirous to fight an enemy who had been overtaken by so great a calamity, but that he would nevertheless attack Amar Singh, unless he forthwith evacuated the country. The Nêpâlî forces accordingly retired, and Sansâr Chand being free to leave his fort, waited upon Ranjît Singh with valuable gifts.

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE.

BENGALI LITERATURE AND NOMENCLATURE.

To the Editors of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIRS,—With reference to the notice of Mr. Blumhardt's **Catalogue of Bengali Printed Books** in the library of the British Museum,[1] I should be glad if you would allow me space for a few explanations, in justice to that gentleman's very thorough and conscientious work.

First, then, it should be clearly understood that Mr. Blumhardt's catalogue in the Department of Printed Books, like Dr. Rieu's in the Department of Oriental MSS., forms a volume in a series. Catalogues have been already published for the printed literatures of Sanskṛit, Chinese, and Japanese; and in these no subject arrangement has been adopted. Indeed, it is difficult to see how such an arrangement could be made to square with our vast *General Catalogue* now in course of printing. Separate subject catalogues may be issued from time to time, and a successful experiment has been recently made in this direction; but I believe that the verdict of those most experienced in large collections of printed books (whatever may be suitable for MSS., a distinct department in the British Museum as in most great libraries), will be that names of authors must always form the basis of a scientific catalogue. Possibly the need suggested might be best met by a *Subject Index* added to future volumes of the series of *Catalogue of Oriental Printed Books.*

This brings us, secondly, to the question of the names themselves. Here again, a reference to the *General Catalogue* and especially to the late Dr. Haas's *Sanskṛit Catalogue*, so much used and appreciated by scholars, will show that Mr. Blumhardt had to deal with a system already more or less fixed. The grounds on which this system has been adopted have been set forth both in Dr. Haas's work, and on page viii. of Mr. Blumhardt's preface. Your critic does not, it seems to me, at all *answer* the weighty arguments there adduced, but simply makes an appeal to ordinary Anglo-Indian experience and memory. I would venture, in reply, to put it to your readers whether the opinion and usage of educated natives, uncorrupted by foreign influences, be not of more real importance than that of the most

[1] *ante*, p. 227.

intelligent foreigners. If Mr. Blumhardt's illustrations of this leave room for doubt, I would take as further examples two distinguished Bengalis, a leading novelist and a leading Sanskritist,—Bâbû Baṅkimachandra Chaṭṭôpâdhyâya, and Professor Mahêśachandra (Vandyôpâdhyâya) Nyâyaratna,—and ask whether any of their numerous friends and admirers in Calcutta of to-day would "easily" or naturally "recall" them by appellations such as "Mr. B. C. Chatterjee" or "Prof. M. C. Banerjee."

In conclusion, returning to my first point, that this volume is part of a series, I beg leave to record my emphatic testimony, after several years of work in this and other collections of Oriental books, that cataloguing under *personal* names of authors is the only system that will work for the whole of India.

Yours faithfully,

British Museum: Cecil Bendall.

Department of Printed Books.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 7.

Journal Asiatique, Vol. VIII. No. 1, July-August 1886.—M. Senart's paper on the inscription of Piyadasi has been noticed at p 112 above; but as it is of more than ordinary interest, a rather full analysis of its contents is given. In it M. Senart proceeds to examine the following points:—

1. If the monuments reveal dialectic differences, what they are, and how they are to be understood.
2. If, beside the dialectic differences, there do not also exist others, founded upon differences of orthographical systems.
3. If it is possible to form conclusions from the philological and palæographical data furnished by our texts, as to the contemporaneous condition of the religious or learned language—Vedic or classical Sanskṛit?

M. Senart takes the second point first, and shows that a great many of the instances of apparent dialectic difference, are really due to various ways of representing the same sound, the alphabets not being used in a strictly phonetic manner. To one who has studied the Kaithî character of Bihâr with some attention, some of the orthographical points mentioned present startling points of resemblance to similar ones in that character. Thus M. Senart states that in certain of the inscriptions there are no signs for *î* and *û*. In Kaithi, there is no initial *î* or medial *i*, and no *û*. The initial character ई serves for *i* and *î*, ƒ serves for *i* and *î*, उ and ॖ for *u* and *û*. Again in the Kapur-dî-Giri inscription the words *dharma, darśana, pûrva, &c.*, are written *dhrama, draśana, prûva, &c.* This is quite common to the present day in Kaithî. I have before me a Kaithî MS. of the last century, and within a page or two, I find *chraṇa, dhrama, nraka, prama,* for *charaṇa, dharma, naraka, parama,* all of which were certainly pronounced *charan, dharam, narak, param.* There are even frequent forms like *rpûva* (र्पूव) *rdav* (र्दव), *rkam* (र्कम), representing the Sanskrit *pûrva, dravya, karma,* and certainly pronounced *pûrab, darab,* and *karam.* It is quite a commonplace of Kaithî writing that these compound letters with *r* are merely convenient stenographic signs, and in no way represent the pronunciation. A similar example in modern Kaithî, is the word *pargaṇâ*, which is always written *pragaṇâ*, (प्रगना or abbreviated प्र:) though never so pronounced. M. Senart further argues that a character in the Khâlsî inscription which is usually considered as representing the palatal *ś*, is only another way of writing the dental *s*. It is a curious coincidence that in the Kaithî there is only one sibilant, *ś* (श), which, however, is *always* pronounced as a dental *s* (स). There is no palatal sibilant or *sh* sound in the Bihârî language to which Kaithî is adapted.

Regarding dialectic differences, M. Senart is at issue with the ordinarily accepted theory. It is assumed (he says) that each of the versions of the edicts represents faithfully the dialect of the country in which it has been engraved. He believes that this is a mistake, and that deductions resting on this foundation have nothing to support them. *À priori*, it would be surprising if one single dialect had reigned, without a rival, and without shades of difference, over the whole of North and North-Western India. And this general ground of scepticism is fortified by particular reasons. If the one-dialect theory were true, it would be found that at the time of Aśôka, whether at Dhaulî and Jaugaḍa, or at Rûpnâth and Allahâbâd, one dialect was in use everywhere, in which nominative masculines of *a* bases ended in *ê*; which changed *r* into *l*; which may, in short, be called, for the sake of brevity, the Mâgadhî of Aśôka. Now the inscription of Khaṇḍagiri, quite close to those of Dhaulî and Jaugaḍa, of which the date has not perhaps been fixed with certainty, but which is surely not more than a century later than the monuments of Piyadasi, and which appears to emanate from a local sovereign, has its nominatives in *ô*, its locatives in *ê*, retains original *r*, and, in a word, presents none of the characteristic traits of that dialect: by consequence, we are

led to consider that that dialect was not the local one of the district. The ancient inscriptions of the Stûpa of Bharhut, half way between Rûpnâth and Allahâbâd, perhaps contemporary with Piyadasi, or certainly not much later than him, and which are certainly couched in a tongue analogous to the local idiom, present no trace of Mâgadhism. So also at Sâñchi * * * *. These facts are sufficiently significant. The employment of the Mâgadhî dialect in the edicts does not prove that it was the current vulgar language of the places where they are found. The centre of Piyadasi's empire was in Magadha. **Mâgadhî must have been the official language** of his chancery. It is easy to suppose that he employed it over the extent of his dominions, to address himself to his people, and more specially to his officers, the representatives of his power. But, it will be objected,—how did the inscriptions of the extreme North-West and those in the direction of Surâshṭra escape this official language? The question appears to M. Senart to be susceptible of two explanations, which mutually strengthen each other. It cannot be doubted that it was in the North-West and West that a graphic system, adapted to the necessity of the Hindu languages, was first elaborated. The inscriptions of Kapurdi-Giri and of Girnâr bear witness to a peculiar orthographical system, already constituted, and having traditions of its own. That was a fact which Piyadasi found established, and which it was difficult to avoid taking into account. Besides this, it will be noticed that this division of the two orthographies, or, if it is preferred, of the two dialects in the usage of Piyadasi, coincides exactly with the distinction of direct dominion, and of provinces which were merely vassals; a fact, which M. Senart considers that he has elsewhere proved on perfectly independent grounds to have existed. It was natural that Piyadasi should accommodate himself to the local usage of regions which were only attached immediately to his empire, and where traditions probably existed from beforehand which it was proper and useful to respect.

M. Senart then goes into particulars, not quoted here, and concludes this portion of his essay with the following reply to the first question which he had set himself to answer:—"To sum up, the inscriptions of Piyadasi divide themselves from a linguistic point of view into two series, of which one—that of the North-West—presents certain secondary signs of a dialectic sub-division. The other must represent the official language of the royal chancery. They show us two sharply divided orthographical systems, of which one is more nearly related to the popular speech, while the other aims at reproducing learned and etymologically correct forms. Neither one nor other is subject to definite rules. Neither one nor other has escaped individual caprices and certain local influences. The conclusion of this essay will show us, and it is this which gives a real interest to these facts, that this state of affairs marks the first stage of an evolution which was destined to be carried out still further. We shall see in the following epoch, on one hand the mixed Sanskṛit, on the other hand the monumental Prâkṛit, continuing in parallel lines the tradition of which we find here the most ancient manifestations."

M. Senart next sets himself to answer his third question, as follows:—On several occasions in the preceding observations, he had occasion to speak of "a learned language" and "a learned orthography." These expressions may lead to misunderstandings, which it is necessary to avoid. After having explained his opinions on the popular language, he says that it remains to determine what was the linguistic situation from the point of view of that other factor which was so important—Vedic or classical Sanskṛit. Palæographical facts hold here the first place. Some are common to both the written styles of Piyadasi while others are peculiar to one or other of them. The alphabet of the North-West possesses no special signs to indicate the long vowels. With Sanskṛit, however, which does not present itself to us under ordinary conditions, the case is different. It is a language partly artificial and learned, coming forth ready-made, and almost unchangeable from a long preparation, and it had a grammar before it was reduced to writing. It shows no trace, either in its orthography or in its forms, of a progressive development. It has only been possible to write it, since it has commenced to be written under the same conditions as those under which it has continued to exist. For a language so elaborated, an alphabet incapable of indicating the long vowels would never have served as a means of notation.

Again, both Piyadasi's written styles have a common feature. Neither of them expresses the doubling of similar or homogeneous consonants. Now Sanskṛit, from the earliest time that it appears to us, observes this doubling wherever it is etymologically required. Neither the Vedic nor the grammatical and classical Sanskṛit is ever written without observing this practice. But if this practice had been established for the learned language, it would certainly have introduced itself into the popular language, as in fact we see did occur in the case of the literary Prâkṛits. Indeed it may well be asked how the orthography of our dialects did not of its own accord adopt a usage

so natural, and M. Senart sees for this but one satisfactory explanation; *viz.* the persistent influence of the Semitic writing, or writings on which the alphabets of Piyadasi were modelled. A long effort was necessary to conquer that, and it will subsequently be shown how the new practice is exactly one of the features which characterise the customs of the literary language.

M. Senart then discusses the peculiarities of the Indian alphabet of Piyadasi; *viz.* the existence of signs for long vowels, the single sign for *r*, whether preceding or following a consonant, the non-existence of a sign for the vowel *ṛi*, and the absence of the three signs corresponding to the three sibilants of the learned language. In connection with this he considers and rejects the theory that there is a sign for the palatal *ś* as well as for the dental *s* at Khâlsî. He then concludes—"To sum up, neither the alphabet of the North-West, nor the Indian alphabet, could have been employed at that epoch for writing Sanskṛit. The Indian alphabet, the only one of the two which, as it turned out, has been applied to Sanskṛit, appears to us exactly at this stage making its way to the modifications which fitted it for this *rôle*; we know of no trace of any other alphabet which could have served for the graphic representation of Sanskṛit. We are hence compelled to this conclusion; at the epoch of Piyadasi, Sanskṛit had not yet been written, and, as all our arguments apply equally to the Vedic and religious language, the conclusion is of equal value for it as for Sanskṛit, properly so-called, the classical language."

But between these two idioms there is an important difference to be noted. The elaboration of classical Sanskṛit could only have taken place with the view of an extended and popular use—with the view of a written use. To say that it had not been written, is to say that it did not exist, at least under its completed definite form. But it is not the same with the Vedic language. Not only could its essential memorials exist in an oral condition, but they were able, under this form, to be the object of a culture purely oral and more or less complete. Eminent Indian scholars have considered and do consider that the composition of the *Prâtiśâkhyas* does not imply the use of writing. These indications combine to explain an apparent contradiction between two propositions; on the one hand the palæographic condition of our monuments proves that in India they had not yet written, and had not yet finally elaborated, the classical idiom which subsequently took so prominent a position: on the other hand, the orthography of the popular dialects, which our monuments reflect for us, reveals the action, more or less latent, but all the same certain, of a previous philological culture. It is only to the oral tradition of the religious literature, and to the efforts at preservation and phonetic analysis of which it was the cause, that it is possible, and to which M. Senart proposes to refer it.

One cannot help but remarking how happily this origin explains the particular forms of action, inequal and indirect, incomplete and accidental, which we have been able to describe.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

ON THE MEANINGS OF THE WORD HARI.

There are many songs on the various meanings of the word सारङ्ग. One will be found (*e.g.*) in Fallon's *Dict. s. v.*; another has been given by Captain Temple in the *Journal Asiatic Soc. Beng.* See also my Maithil Chrestomathy, Vocab. *s. v.*

The following is a similar Maithilî rhyme on the meanings of the word हरि :—

हरि गरजल हरि सुनल
हरि-क सबद सुनि हरि चललाह ।
हरि बाटे भेंटल हरि हरि गिरल
हरि-क प्रतापेँ हरि बचलाह ॥

This means, 'Indra thundered, and the frog heard it. When he heard the frog's croaking, the snake came along (*to eat him*). The peacock met him on the road, and the peacock fell upon the snake, and by the might of the peacock the frog escaped.'

SOME VERSES ON FAITH.

The following two sets of verses, on faith, are very popular in Mithilâ. The author and date of both are unknown to me.

रे चित्त चिन्तय चिरं चरणौ मुरारेः
पारं गमिष्यसि यतो भवसागरस्य ।
पुत्रे कलत्रमित्रे नहि ते सहायाः
सर्वे विलोकयति सखे मृगतृष्णिकाभिः ॥

'O heart, think long on the feet of Kṛishṇa, with the help of whom thou must cross the ocean of existence. Amongst sons, wife, or friends thou wilt have no helpers, all that one sees of these is but by the help of mirage.' The text of the above appears to be corrupt.

कृष्ण त्वदीयपदपङ्कजपिञ्जरान्ते
अद्यैव मे वसतु मानसराजहंसः ।
प्राणप्रयाणसमये कफवातपित्तैः
कण्ठावरोधनविधौ स्मरणं कुतस्ते ॥

'O Kṛishṇa, may this very day the swan of my heart dwell within the cage of thy lotus-feet; for at the time of losing my vital breath, when my throat is obstructed with the humours of my body, it will be too late for me to attempt to remember thee.'

G. A. GRIERSON.

BOOK NOTICE.

CATALOGUES OF THE MSS. IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY AT BERLIN. *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.* Vol. V. Sanskrit and Prâkrit MSS., Part II. Section I. (By A. Weber.) Berlin, A. W. Schade. 1886. Large Quarto, pp. viii. and 352.

This first section of the second part of Dr. **Weber's Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prâkrit MSS. in the Berlin Library** deals with Brahmanic and Sanskrit literature. A notice on the title-page informs us that the Second Section, dealing with Jain works, will shortly follow.

The book is in every way worthy of the great reputation of its author. Such a compilation, involving immense labour, combined with the most minute and painstaking accuracy, could, indeed, only have been successfully accomplished by a scholar possessed of the learning, at once deep and many-sided, of Dr. Weber.

Altogether 358 works are described in the *Catalogue*, which is arranged according to order of subjects under the main heads of (A.) **Brâhmanic**, and (B.) **Sanskrit Literature.** Under the first head Dr. Weber includes the *Vêdas* and their connected literature, classed under the subheads of (1) *Rigvêda*, (2) *Sâmavêda*, (3) *Yajurvêda*, (4) *Atharvavêda*, (5) *Vêdâṅgas*, and their kin. Under the second head are included I. Poetry (Epic, Dramatic, Narrative, Lyrico-didactic, and texts in the vernacular); II. Science (Philosophy, Language, Mathematics, &c.), and III. Laws, Customs and Cultus (*smṛiti, âchâra, stôtra*). The scientific collection is particularly rich, containing over 140 works, of which more than a hundred deal with the subject of Language, classed under Grammar, Lexicography, Prosody, Rhetoric, and Music. The grammatical schools, of which examples are included, are those of Pâṇini, the Kâtantra, Chandra, Jainêndra, the *Prabôdhachandrikâ* the *Bhôjavyâkarana*, Vyâḍi Śâkaṭâyana, the *Sârasvata* and Hêmachandra. No less than fifty-seven works fall under the last head, including several copies of the valuable *Śabdânuśâsana* and its *vritti*, by Hêmachandra himself. Five schools of philosophy are represented *viz.* the Vêdânta, Mîmâṁsâ, Vaiśêshika, and Nyâya, embracing altogether fourteen entries, including one copy of the *Shaḍḍarśanasaṁgraha*.

In the collection of poetical works, are included a number of Prâkrit MSS., principally commentaries on well-known books such as the *Sêtubandha*, *Saptaśataka*, &c., in that language. Under the head of *Purâṇas, Upapurâṇas* &c., there are several little-known treatises; amongst which may be mentioned the *Gargasaṁhitâ* (very fully described), Aśvaghôsha's *Buddhacharita* (a transcription in Roman characters by S. Goldschmidt), the *Râmânûjacharita* (valuable for the history of the rise of the Vaishṇava sects), and the curious *Khalavaktrachapêṭikâ*. The vernacular texts are few in number, but are more than usually interesting in character. Thus there are the *Prithvîchandracharita* of Mâṇikyasûrisundara, written in Vik. Saṁ. 1573 (c. 1516 A. D.) from the *Achalagachha*; the *Maṇichûḍâvadâna* in Nêpâlî; 46 Kâśmîrî songs, with English translation by Paṇḍit Hargôpâl (?) collected and annotated in German by Dr. F. Jagor; and a collection of popular songs from Hindustân.

As an example of the completeness and care with which each book is described, we may take as an example the copy of the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* in the Mâdhyaṁdina School (Nos. 1464 to 1470 in the *Catalogue*). We have first a reference to the printed edition of the work, and to its translation. Next is given the colophon, showing the MS. to have been written in Vik. Saṁ. 1531, together with a description in German of the character of the text, and manner in which it is written. Then follows a description in greater detail of each of the seven volumes, giving the pages on which each section of the work begins. Then we have twelve pages of minute analysis of the contents of the work, under the form of a list (with references) of the various names &c. alluded to in it. Next follows a page of textual comparison between the present MS. and the printed edition. Finally, we have a short note on the accentuation of the MS.

It is difficult to give fuller particulars of this monumental work, owing to its very nature. The best catalogue in the world is not for continuous reading, but for reference. As a work of reference, the one under review is singularly complete. I have already alluded to its evident accuracy; and this accuracy is rendered the more patent by a system of typography which renders the book a particularly pleasant one to refer to. The thanks of all Indian scholars are due to Dr. Weber for this helpful and interesting volume; and we shall eagerly look for the publication of the promised second section, dealing with the Jain MSS. of the collection.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

AN ASTROLOGICAL SANAD GRANTED BY GOVINDRAV GAIKWAD.

BY CAPTAIN R. C. TEMPLE.

From the papers of the late Sardâr B. V. Śâstrî[1] *and Mr. D. H. Wâḍiâ.*

A FAMILY of Gôḷê Brâhmaṇs of the village of Âyanâ, in the Vâlêsar *parganâ* according to the old distribution of the Gaikwâḍ's territories, but now in the Palsânâ Tâlukâ of the Nausârî District, holds its lands in accordance with a curious *sanad* granted to an ancestor, named **Chintô Mahâdêv Gôḷê**, by the **Gaikwâḍ Gôvindrâv** in 1793 A.D. This *sanad* informs us that the **lands were granted** to the Brâhmaṇ in consequence of a **successful prophecy,** and it would be very interesting to know if any more such grants are to be found in India. I am told that there are.

Chintô Mahâdêv Gôḷê had a son Mâdhavrâv Gôḷê, who died without issue, but adopted one Chintâmaṇ, who, as Chintâmaṇ Mâdhavrâv Gôḷê, is the present holder of the village of **Âyanâ,** above mentioned. Chintô Mahâdêv Gôḷê was, it seems, a well known seer and astrologer; but his descendants do not appear to be endowed with his powers.

It will be observed that the *sanad,* which is in the Môḍî character, and of which a photo-lithograph is given in the plate attached to this paper, with a transcription and translation, says :—

"Having been an exile from Baḍôdâ (Baroda) for twenty-five years without returning to that place to repossess my patrimony and regain my principality, and it being likely that I would return to Baḍôdâ, I requested you to write down for me a prophecy. * * * On this, after consulting the *Śâstras*, and by the favour of the gods, you blessed me, saying that I should very soon come into the possession of my patrimony as before; and with full assurance gave me, a year ago, a sealed letter, blessed by you, containing predictions in the matter, saying :—'In the Śaka year 1714, (cyclic year) Paridhâvi, in the first *praharî* of the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Mârgaśîrsha, about four *ghaṭikâs* after the *Dhanlagnâ*, you will be invited to Pûṇê (Poona) to the presence of the Sarkâr (Pêshwâ); and, on your agreeing to present him with a sum of money and to cede to him some territory, you will be re-invested with the robes of your principality * * * * You will be allowed to go to Baḍôdâ, but for eleven months afterwards you will be detained at Pûṇê, during eight months of which detention severe calamities will befall you. But after a time all your trials will come to an end; the territory taken away from you will be re-ceded according to the Pêshwâ's agreement; and then you will go to Baḍôdâ in the month of Mâgha without the least delay!' So you predicted in the letter; and all the predictions have been fulfilled as experienced by me."

From the above we get the dates of Friday, the 7th December 1792 A.D., as the date of Gôvindrâv's visit to the Pêshwâ at Poona; and January-February 1794 A.D. as the date of his entry into Baroda as Gaikwâḍ. The date of the *sanad* itself is Wednesday the 4th December 1793.[2]

The historical facts appear to be as follows :— Damâjîrâv Gaikwâḍ died in 1768 A.D. leaving several sons by three wives. The eldest was Sayâjîrâv by the second wife, and the second was **Gôvindrâv** by the first wife. There were besides Pilâjî, Mânâjî and Murârrâv by the third wife, and a sixth son Fatêsingh by either the second or third wife. Sayâjîrâv was an idiot; and Gôvindrâv, on the payment of over 50 *lâkhs* of rupees to the Pêshwâ, was proclaimed Gaikwâḍ. He was, however, a man of weak and vacillating character, and by 1771 A.D. Fatêsingh managed to get him ousted in favour of Sayâjîrâv, the idiot; he himself becoming regent. This arrangement lasted till 1778, when Fatêsingh became Gaikwâḍ, a position which he held till his death in 1789. Mânâjî, another son of Damâjîrâv, now became regent on behalf of the idiot Sayâjîrâv, till his death about August 1st 1793.

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[1] My old friend, the Sardâr, died somewhat suddenly just after the proofs of this article had been sent to him for correction and remark. He took much trouble to procure the photographs from which the facsimile plate accompanying this paper was made, and to procure information about the holders of the *sanad*. He published an account of it from a very different point of view to the present one in the *Theosophist* some three or four years ago.

[2] As a matter of fact Gôvindrâv, as will be seen lower down in the text, actually entered Baroda on the 19th December; so that this *sanad* must have been dated about a fortnight previously; and that may account for its vaguely saying that he entered Baroda in Mâgha, *i.e.* January-February 1794, instead of on a fixed date in Pausha (December-January 1793). But the *sanad* presents another historical puzzle, by saying that Gôvindrâv was invested with the insignia of his rank during Mânâjî's lifetime, as the latter did not die till August 1793. This seems hardly likely.

Gôvindrâv, during the many years he was kept out of his dominions, made repeated abortive efforts to recover his own, and was at the time of Mânâjî's death dwelling in obscurity at Daur near Poona. But at last, on signing an agreement to pay 120 *lâkhs* of rupees and give up large territories, he was allowed to re-enter Baroda as Gaikwâḍ on the 19th December 1793, where he remained till his death on 19th September 1800.

With this much introduction I will now give the document in extenso.

TEXT.

श्रीम्हाळसा कांत
वेद शास्त्र संपन्न राजेश्री चिंतो
माहादेव उपनाम गोळे गोत्र भार-
द्वाज सुत्र अश्वलायन महाजन मोजे
५ वेलदुर तर्फ गुहागर तालुके
अंजनवेल सुभा दाभोल प्रांत राजा-
पुर स्वामीचे सेवेसी.

(श्री) अखंडीत लक्ष्मी अलंकृत राजमान्य

सेवक गोवींदराव गायकवाड सेना खासखेल
१० समशेर बाहादूर दंडवत विनंती ऐसीजे तुह्मी-
ज्योतीषी सिद्धांतवेत्ते सत्पात्र थोर ऐसा
स. आह्मास बडोदें सोडून पंचवीस वर्षे आली पु-
न्हा बडोद्यास जाणे होऊन दौलत हस्तगत हो-
त नाहीं त्यास आमचे दौलतीचा पूर्ववत बंदोब-
१५ स्त होऊन बडोद्यास जाणें कधीं होईल हे विषी-
चें भवीष वर्तवून आह्मास लिहून द्यावें लिहि-
ल्या प्रमाणें आमचे अनुभवास आलें ह्मणजे पांच
हजार रुपयाचा गाव धर्मार्थ कृष्णार्पण क-
रून आपणास द्यावयाचा करार केला त्याजवरू-
० न आपण शास्त्र विचारें करून तुह्मी आपले नीज
दैवत प्रसादें आह्मास आसीर्वाद दिल्हा जे तु-
मची दौलत तुह्मास स्वल्प काळींच पूर्ववत प्राप्त
होईल याचे नेमोत्तराचा प्रतिज्ञा पूर्वक प्रा-
सादिक लखोटा एक वर्ष पूर्वीच आह्मास लिहू-
२५ न दिल्हा होता की शके १७१४ परीधावी सवंत्सरे
मार्गेशिर्ष वद्य अष्टमी शुक्रवारी. प्रथम प्रहरी ध-
न लग्नीं चार घटका नंतर तुह्मास सरकारांत पुण्या-
चे मुक्कामी बोलावून कांहीं द्रव्य व कांहीं मुलु-
ख तुह्मा पासोन सरकारांत द्यावयाचा करार क-
३० रून तुमचें अधीकारपर्ची वस्त्रें तुह्मास देती-
ल व बहु मानार्थ चीरपेच तीन त्याचीं माणकें पं-
चेचाळीस व हीरे चवदा त्यांत थोर तीन व लहान
अकरा व मोत्याचा तुरा एक त्याची मोती सुमारी
चारशें साहाणव व हत्ती एक व नीळा घो-
३५ डा एक येणे प्रमाणें तेच समयीं देउन बडोद्या-
स जावयाची आज्ञा होईल तदनंतर आकराम-
हिने पुण्याचे मुक्कामी राहाणे होऊन त्यां-
त आति संकटें आठमहिने प्राप्त होतील तदो-
त्तर सर्व संकटें निवारण होऊन सरकारांत मु-
४० लुख कांहीं द्यावयाचा करार केला असेल तो
माघारा पुन्हा तुह्मास देऊन तुमचे जाणें ब-
डोद्यास माघमासीं अवीलंबे होईल असें तुह्मीं
पूर्वी लिहून दिले त्या प्रमाणेंच सर्व भविष्यें-
घडोन अनुभवास आलीं त्याजवरून विचार पहा-
४५ तां तुह्मावर ईश्वरी कृपा पूर्ण तेणे करून तु-
ह्मास देवता साक्षातकार निरंतर तुह्मी थो-
र सत्पात्र स्नान संध्यासील परम योग्य
सत्त पुरुष तुह्मासी पूर्वी वचन करार केल्याप्र-
माणे तुमचें चालवणे आवश्यक येणे करून राज्यास
५० श्रेयस्कर व आह्मास अभिष्ट हे जाणून तुह्मास
मौजे ओयना प्रंगणे वालेसर हा गांव कमाल रुपये पां-
च हजाराचा दरोबस्त आपले स्वराज्य देखील कुलबा-
ब कुलकानु हली पटी व पेस्तर पटी खेरीज ह-
क दार व काहीम इनामदार करून वेठबेगार वफा-
५५ र फरमास वगैरे बाबती सुद्धा जल तरू तृण
काष्ट पाषाण निधी नीक्षेप अही आपली स्व-
सत्ता निवृती करून चतुःसीमा पूर्वक मोजे
मजकुर हा गाव कृष्णार्पण तुह्मास दान दे-
ऊन तुमचे तुह्माला करून दिले असे तरी
६० यावत चंद्रदिवाकर पर्यंत तुह्मी व तुमचे
पुत्र पौत्रादि वंशपरंपेने आनुभवून स्वा-
मीनी राज्याचे अभिष्ट चिंतून सुखरुप राहा-
वें सुमा आर्बातीसैन मया आलफ सन १२०३ स-
वंत १८५० शके १७१५ प्रमाथी नाम सवत्छरे मार्ग-
६५ शीर्ष शु ॥ १ रा । छ २९ माहे रारी हे
विनंती.

मोर्तब.
सुद.

स्वदत्तं द्विगुण्यं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनें ॥ परदत्ताप-
हारस्य स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत ॥१॥ स्वदत्ता दुहिताभू-
मी पितृ दत्ता सहोदरी ॥ अन्य दत्ता भवेन्माता दो
हरेत्त्रिषु संगमः ॥२॥ स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो ह-
७० रेच वसुंधरा ॥ स्वविष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभि-
स्सह मज्जति ॥ ३ ॥ या अनवये शफत असे

मोर्तब सुद.

मोर्तब सुद.

A SANAD GRANTED BY GOVINDRAV GAYAKWAD IN SAKA 1714.

[illegible]

45 [illegible]

50 [illegible]

55 [illegible]

60 [illegible]

65 [illegible]

संवत्तें द्विगुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालने ॥ परदत्ताप
हारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत ॥१॥ स्वदत्तां दुहिताभू
मी पितृदत्ता सहोदरी ॥ अन्यदत्ता सवेन्मांतामो
हरेत स्वितु संगमः ॥२॥ स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो ह
रेत वसुंधरा ॥ विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः
सह मज्जति ॥३॥ या जन्मे हा फलजसे ॥

TRANSLATION.

Glory to Mhâḷsâkânt ![3]

To the versed in the *Vêdas*, Râjêśrî Chintô
Mahâdêv, surnamed Gôḷê, (Brâhmaṇ of the) *gôtra* Bhâradvâja,
(A follower of the) *Âśvalâyana-Sûtras*, Mahâjan,[4] of the village
5 Of Vêltur, *tarf* Guhâgar, *tâlukâ*
Añjanvêl, in the *subhâ* of Dâbhôl, *prânt* Râjâpur,
Humble greeting.
I, your servant, possessed of immense wealth, Râjmânya[5]
Gôvindrâv Gâyakwâḍ Sênâ Khâskhêl
10 Samśêr Bahâdur, knowing you (to be)
Well versed in astrological lore and pious and great,
And having been myself an exile from Baḍôdâ for twenty-five years
Without returning to that place to repossess my patrimony
And regain my principality,
15 And (it being likely that) I would return to Baḍôdâ,
(Requested) you to write down for me a prophecy.
And, in the event of the fulfilment of the prophecy,
In charity, in the name of Kṛishṇa, a village (worth annually) rupees five thousand
I agreed to grant you. On this,
20 After consulting the *Śâstras*, and
By the favour of the gods, you blessed me, saying that I should
Very soon come into the possession of my patrimony as before;
And with full assurance
Gave me, a year ago, a sealed letter, blessed by you, containing
25 Predictions in the matter, (saying):—"In the Śaka year 1714, (the cyclic year) Paridhâvi,
In the first *prahaṛî* of the eighth (day) of the dark fortnight of Mârgaśîrsha,
About four *ghaṭikâs* after the *Dhanlagnâ*,[6] you will be invited to Pûṇê to the presence of the Sarkâr (*i.e.* the Pêshwâ),
And on your agreeing to present him with a sum of money
And to cede to him some territory,
30 You will be re-invested with the robes of your principality.
As a token of great honor three *śirpêch*[7] composed of
Forty-five rubies and fourteen diamonds, of which three (will be) large and
Eleven small, a *turâ*[8] of pearls about
Four hundred and ninety-six in number, an elephant, and an iron-grey horse,
35 Will be at the same time presented (to you).
You will be allowed to go to Baḍôdâ, but for eleven months afterwards
You will be detained at Pûṇê,
During eight months of which (detention) severe calamities will befall you.
But after a time all your trials will come to an end,
40 The territory taken away from you will be re-ceded according to (the Pêshwâ's) agreement,
And then you will go
To Baḍôdâ in the month of Mâgha without the least delay." So you
Predicted in the letter, and all the predictions
Have been fulfilled, as experienced by me: by which I became convinced
45 That you were certainly favoured of the gods, and so
Had always a perception in vision of the the gods, and that you
Were great, a proper person to bestow charity upon, a strict observer of the *Snânasaṁdhyâ*[9] and a worthy
Saint, and that (therefore) according to my promise,
It was necessary for me to do as I had promised. And thinking that
50 To do so will be auspicious to my principality and conducive to my own good,

---

[3] A name of Khaṇḍêrâv or Khaṇḍôbâ, a form of Bhairava. He is the tutelary god of the Gaikwâḍs, and hence all their documents begin with the invocation *Srî-Mhâḷsâkânt*.

[4] Here the word means an illustrious or famous personage.

[5] His Highness.

[6] *Dhanlagnâ* is the entry of the sun into Sagittarius. This gives Friday, the 7th December, 1792.

[7] A turban ornament, aigrette.

[8] A turban ornament, crest.

[9] Ceremonial ablution.

The entire village of Âyanâ, with its surroundings in the Vâlêsar *parganâ*,
Yielding a gross revenue (annually) of rupees five thousand, together with a relinquishment
Of my own rights, all taxes and assessments and current cess, as well as (power to levy) any hereafter,—
And making you a rightful and permanent holder of the said village,
55 With (power to exact) forced labour, and full rights over its waters, trees,
Forests, stone, and treasure-trove,—
I give you, to be enjoyed from generation to generation, with all its boundaries,
In the name of Kṛishṇa, as alms.
I have thus fulfilled my promise.
60 As long as the sun and moon last,
Enjoy this gift, happily and freely, from generation to generation,
With constant prayer for the welfare of my principality.

This day, Sursann (year) 1194,[10] the (Faṣlî) year 1208,
Saṁvat 1850, Śaka 1715,[11] (the cyclic year) Pramâthi, being on the first day
65 Of the bright fortnight of Mârgaśîrsha, the 29th of the (Muḥammadan) month Rabî'u'l-âkhir.[12] This
Is the prayer.

Here follows a small seal with the words मोर्तब सुद for مرتب شد "it is settled."

Next is the "prayer" or oath in Sanskṛit:—

The gift given by one's self is meritorious: doubly so the protection of the gift given by others.

The gift of him that taketh away those given by others becomes fruitless.

Land granted by one's self is as a daughter, that granted by one's ancestor is as a sister, and that granted by others is as a mother.

So he that takes away such grants of land cohabits, as it were, with these three. He that takes away grants of land given by himself or others becomes a worm and wallows with his forefathers in his own excrement.

Such is the oath.

This is followed by two small seals with the words मोर्तब सुद on them.

At the beginning of the 51st and 52nd lines is the Gaikwâḍ's own seal, the transcription of which is as under

श्रीराजाराम शाहू
छत्रपती अखिलभौ-
ड प्रतापपुरंदर गोविं-
दराव गायकवाड
सेनाखासखेल सम-
सेर बहादर

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

XXIV.—*The Gardener's Cunning Wife.*

In a certain village there lived with his wife a poor gardener, who cultivated vegetables in a small patch in the backyard of his house. They were in thirty little beds, half of which he would water every day. This occupied him from the fifth to the fifteenth *ghaṭikâ*.

His wife used to cut a basketful of vegetables every evening, and he took them in the mornings to sell in the village. The sale brought him a measure or two of rice, and on this the family lived! If he could manage any extra work of an evening he got a few coppers, which served to meet their other expenses.

[10] The words in the text are सुमा अर्बा तीसैन मया-अलफ and are the Mâḍî forms used in *sanads* of the Arabic words شهور سن اربع و تسعون میاة و الف

[11] There is a regretable error in the title of the plate attached, which gives the Śaka year as 1714.

[12] This yields the date: Wednesday, the 4th December, 1793.

Now, in that village there was a temple to Kâḷî, before which was a fine tank with a mango tree on its bank. The fish in the tank and the mangoes from the tree were dedicated to the goddess, and were strictly forbidden to the villagers. If any one was discovered cutting a mango or catching a fish he was at once excommunicated from the village. So strict was the prohibition.

The gardener was returning home one morning after selling his vegetables and passed by the temple. The mangoes, so carefully guarded by religious protection, were hanging on the tree in great numbers, and the gardener's eyes fell on them! His mouth watered. He looked round about him, and fortunately there was no one by, at least, as far as his eyes could reach. So he hastily plucked one of the mangoes and with nimble feet descended into the tank to wash it. Just then a most charming shoal of fish met his eyes. These protected dwellers in the tank had no notion of danger, and so were frolicking about at their ease. The gardener looked about him first and finding no one by caught half a dozen stout fish at one plunge of his hand. He hid them and the mango underneath the rice in his basket and returned home, happy in the thought that he had not been caught. Now he had a special delight in fish, and when he reached his house he showed what he brought to his wife and asked her to prepare a dish with the newly caught fish and the never-till-then tasted mango.

Meanwhile he had to water his garden, and went to the back yard for the purpose. The watering was done by a *pikôṭa*. He used to run up and down the pole while a friend of his, the son of his neighbour, lifted the water and irrigated the garden.

Meanwhile his wife cooked the dish of mango and fish in a pan, and found the flavour so sweet that even while the dish was only half cooked she began to taste one bit after another till more than half had already gone down her throat! The dish was at last cooked and the few remaining slices in the pan were taken off the fire, so she went into the verandah and from thence saw her husband running up and down the *pikôṭa*. She beckoned to him that the dish was ready and that he should come in and taste it. However, he never noticed her, but kept on running up and down the *pikôṭa*, and while doing so he was obliged to wave his hands about, and this his wife mistook as an indication that she might eat up her portion of the dish. At any rate her imagination made her think so; and she went in and ate a slice, and then went out into the verandah again to call her husband, who was still running up and down the *pikôṭa*. Again, her husband, so she thought, waved his hands in permission to go on with her dinner. Again she went in and had another slice. Thus it went on for a full *ghaṭikâ* till the last slice was consumed!

"Alas!" thought she, "With what great eagerness my husband fetched the fish and the mango and how sadly, out of greediness, have I disappointed him! Surely his anger will know no bounds when he comes in. I must soon devise some means to save myself."

So, she brought the pan in which she cooked the fish and mango out of the house and covered it with another pan of similar size and sat down before it. Then she undid her hair and twisted it about her head until it was dishevelled. She then began to make a great noise. This action by a woman in an illiterate family of low caste is always supposed to indicate a visitation from a goddess or a demon: so when her husband from the *pikôṭa* tree saw the state of his wife, his guilty conscience smote him. The change in his wife alarmed him, and he came down suddenly and stood before her. As soon as she saw him she roared out at him:—

"Why have you injured me to-day by plundering my mango and fish? How dare you do such an irreligious act? You shall soon see the results of your impertinence!"

"The goddess has come upon my wife most terribly," thought the poor man. "Her divine power may soon kill her! What shall I do?"

So he fell at the feet of the divine visitation, as he thought it to be, and said: "My most holy goddess, your dog of a servant has this day deviated from the straight path. Excuse him this time, and he will never do so a second time."

"Run then with the pan which contains the results of your sin and dip it deep into my tank. Then shall the fish become alive and the mango shall take its place in the tree."

The gardener received the order most submissively, and taking the pan in his hand flew to the tank. There he dipped it in the water and came back to his house fully believing that his sin that day had been forgiven, and that the cooked fish had become alive again and the mango a living one. Thus did the cunning wife save herself from her husband's wrath!

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. X.—*Prince Sabar.*

There was once a great and powerful Sultân who had seven daughters. He was very fond of them all, more especially of the youngest, who, likewise, was the pet of the whole family. It was natural, therefore, that she should be regarded with jealousy by her elder sisters.

One day the Sultân being in a humorous mood, summoned them all before him and put to them the following rather queer question:—

"Do you attribute the prosperity and happiness which you now enjoy to the influence of your own *qismat* or mine? Tell me the exact truth, without fear or prevarication, for I want to see what each of you have to say on the subject."

Without a moment's delay six of the girls cried out at once, "Of course, father, there is not the least doubt that it is to your good star that we are all indebted for all the happiness we enjoy.

What was the surprise, however, of the Sultân when he found that his youngest and best loved daughter observed complete silence, while her sisters were speaking, and looked embarrassed and ill at ease, as if she had something on her lips that she dared not utter.

"What is it?" he cried out, rather put out at this strange behaviour of the young lady; "what is it that prevents your speaking out, my child, like your sisters? Surely you don't mean to disagree with them?"

"I am very sorry to differ from them, my father," she replied hesitatingly, "but I mean to answer your question in quite a different way. My opinion is that your destiny cannot in any wise guide ours; we have each our separate *qismat* which influences us either for good or for evil. I am sure it cannot be otherwise. Were it not for my own good star I could never have been your daughter and a princess."

"Oh indeed!" cried the Sultân indignantly, "so you owe all your happiness to your own good star? Is this the return you make me for all the love I have bestowed upon you? You ungrateful creature! We shall see how your *qismat* favours you in the future. Ho! guards, seize this undutiful girl, drive her away from my palace and never let me see her face again!"

The guards thereupon surrounded the poor girl, and she quietly walked with them out of the precincts of the town, when they left her.

Some time after this the Sultân bethought himself of going on a visit to a distant country. So he got ready a beautiful ship, and on the auspicious day fixed upon by the astrologers for him to set out on the voyage, he took leave of all his friends and relations, as well as of his subjects, previous to embarking. While taking a last affectionate farewell of his six daughters he asked each of them to name some particular object on which she had set her heart, and he would be happy to buy it for her. The girls each named the object that most suited her fancy and the Sultân at once went on board accompanied by his courtiers and a host of followers with bands of music playing.

At the appointed hour the mariners unfurled the sails, and raised the anchor, but what was their surprise to find that the ship, in spite of a most favourable wind, stood stock-still, like an obstinate horse. They spent a good deal of time in endeavouring to find out what it was that impeded her progress, for they knew that everything both in and out of the vessel was to a pin as it ought to be. At last the Sultân sent for the most clever astrologers from the city and they, after a great deal of deliberation, declared that the ship did not move only because the Sultân had neglected one of his nearest blood relations, and had not asked her instructions as to what gift he was to bring

her from the country he was going to. The Sulṭân was at once put in mind of his youngest daughter, and though rather crestfallen he expressed great indignation at the idea of obstacles being thrown in his way on account of such a worthless creature. He, however, at once despatched messengers to find out the poor victim of his displeasure, and learn from her what she would have her father buy for her in the strange land for which he was bound.

One of the messengers after a great deal of fruitless search found her at last in a jungle, under the far-spreading branches of a large tree, where she lived like an ascetic devoted to the service of Allah. She was at prayer when the man approached her and was so deeply absorbed in it that she hardly noticed him. So he called out to her, and in a rude half-hearted sort of way delivered his message to her demanding an immediate reply.

The princess being in the midst of her prayer vouchsafed to him no reply, but simply said, "*sabar*," *i.e.*, "have patience." The messenger however was disposed to take this mandate as a reply from her and at once left her, and hurrying to his master, told him that the princess had asked for a thing called "Sabar."

"*Sabar*," said the Sulṭân, "what can the stupid creature mean by it! It is just like her impudence to send me such a reply, but she shall have her deserts."

As he was speaking these words the vessel commenced to move and being a good sailer she went at a remarkably rapid rate and soon reached her destination.

As soon as the ship dropped anchor there the Sulṭân landed with all his followers. He remained in the city for several days, and enjoyed himself immensely. When it was time for him to leave, he began to prepare for his return journey. He had spared neither pains nor gold in procuring the choice things that his six favourite daughters had wished for and had them safely stored in the ship. As for his youngest daughter's request he met with the same reply wherever he inquired for it, namely, that there was no such thing as *sabar* anywhere on earth. The Sulṭân therefore, persuaded himself that there was no use in wasting more time in search of it, since nobody knew anything about it and accordingly went on board without it.

In due time the anchor was raised and the sails unfurled; but lo! the vessel again stood firm as a rock! The Sulṭân at once knew what this was owing to, and in great rage directed his servants once more to go on shore and inquire of every passer-by in the streets whether he or she knew of any one who had the mysterious thing called *sabar* for sale, and who would part with it for a large sum of money. The servants wandered all over the city the whole day in search of that rare commodity, but every one to whom they questioned about it laughed at them for their pains. They were tired of the business and were just going to give it up, at least for the day, when a poor old woman happened to pass by, and on their putting her the same question that they had put to thousands before that day, she replied:—

"*Sabar*! Oh yes, I know of a thing that is called by that name. It is a stone, lying half buried in my yard. It has lain there ever since I was born, and has been known as the "Sabar Stone." What price would you pay for it?"

The servants were very glad to hear this, and said, "Come, good woman, let us have it, and we shall give you a handful of gold for it.

The woman was in high glee at being offered so much as a handful of gold for a worthless stone, for it was much beyond her wildest expectations. So she took them to her cottage in all haste and readily parted with the big rough stone, in exchange for the gold they gave for it. The men hurried to the shore with the stone and as soon as they placed it on board the ship she began to sail away at a rapid rate, and in a few days the Sulṭân reached home in safety.

A day or two after his arrival he sent the stone to where his daughter lived with the same messenger whom he had despatched to her before. When she saw her father's servant approach her, with a heavy burden on his head, she was rejoiced to think that his heart had softened towards her, and that as a proof of it he had sent her a rich present. But what was her grief when, upon the man coming near, she saw nothing but a huge black stone upon his head. He laid his burden down at

her feet, and said rather gruffly: "Here's the thing, the '**sabar**' you asked for! Surely your star seems to be a very bright one, my lady, for while the Sultân brought your sisters the choicest diamonds and rubies he could find, to your share has fallen only a rough black stone. Keep it safe, however, my lady, for it will serve you at least for washing your clothes on!" So saying he walked away.

At these taunting words the poor girl was wounded to the heart and burst out crying and was very unhappy for the rest of the day. The next morning she put all her strength together and rolled the stone into a corner, with the intention of putting it to the very use her father's servant had advised her.

Day after day the poor girl went on scrubbing and rubbing her rags on the stone, and thinking of her once great position as a princess, and the respect and admiration she commanded at her father's court, till the tears would start to her eyes at the thought of her altered state.

After using it for a few days she noticed that the stone was gradually wearing away and getting thinner and thinner every day. She attributed this to its softness, and thought no more of it, till one day its surface suddenly broke under the pressure of her hand, and to her great surprise she saw a beautiful fan lying neatly folded in a recess inside the stone! She pulled it out at once, and having been a stranger to such luxury for a long time she began fanning herself with it, when lo! and behold! as if in response to the waving of the fan a very handsome, tall, and sprightly young prince appeared before her and stood as if awaiting her commands! She was so much confused at this sight that she dropped the fan and was running away to hide herself, when the prince caught her in his arms, and tried to calm her fears by telling her that the fan possessed the power of summoning himself, who was called **Prince Sabar**, from wherever he might be, if it were only waved in the usual way that fans are used. If, however, he said, it were waved the other way it could make him return to his father's territory at once. The princess was very much surprised at this, and picking up the fan, playfully gave it a shake or two, when all at once the prince vanished from her sight! She was much distressed at this, but soon waved the fan the right way and succeeded in getting him back to her.

In a short time she grew so fond of him that she thenceforth scrupulously avoided waving the fan any more and kept him constantly near her. In time the prince had a large palace built for her, near her cottage and she went and lived there with him in great pomp, and was very happy. Whenever Prince Sabar wished to see his parents he would persuade her to wave the fan in the required way, and he was immediately transported to their palace. With the exception of these visits Prince Sabar never left the princess alone.

Now it happened that the Sultân and his six daughters got wind of this happy **change in the fortunes** of their despised relative; whereupon the sisters were mightily jealous of her, while the Sultân was so much chagrined and mortified that he would not even have her mentioned in his hearing. One day the six girls, without asking the Sultân's permission, paid a visit to their youngest sister. She welcomed them in all the joy of a loving heart, and pressed them to remain; but they soon went away, promising to return some other day.

After they were gone Prince Sabar who had learnt from the princess herself all the particulars of the ill-treatment she had received at the hands of her father, expressed his doubts as to the advisibility of admitting them into her new home, for he feared that in their jealousy at her good fortune they would not scruple to adopt some means of putting an end to her happiness. But the artless and unsuspecting princess thought differently, and looked forward with rapture to those days on which she expected visits from them.

One day the prince expressed a desire to pay an evening's visit to his parents and the Princess waved her fan and allowed him to go. Some time after he was gone she felt so lonely and sad that she was wishing to summon him back again, when to her joy her sisters came on a visit to her and remained with her till late in the night.

She was very happy in their company, and laughed and conversed with them with a light heart. Her sisters, however, were a little reserved and embarrassed, and did not freely respond to her gaiety, not only because they

felt very jealous of her, but because they had that evening planned the destruction of the good Prince Sabar. So while some of them held their unsuspecting sister in conversation the others quietly glided into the room where Prince Sabar's bed was, and pulling out the bed-sheet, spread upon the mattress with their own hands a quantity of pounded glass, mixed with a poison of the worst kind, which they had brought with them for the purpose. Then hastily spreading the sheet again they got out of the room and joined their sisters.

When night had far advanced the six wicked princesses left their sister's palace on their return home.

Hardly were they gone when the princess waved her fan and got her beloved Prince Sabar once more near her. As it was late at night when he came he felt tired and sleepy, and went at once to bed, while the princess proceeded to say her prayers before doing the same. All at once however Prince Sabar cried out, "Help! O help me! I am pierced on all sides with something and don't know what to do! I am sure it is the work of those wicked sisters of yours. I told you not to countenance their visits; but you would have your will. Now you will soon be able to enjoy their company to your heart's content, for I am well-nigh dead! Do! for Heaven's sake wave your fan, and let me go back to my parents."

The bewildered princess ran up to him and found him covered all over with powdered glass which had entered his flesh and had caused it to bleed on all sides. She had him at once removed to another bed and was proceeding to extract the pieces of glass from his flesh when the prince cried out that he was not going to remain with her any longer, and forced her much against her will to wave the fan, and thus had himself transported to his native country.

After his departure the princess was in the greatest distress. She wept and tore her hair and waved her fan again and again to make him come back to her, but to her great sorrow he did not come. She cursed herself for having confided in her sisters, and wept very much at the thought that it was perhaps because her lord was dead that he did not return to her.

After passing a sleepless night she rose betimes and dressed herself in the guise of an itinerant vendor of drugs, such as go through the jungles collecting roots and herbs, and administer to the cure of human ailments. Thus disguised she soon left the palace to go in search of her lost lover's abode.

For days she wandered from jungle to jungle without finding the least trace of her dear prince Sabar, till at last she felt so fatigued and ill that she almost despaired of her own life. One day, as she was resting herself on the banks of a large river under the shade of some trees, she observed a pair of song birds sitting upon its branches, conversing with each other like human beings. One of them said—

"How poor Prince Sabar is suffering! How I pity the unfortunate young man! I wish somebody would come to know of the healing properties of my excrement! If one were only to apply it all over his body, in the twinkling of an eye all the poisoned glass would come out of his flesh and a second application would heal the wounds and make the skin as whole as before."

"Oh! this is all very well, but supposing some one were to collect a quantity of your excrement how is he to go with it to the other side of this large river where the prince's palace is situated?" asked the other bird.

"Easy enough," said the first, "he has only to remove some of the bark of this very tree that we are perching upon, and make it into a pair of enchanted sandals for his feet, and by wearing them he would be able to walk safely over the river. I wish there were some human being about here to listen to what I am saying!"

Having uttered these words, the birds flew away. The poor disheartened princess was so overjoyed to hear what the bird had said that she regained her lost strength, and starting rapidly up from the ground on which she had been lying, she tore out a long strip of the bark of the tree with a knife and soon fashioned a pair of sandals out of it. She then made them fast to her feet with the aid of some fibres, and then collected as much of the excrement as she could carry in her valise. Then swinging it over her shoulders she hastily prepared to cross the river, though her heart misgave her and she could hardly believe that a pair of sandals such as she wore could have the power of enabling her to wade through

such a large rushing stream as the one before her. She therefore first put one foot and then the other into the water, and was hesitating whether to proceed further or withdraw, when suddenly she found herself gliding smoothly and at her ease over the surface of the water. In a very short time she was on the other side of the river, and found that she had arrived in quite a strange land.

Being dressed and equipped like an itinerant physician (*vaid*) she soon gathered a large crowd around her, from whom she speedily obtained information about Prince Sabar's condition. She was told that his life had been despaired of and that though there were a number of the most skilful physicians attending him, their united efforts had up to that time failed to give him any relief.

Upon this the princess quickly turned her steps towards the royal palace, and arriving there boldly proclaimed that she possessed the means of curing the prince, and desired to be taken to him.

As the prince's father had issued a proclamation calling upon physicians from far and wide to come and try their skill upon his beloved son, the disguised princess was at once led into the presence of her long-lost lover. She was much grieved to see his wan looks and emaciated condition, and tears stole down her cheeks; but she dashed them off, and putting on a brave front, ordered a soft white sheet to be brought to her; and laying it on the floor, spread a quantity of the bird's excrement thickly over it. She then carefully wrapped it all round the prince's person and placing his head upon a pillow stroked it gently with her own soft hands till he fell into a sweet slumber. His parents were surprised and delighted at this, for though the poor prince had long been unconscious of everything around him, he had known no sleep for days.

After a few hours' deep slumber during which the princess sat by his bedside watching him, the young man opened his eyes. The look of acute suffering that had been for months seen on his visage was now gone and he appeared calm and refreshed.

The princess then removed the sheet from his body, and what was the surprise of every one present to see it covered with any amount of glass and foul matter! The skin still had a scratched and wounded look, so the princess applied the excrement once more to it and in a few hours the prince was so well as to be able to rise and walk about!

The joy of his parents knew no bounds at this miraculous restoration of their son to health, to say nothing of the great gratification of the princess who had, however, to dissemble and wear a most disinterested look.

Prince Sabar's father, the old king, who took her only for a wandering *vaid*, offered to bestow on her any amount of gold she wished for, but she stoutly refused to take anything at all. The prince and his parents were grieved at this refusal, and the latter in their anxiety to reward their son's deliverer by any means in their power, tried to force the richest gifts they could think of on her; but the princess was firm, and told them that she was resolved to accept of nothing in consideration of her services, except the ring the prince had on his finger, the dagger he wore by his side, and the silk handkerchief he had in his hand. The prince at once divested himself of the three things she had asked for, and made them over to her. She put them in her valise, and saying that she was content with what she had got at once left the palace.

By the help of her miraculous sandals she once more forded the river and after a long journey by land, arrived at her own palace.

Casting off her disguise, she decked herself in a beautiful and becoming costume, and taking the magic fan in her hand summoned the prince before her.

This time he soon obeyed the potent mandate, and came to her. He however, stood before her with his head turned away, and said angrily :—

"Why should you want my company now? Surely your dear sisters' company ought to be enough for you!"

But the princess pretended not to understand him, and said :—

"Tell me, my dear lord, all that happened to you after you forced me that day to send you away? I have been so unhappy since then, and none of my wicked sisters have visited me in your absence, for I have resolved to have nothing to do with them, after the most cruel way in which they served

you that day; and I promise you therefore never to see them again."

This pacified the prince and he related to her all the story of his illness, how he had suffered the most intense agony for months together, and how a poor wandering *vaid* had succeeded in curing him after the most skilful physicians had failed. "I would give almost anything," he cried rather warmly, "to see that noble deliverer of mine once more, and thank him for what he has done for me, so completely has he won my heart by his engaging manners. He seemed to have come on purpose to cure me, but still he would accept of nothing but my ring, my dagger, and my handkerchief."

The princess immediately produced the ring, and the dagger, and the handkerchief and showing them to the prince, said, "Are these the three things you gave the *vaid* who cured you, my love?"

The prince at once recognized them and put her question upon question as to how she had come by them, and whether it was she who had sent the *vaid* to him. The princess thereupon related to him all her adventures from the time she had first started in search of him and ended by showing him the sandals by the help of which she had crossed the river.

The delight of the prince knew no bounds, when he learnt that it was to his own sweet princess that he was indebted for his life. He pressed her to his heart and thanked her for all that she had undergone for his sake.

A few days after this he took her to his native country and introduced her to his parents as the wandering *vaid* that had restored to them their only son. They were so happy to find that the so-called *vaid* was none other than a princess, who loved their son dearly, that they forthwith made preparations to have her married to the prince with befitting pomp.

Many days before the day fixed for the wedding the old king sent letters to all the neighbouring sovereigns and chiefs inviting them to his court to take part in the rejoicings. Amongst those who accepted the invitations was the father of the young princess, whom the king had specially invited at Prince Sabar's request.

On the day following the wedding, Prince Sabar's father held a grand *darbâr*, at which he introduced all his royal guests to the married couple. When the turn of the princess's father came to be introduced to them, he was very much surprised on recognizing in the bride his own daughter, whom he had discarded long ago for what he considered her undutiful conduct towards him. The princess fell at his feet and entreated him to forgive her, now that she had proved to him beyond doubt that it was her own *qismat* that had brought about this happy change in her condition in spite of all the ill-usage she had received at his hands.

The Sultân was so struck with the force of her reasoning that he raised her up, and embracing her before the assembled court loudly expressed to her his regret at his inhuman conduct towards her, admitting at the same time that he was now convinced it is to one's own *qismat* that one is indebted for everything good or bad in this world.[1]

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 1.—*Karne da Pequeno João.*[1]

There once lived a king and a queen who were blessed with three sons. The king spared no care and trouble to educate them as befitting princes; but the *vḍrḍâchî bôlî*,[2] "The eldest is the most stupid,"[3] proved true in their case, for the eldest prince, in spite of all the efforts of his tutors, could learn nothing. The second, however, was painstaking, but he had not the gift of learning, and therefore did not advance much. The youngest, who was called Pequeno João, owing to his short stature, was a prodigy and a youth of great promise.

One day the king, their father, wishing to learn how his sons were faring at school, sent for them and asked them to recite their lessons, but he was quite disappointed when he heard the eldest and the second, though he had some satisfaction from Pequeno João.

Seeing the first two would be of no use to

[1] [This is a useful variant of the "Story of Prince Sabar" in Lal Behari Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal* p. 124ff. —ED.]

[1] The Story of Little John. This tale was originally told in the Sâlsettî *patois*, a dialect not hitherto studied, but which is of unusual philological interest. See *infra*, p. 383.

[2] Old man's story, i.e. old adage.

[3] Compare *ante*, p. 229.

him he thought best to give them some money and send them about their business to find their own living,[4] with strict injunctions never to return again. As for Pequeno Joãô, of course, he was to remain and succeed him as king. It so happened that Pequeno João was strongly attached to his brothers, and could not part with them, and therefore asked the king to permit him also to go with them. The king and queen tried very hard to make him dissuade from his intention to go, but to no purpose. The hopes of a bright future, namely of becoming king after his father, even that had no effect with him. He was determined to go and go he must. So he set off a day or two after his brothers, and borne, as it were, by the wings of love, he came up with them on the third or fourth day. It was in a densely covered forest they met, where no living creature was to be seen, and it was pitch dark.

Pequeno João suggested that one of them should climb the tallest tree and see if they could spy a human dwelling anywhere. The two others cared very little for him and told him to do it himself. He saw no alternative and soon went up a tree and when he came down said that he saw a light in a certain direction, and they all bent their steps towards that place. They had to travel long, and when they reached it they saw an old woman seated at the door, to whom Pequeno João said: "Mother, allow us to stay in your house for the night."

The old woman answered: "My sons, I should be only too glad to entertain you for the night, but am sorry I cannot, for my son, who is a **rânkhas**[5], will soon be at home, and he will surely make a meal of you."

But Pequeno João said: "Never mind, mother, I will arrange matters with your son."

The old woman, pitying the folly of the princes, could not but agree to accommodate them. It was not long before the *rânkhas* returned home, and as soon as he saw the three princes he thought what a fine supper they would make, but seeing they were hungry he determined to feed them well in the night and reserve them for breakfast.

Now it happened that the *rânkhas* had three daughters. After supper he had a bed prepared for six; and on one side slept the girls with white nightcaps on, and on the other the three princes with red caps on. For it should be said that the *rânkhas* wanted to kill them in the night and therefore he gave them red caps to distinguish them in the dark. No sooner had the two elder brothers laid their heads on their pillows than they were fast asleep, but Pequeno João, knowing what would otherwise become of them, kept awake. In the dead of the night when the *rânkhas* was asleep he got up, changed caps and places with the girls; of course, without their knowledge. After midnight the *rânkhas* woke up, sharpened his sword and not suspecting the trick of Pequeno João cut off the heads of the girls and went to sleep, thinking he was quite sure of a hearty breakfast off the boys.

Now there was a very broad and deep river flowing past the *rânkhas'* house. So before dawn Pequeno João woke up his brothers and safely got over to the other side of it, where the *rânkhas* could not come, owing to his inability to swim. He also took the six caps with him.

In the morning when the *rânkhas'* awoke, what was his dismay! To his horror and great grief he found that he had killed his own daughters and that his victims had escaped. He ran out of the house to see if he could yet catch them, and saw them coolly seated on the opposite side of the river, quite out of his reach. He was mad with fury, but seeing he could do nothing cried out: "Ho! Pequeno João, is this your gratitude for my entertaining you? You have caused the death of my daughters, and are now carrying away my caps? Well, well, I will make you pay for it." But Pequeno João fearing nothing, said: "Never mind, *rânkhas*, your wicked designs have turned on yourself."

Thus saying they started to find their fortune in some other place. After many hours' travelling they came to a splendid city and presented themselves before the king of that place and asked for service. The king seeing that they appeared to be of noble birth at once engaged the eldest as *kârbârî*, and the second as overseer; but thinking the youngest uneducated, sent him to graze sheep, and so he was appointed a *dhangâr*![6]

[4] *potbhâr.*

[5] *râkshasa.*

[6] A shepherd.

So every morning Pequeno João used to take the sheep out to graze, and near them he made a *machî*[7] for himself on a tree; and when the sheep had had their fill he wore one of the caps he had brought with him from the *rânkhas'* and played on his pipe. The sound of the pipe had such a charm for the sheep that they would one and all keep dancing round and round the tree on which Pequeno João had made his *machî*.

The king had an only daughter, the very image of beauty. She heard the music and saw Pequeno João playing his pipe and saw the sheep dançing round him from one of the palace windows. She had heard enough of music and seen many a shepherd of her father's house-hold grazing the sheep, but never knew that any one could make sheep dance! She also saw the cap Pequeno João wore, and, thinking the charm lay in it, sent for him, and asked him to give her the cap. How could Pequeno João refuse her? So he readily gave it up.

On the following day Pequeno João was at his work as usual; and on that day he wore a second cap; and while he played his pipe the sheep danced. The princess seeing this asked him for that one too, and so on till she had got five of the caps. On the sixth day, Pequeno João took the sheep out for grazing, and when they had grazed long enough, he took out his pipe and wore the sixth and the last cap. The princess saw it and sent for him. This time he hid the cap before he came into her presence, and when she asked for it, he said he had given her all the caps he had and that he had no more. But the princess had seen the sixth cap and could not be persuaded to believe that he had no more, and persisted in her entreaties, promising to bestow her love on him; for she herself was as much fascinated by his beauty as by his cleverness. Pequeno João after such entreaties and promises had not the heart to refuse and gave it to her, telling her, however, that that was the last. She was not satisfied with bestowing her love on him, but entreated her father to pay him better, which the king did to the great envy of his brothers, for they had had no rise since they had joined the king's service. They were, therefore, bent on his destruction, and only waited for some opportunity.

They had not to wait long, for it happened that the king fell ill, and as *kárbári* of the king, the eldest, in consultation with the second, suggested that the king should hold conversation with a parrot belonging to a certain *rânkhas*, and that Pequeno João should be asked to fetch it. The king summoned Pequeno João and asked him if he could bring the parrot. He at once consented, and started on his dangerous errand. He reached the *rânkhas'* house, which was the same one he had previously visited, by dusk, and concealed himself in the garden which was thickly planted with plantain trees. At midnight he went to where the parrot was, and put his hand to take it away. The parrot at once called out to the *rânkhas*: "O *rânkhas*! are you alive or dead? Pequeno João is come to take me away."

As soon as Pequeno João's name sounded in the *rânkhas'* ears he at once jumped out of his bed and ran to see, but no Pequeno João was to be seen, for as soon as the parrot had called out he hid himself. A long while afterwards he made a second attempt, but with failure. A third time he went, but the parrot called out again. This time the *rânkhas*, not seeing Pequeno João, warned the parrot that if it disturbed his sleep again he would kill it. So for the fourth time Pequeno João went to the parrot and told it beware of the *rânkhas'* anger, and that it had better come with him, and the parrot agreed.

Pequeno João took the parrot and crossed the river and there waited for the *rânkhas* to see him in the morning. At dawn the *rânkhas* rose and when he came to the riverside he was quite surprised to see Pequeno João with the parrot perched on his shoulder.

"Very well, Pequeno João," he said, "You came to my house, feasted, caused the death of my daughters, took away my caps, and you are now taking away my parrot? I will pay you out for it!"

But Pequeno João replied:—

"*Baraṁ, baraṁ, dûsrîm mûk aiṁ,*
Âni khanchit tûlâ pûn naiṁ."
Oh! another journey yet will I make,
When with me for certain you I will take!

Saying this Pequeno João set off home and presented the parrot to the king, who was over-

[7] An elevated seat.

joyed, and admiring his abilities rewarded him by way of advancement in pay. He had the parrot day after day perched on his shoulder and conversed with it for a long while but without effect, for who ever heard of a cure through conversation with a parrot?

The increase of pay Pequeno João now had was a further source of envy to his brothers, so they suggested that the king should have a ride on the *rânkhas'* mare, which, they thought, would be likely to cure him. Pequeno João was again sent for and asked if he was able to fetch the *rânkhas'* mare, and he said he could. So again he went and hid himself in the *rânkhas'* garden. At midnight he tried to loose the mare, but she called out: "O *rânkhas*! are you alive or dead? Pequeno João is come to take me away."

Pequeno João removed the grass that was before the mare and hid himself. The *rânkhas* came out, but could see no one. He, however, saw that there was no grass before the mare and that she must be hungry. So he set some grass before her and went to sleep again. Thrice Pequeno João attempted, with equal failure, and thrice the *rânkhas* came out and saw no one, and in his anger said that if the mare should disturb him again he would kill her. After a short time Pequeno João came and told the mare to beware of the *rânkhas'* wrath and to go with him quietly, which she did. He passed with her to the opposite side of the river and sat down there.

In the morning when the *rânkhas* came out of his house he was astounded to see Pequeno João seated by the river and the mare standing beside him. He was at a loss to know what to do, but only cried out: "Very well, Pequeno João you came to my house, feasted, caused the death of my daughters, took away my caps, took away my parrot, and now you are taking away my mare. Some day I will make you pay for it."

But Pequeno Joaô said:—

"*Baraṁ, baraṁ, dûsrûn mîṅ ain,*
Âni khanchit tûlâ pûn nain."

Oh! another journey yet will I make,
When with me for certain you I will take.

He got home safe and made the mare over to the king, who still further increased his pay, which made the brothers yet more envious of him. The king had long rides on the mare, but without any good result.

The next thing they proposed was that the king should wear the *rânkhas'* diamond ring, and Pequeno João was accordingly sent for it. He was sure of success, and went with a light heart. He reached by dusk and stole into the house of the *rânkhas* unobserved. After the day's excursion the *rânkhas* came home. When he went to bathe he took off his diamond ring and left it on the table, to the secret joy of Pequeno João, who did not wait long; and as soon as he saw there was no one by took it up quietly and ran out of the house and crossed the river. The *rânkhas* came out of his bath but found the ring gone, and made sure Pequeno João was in the house. He searched it, every nook and corner, but no one was to be seen! In the morning, however, his suspicions were confirmed for he saw Pequeno João proudly wearing his ring across the river, but he could do nothing but say: "Very well, Pequeno João, you came to my house, feasted, caused the death of my daughters, took away my caps, took away my parrot and my mare, and now you are taking away my ring? Some day or other I will pay you out for it."

But little afraid of the threats of the *rânkhas*, Pequeno João replied:—

"Oh, "*Baraṁ, baraṁ, dûsrûn mîṅ ain,*
Âni khanchit tûlâ pûn nain."

Oh! another journey yet will I make,
When with me for certain you I will take.

He then went his way and gave the ring to the king. The king was very glad and rewarded him by raising him to the position of a *kôtwâl*. As one would expect, the *rânkhas'* ring did the king no good; and it was next suggested that the sword should be tried. Pequeno João, now a *kôtwâl*, effected the bringing of the sword also as he had done the ring, being this time made a *nâzir* to the greater envy of his brothers, who were now more than ever bent on his ruin.

They planned together to ask the king to cover himself with the *rânkhas'* blanket, brought from off his person while covered with it in the night. But who would venture to take anything away from the person of the *rânkhas*? Pequeno João, already crowned with so many successes, undertook to do it; and started on his perilous errand. He reached

the *rânkhas'* house by dark, and slid under his couch unperceived. During the night as the *rânkhas* lay in bed with his wife, Pequeno João went to the side where the wife was sleeping and gave a hard pull at the blanket. The *rânkhas* woke up and reprimanded his wife for taking the blanket all to herself, calling her selfish. When he fell asleep again Pequeno João pulled from his side; this time the wife scolded him. And so it went on in turn from one side and the other till at last in a rage the *rânkhas* took the blanket and threw it under the couch, to the secret joy of our hero, saying: "If you keep worrying me like this neither of us shall have the blanket."

When they were both asleep again Pequeno João quietly took the blanket, opened the door and crossing the river, sat down, covering himself with the blanket. At dawn the *rânkhas* was mad with rage to see Pequeno João covered with the blanket and across the river, but what was to be done? To catch him was a sheer impossibility, for as we know he could not get to the other side of the river; and he cried: "Very well, Pequeno João you came to my house, feasted, caused the death of my daughters, took away my caps, took my parrot and my mare, took my ring and my sword, and now you are taking away my blanket! How long will you rob me? How often will you triumph? Never mind, I will get you into my clutches some day and then I will teach you."

But Pequeno João with his usual sauciness, said:—

> "*Baraṁ, baraṁ, dûsrûn miṁ ain,*
> *Âni khanchit tûlâ pûn nain.*"
>
> Oh! another journey yet will I make,
> When with me for certain you I will take."

He soon reached home, and presented the king with the blanket, and was raised to the highest position in the state, namely, of *wazîr*. The blanket, however, did no good at all. It had no charm for the malady!

The envy of the brothers at Pequeno João being made a *wazîr*, knew no bounds, and they were at a loss to know what they should do next. Said they: "We will ask the king, as a last measure, to ride the *rânkhas*. No one but Pequeno João will be told to go for him and if he refuse he will incur the displeasure of the king and lose his pay and position and will be turned out. If he attempt to catch and bring the *rânkhas* he is sure to fall into his hands, and the *rânkhas* will wreak his full vengeance on him for all the mischief done him."

So they went to the king and said: "May it please your Majesty. We have come to you with our last proposal, which, we feel confident, will bring about your cure; and we ask, as a last measure, to try a ride on the *rânkhas*!"

The king was terror-stricken at the idea of having to ride on the *rânkhas*, but after a long discussion he was persuaded. His next trouble was who on earth would attempt such a thing, however brave and strong he might be. Surely he thought, it might be easy enough to bring the parrot, and the mare, and the ring and the sword and the blanket, but to bring the *rânkhas* was an utter impossibility. However he told his *wazîr*, Pequeno João, of his trouble and anxiety of mind, but Pequeno João was only too glad to be of service, even at the risk of his life, and calmed the king by undertaking to bring the *rânkhas*. He asked the king to make him a *pinzra*[8] of iron with seven sides and seven locks and fitted with wheels to facilitate hauling; and one was at once ordered.

In due time the cage was ready, and disguised as a *mharvî*[9] and clothed with rags Pequeno João proceeded to the *rânkhas'* house. As soon as he was near enough to be heard by the *rânkhas* he cried out at the top of his voice: "Listen all ye people, at a certain place, at a certain time, Pequeno João, for having committed very grievous offences against the king, is to be hanged. Any one wishing to witness the sight will be provided with free conveyance to and from that place."

As soon as the *rânkhas* heard that Pequeno João was about to be hanged he jumped for joy. "After all," he thought, "he has come to his end. I must go and see. I shall have some satisfaction at least by seeing him die." He then asked the pretended *mharvî* where the conveyance was, and was led to the cage and was made to sit in the middle of it, Pequeno João taking care to lock each of the seven doors.

When he saw the *rânkhas* was quite secure Pequeno João discovered to him his true self

[8] A cage.

[9] A town-crier.

and said: "O *rânkhas*, look, I am no other than Pequeno João, who came to your house with his brothers, feasted, caused the death of your daughters, carried away your caps and parrot, mare, ring, sword and blanket; and here I am, as I often told you, to take *you* away." The *rânkhas* promised to give him all his wealth and property, if only he was released, but in vain. He had no other alternative but to submit, for it was out of his power to break through seven doors, and escape!

Pequeno João had, of course, taken many servants with him and they hauled the cage and brought it to the palace of the king. With great difficulty the king was persuaded to ride the *rânkhas* and was by chance cured. He was then extremely pleased with Pequeno João and gave him his daughter in marriage, which took place with great pomp, as befitting a king's daughter, nothing being spared to make it grand.

The king also shortly found out that his son-in-law was also no less than a prince, the son of a great monarch, and his powers being impaired by his late illness and by age he made Pequeno João king.

As soon as he was made king, Pequeno João did not, as one would expect, take revenge on his brothers, but raised them to high positions. He lived to a very old age, governing the kingdom with righteousness and justice. And when he died his subjects remembered him and blessed him as a king and a father.

The following is part of the text:—

KANI PEQUENO JOAOCHI.

Ek hôthâ râzâ âni rânî, âni thianchê tin sôkrê. Râjâzûn murâd karchilaṁ śikâr dêvâlâ thiachê sôkriânâ pardhanâ sirkaṁ, pûn vârâṁchî bôlî, guê "môthâ sârian vêrâ," kharî zailî. Mêstrianzûn târi murâd mênat kêlî, pûn môthê sôkriachaṁ dhian śikârân bilkul nôthaṁ. Madhlê sokriachaṁ dhian baraṁ hôthâṁ pûn tiachê mâthian śikâr rêi naśê. Dâkhlâ sôkrâ, jiachaṁ nâo hôthaṁ Pequêno João, kaṁ thô hôthâ têngnâ, ningâlâ hunśâr.

Êk dhis râjâlâ vâtlaṁ guê sôkrê kâ śiktân thê bagâvaṁ, âni vârûnśîṁ lissão gêvâlâ lâglâ, pûn murâd khanthi zhailî zavaṁ môthiachaṁ âni madhliachaṁ gêtlaṁ lissão kâṁ guê thiânâ kains khabar nôthaṁ, pûn Pequêno Joãozûn dhir dilâ.

Râjâzûn baguilaṁ guê dôgai môthe kains kâmâche nâhin, âni thiânâ kaiṁ paśê dêunśiṁ hukum kêlî guê thianzûn zâvaṁ zavâr pôt bhar hôil thavâr, âni bilkul tônd nâhin dhâkrâvaṁ thiâlâ. Pequêno Joãolâ thêvilaṁ gharâ, âni râjiâchê mêlîâ pâttî thô hôvâchâ râzâ. Pûn Pequêno Joãochî maiâ thiachê bhâvâûvar aisî hôthî guê thiâchân nâhin rêvalaṁ thianchê bigar, âni bâpâspar âni âispar hukum mângthôthâ thianchê sangâthî zâvâlâ. Râjâzûn âni rânîzûn murâd samzâvilaṁ thiâlâ pûn thiâzûn kâîṁ kân dhilâ nâhin. Râzâ hôvâchî âsthiâ thi pûn sôrûn dhilî, âni guêlâ bhâvânchê sûdhîlâ. Dhauṁchâl, dhauṁchâl thin châr dhisâṅśiṁ bhêt zhailî êkê môthê rânâmaniṁ zaiâṁ nôthâ gitâ giû, âni kâlôk mhêt zhailaṁ.

Pequêno João bôthlâ guê êkiâzûn sârian unchê zhârâvar charûnśiṁ bagâvaṁ kadûn ûzêr nadhrên parêl thê, pûn thiachê bhâvâṅzûn bôthlaṁ guê thiazûn pôthiâ charâvaṁ. Thavaṁ Pequêno João charlâ âni murâd lâmb êk ûzêr baguilâ. Dêunśiṁ hêthô thigaizan zavâr ûzêr dêkhilâ thavâr guêlê, âni châlun châlun murâd vakthâśim pônchlê. Êk dôkrî baislî hôthî, âni thilâ Pequêno Joãozûn bôthlaṁ: "Âiê, âiê, âmâlâ âzchî râth zâgâ dê nizâvâ."

Thavaṁ dôkrî bôthlî: "Pûthândô, tûmâlâ zâgâ hauśêśiṁ dethûṁ, pûn mânzâ sôkrâ hai rânkhas âni tûmâlâ khanchit khâil."

Pûn Pequêno João bôthlâ: "Kâhin fiqir nâhin, âiê, miṁ samzâvin tûgê sôkrialâ."

Dôkrîzûn êuzilaṁ guê pôraṁ veriṁ hân, âni dhilî zâgâ thiânâ rêvâlâ. Zarâk ôkath nâhin guêlâ tavaṁ rânkhas ailâ, âni thiânâ bâgunśiṁ vichâr kêlâ guê kâ mazêchaṁ siâr hôil; pûn baguithai ṃagârî guê sûkliân, âni êuzilâṁ guê thianâ baraṁ khâvâlâ dêunsiṁ, bijê dhisâ khavaṁ.

Athaṁ hiâ rânkhsâchiâ hôthiâ thin sôkriâ. Siâr zhailiavar ânthrûn kêlaṁ sâ zanânâ. Êk bâzûlâ nizvilîa tiachâ sôkriâ pândrê tôpriaśiṁ, ani bijê bâzûlâ thigai sôkrê tâmbrê tôpriâśiṁ, rânkhsâlâ râthche pârâ samzâvâlâ. Dhôgai môthê avâr ang nâhin thâquilaṁ tavaṁ bijê ângâ agdhi sûsth niṅzlê, pûn Pequêno João zâgâ rêlâ. Bari bhar râth zhailî thavaṁ Pequêno João uthlâ, âni tôpriṁ âni zâgâ badlilî rânkhsâchê sôkrianśiṁ. Ardhê râthivar rânkhas ûthlâ, tarwâr pâjvili, pôthainchiâ sôkriâ khândiliâ, kaṁ guê thialâ khabar nôthî Pequêno Joãoche hikmatichi, âni manâmani khûśi zailai guê bijê dhisâ almôs barâ hôil.

Athaṁ rânkhsâchê dârâparśiṁ yâthaśê êk

nai. Pequêno Joãozûn bhâvânâṁ ûthvilaṁ âni nai passâr kêli zaiâṁ kâ rânkhsâchiân zâvat nôthaṁ kâṁ guê thô pônve naśê. Pequêno Joãozûn zâvâche pûraṁ saviṁ topriṁ jêthliṁ.

Sakâlchâ rânkhas uthlâ âni baguithai guê môthî ghâth kêlî! Pôthainchiâ sokriâ khândiliâ, âni dhânvath bênâ parlâ Pequêno Joãolâ âni thiachê bhâvânâṁ dharâvâ, pûn zavaṁ baguilaṁ guê ûpai nâhin tavaṁ bôthlâ: "Baraṁ, baraṁ, Pequêno João, mângê gharâ âilâs, khâlaṅs pilans, mângiâ sôkriâ mârvilias, âni mângiṁ tôpriṁ nêthês? Baraṁ, baraṁ, tûlâ miṁ dhâkrin!" Pûn Pequêno João bôthlâ: "Baraṁ, baraṁ, rânkhsâ, tûgî karni tûvar âilî." Aissaṁ bôlûnśiṁ thê guêlê bigê gânvâlâ âni thiâ gâvânchê Râjiachê gharâ châkrilâ rêlê. Môthialâ kêlaṁ kârbârî, madlâ mûkâdam, âni Pequêno João dhangâr.

Athaṁ dhar dhis Pequêno João zai bakriâ mêndriṁ geti charâvâ. Mêrêśiṁ thiazun kêlî mâchi âpliâslâ baisâvâlâ, âni mêndrim charliâvar Pequêno João êk rânkhsâchaṁ tôpraṁ ghâlûnśi âplâs pâvâ vâzvi, âni sâriṁ mêndriṁ êunśiṁ thiachê samôdliṁ nâchat.

Athaṁ râjiachi hôthî êklî sôkrî. Thizûn zanêlânśiṁ baguilaṁ guê kâ hikmat aśêl guê mêndriṁ nâchtân. Murâd dhangâr baguilê pûn aiśê nâhin. Pequêno Joãoche mâthian tôpraṁ baguilaṁ, thê thichê manân guêlaṁ guê thiâ tôpriâchâ gûn assâvâ. Dhârlaṁ thiâlâ vârâvâ âni thêṁ tôpraṁ mângatlaṁ. Bigê dhissâ Pequêno João guêlâ mêndriṁ gêthi âni mêndrianzûn khâliavar pôt bharûn, tiâzûn dûsraṅ tôpraṁ ghâtlaṁ mâthian âni pâvâ vâzvâlâ lâglâ. Hiâ vakthâ thâri Râjiâchê sôkrizûn baguilaṁ âni vârûnśiṁ thêuṁ mângatlaṁ. Aissaṁ kârûn tizûn pânch tôpriṁ gêtliṁ. Save dhissâ, savaṁ tôpraṁ ghâlûnśiṁ lâglâ pâvâ vâzvâlâ thari Râjiâchê sôkrizûn dhârlaṁ vârâvâ âni tôpraṁ mângûṁ lâgli. Pequêno João bôthlâ guê zavriṁ tôpriṁ hôthiṁ thavriṁ tizûn gêtliṅ, athaṁ bizaṁ kanchaṁ âilaṁ? Pûn Râjiâchê sôkrizûn tôpraṁ baguilthaṁ âni thi aikê nâhin. Śêvat thî bôthlî guê tôpraṁ thilâ dhêl thar thi thiâśiṁ varâdêl, âni śêvtâlâ Pequêno Joãozun tôpraṁ dhilâṁ. Râjiâlâ thâri bôlûnśiṁ Pequêno Joãochaṁ pagâr charvilaṁ. Athaṁ Pequêno Joãochê bhâvânâṁ dhûk vâtlaṁ guê tiâchaṁ pagâr charlâm ânî thiaṅchaṁ nâhin, âni thia dhisâśiṁ thianzûn vichâr kêlâ thialâ mârâvâ.

Athaṁ Râzâ parlâ âzâri. Thavaṁ Pequêno Joãochâ bhâo, kârbârî assûn thiazûn sânghatlaṁ Râjiâlâ: "Fûlân gâṅvâla êk rânkhas hai, thiâchâ pôppat hârûnśiṁ thiâśiṁ vârthâ karśil thê barâ hôśil." Thavaṁ Râjiâzûn vichârilaṁ: "Kôn hâril?" Ânî thiazûn sâṅgatlaṁ: "Pequêno João hâril." Râjiazûn dhârlâṁ vârâvâ Pequêno Joãolâ âni khabar kêlaṁ: "Fûlân gâṅvâche râṅkhsâchâ pôppât hârśil?" Pequêno Joãozûn zavâb kêlâ: "Hô, Râjâ Sâhêb." Aissâṁ bôlûnśiṁ thûbôrthôb guêla. Zâvûnśiṁ rânkhsâche bâghân khirlâ. Madham râthchâ pôppatâlâ hâth ghâtlâ pûn thiazûn sâdh ghâtlâ rânkhsâlâ; "Ôh rânkhas! Mêlâ hais kam githâ hais? Pequêno João âilâi mâlâ nevâlâ." Rânkhsâzûn Pequêno Joãochaṁ nâo aikhthûs bâhir parlâ, pûn Pequêno João kaiṅ nadrên parê nâhin. Rânkhas guêlâ nizâvâ. Murâd vakhat guêliâvar Pequêno João dûsrûn guêlâ, pûn mâgâri pôppatâzûn rânkhsâlâ sâdh ghâthlâ, âni Pequêno João khinslâ. Tisrûn guêlâ, thari thiarûn pôppatâzûn sâdhvilaṁ. Tisrûn rânkhas âilâ pûn Pequêno João kaiṅ dhiśe nâhin. Rânkhsâlâ âilâ râgh âni bôthlâ: "Magâri sâdh ghâlâil thar samâl; ain âni tûlâ pailâ mârin." Châunthûn Pequêno João êunśiṁ pôppatâlâ bôthlâ: "Bagh, mângê sangâthi nivâth hê; athaṁ bhôm kârśil thê rânkhas pailâ tûlâ mâril." Pôppat ningâlâ, Pequêno Joãozun gêthlâ âni nai passâr karûnśiṁ baislâ. Sakâlchâ rânkhas bênâ parlâ thê agêb zhailâ Pequêno Joãolâ bagûnśiṁ âni bôthlâ: "Baraṁ, barâṁ, Pequêno João, mângê gharâ ailâs, khâlaṅs pilaṅs, mângiâ sôkriâ, mârviliâs, mângiṁ tôpriṁ nêliṅs, âni mânzâ pôppat nêthâs? Baraṁ, baraṁ, ek dhis milśil mânge hâthân." Pequêno João bôthlâ; "Baraṁ, baraṁ, dûsrûn miṁ ain, âni khanchit tûlâ pûn nain." Aissaṁ bôlûnśiṁ pôppat nêlâ âni Râjiâlâ dhilâ. Râzâ khuśi zhâilâ âni Pequêno Joãochaṁ pagâr jâsthî charvilaṁ. Pôppatâśiṁ vârthâ murâd dhis thaspar kêliâ pûn kains fôr parlâ nâhin. Pequêno Joãoche bhâu fâgil dukhi zhailê. Maghâśiṁ sânghatlaṁ Râjiâlâ rânkhsâchê ghôrivar baisûn firâvâ, âni Pequêno Joãozûn aissâ pôppat nêlâ thias ravêśin ghôri nêli. Maghâśiṁ Pequêno Joãoche bhâôvâṅzûn Râjiâlâ sanghatlâṁ rânkhsachi hiriachi ânghôthlî vâprâvâ; taissich thari thiachi tarwâr âni gôdhri; âni hia ginsâ Pequêno Joãozûn nêliâ. Râzâ aissâ khuśi zâilâ guê thialâ pailâ kêlâ kôtwâl âni mâghâśiṁ nâsir âni śeutâlâ wâsir.

Athâṁ Pequêno Joãoche bhâvânâ râgh aissâ

âilâ guê vêrê zhailê âni ênzûn lâglê guê kâ karâvaṁ. Thianzun vichâr kêlâ: "Âpûn Râjiâlâ sângûṁ rânkhsâvar baissâvâ. Râzâ khanchit Pequêno Joãolâ dhâril. Thô nâhin zail thar Râjiâlâ vâhit dhiśêl âni thiachaṁ não âni hurmath zail; zar thô zail thar rânkhas thiâlâ khanchit khail." Aissâ vichâr karûnśiṁ Râjiâlâ sânghatlaṁ. Râzâ aikunśiṁ ghâbarlâ guê rânkhsâvar mânûs kaissâ baiśêl, âni bizaṁ guê kôn aiśêl asnâ śâthichâ rânkhśâlâ dharûnśiṁ hâril! Pûn thiânzûn sânghatlaṁ guê Pequêno João hâril. Thâvaṁ Râjiazûn Pequêno Joãolâ vârlaṁ âni vichârilaṁ. Pequêno João bôthlâ: "Hô, Râjê Sâhbê, mânzaṁ kâm, pûn mi sâṅgen thaisâṁ karâl thar. Êk khûri, thilâ sâth dhâraṁ âni sâth tâliṁ âni thilâ châkaṁ." Râjiâzûn tâbôrthôb hukum kêli khûri zaiśi Pequêno Joãozûn sângitli hôthi thaiśi gharvâlâ. Thâurê dhissân khûri thaiâr zhaili, âni Pequêno Joãozûn bhêz gêtlâ marviâchâ âni mânsânâṁ sânghatlaṁ khûri vorâvâ. Rânkhsâchê dhârâpar pôṅchunśiṁ zôraśiṁ bôthlâ: "Aikâ lôkhândhô, fûlân dhissâ, Pequêno Joãozûn Râjiâchi môthi gûnia kêlai, thiathô thiâlâ faśiṁ devâchaṁ hai. Kônâlâ baghâvâchaṁ aiśêl thiâlâ garhi fânkâchi hai." Zaissaṁ kâ hê sabath aikathlê rânkhas zhailâ khûśi, âni khûrin khirlâ. Pequêno Joãozûn bandh kêli khûri âni maghśiṁ bôthlâ: "Ôh rânkhas! Tûlâ mi bôthlûṁ nâhin guê dûsrûn mi ain âni tûlâ pûn nain? Mi thô zô tugê gharâ ailûṁ, khâlaṁ pilaṁ, tûgê sôkriânâ mârvilaṁ, tôpriṁ nêliṁ, pôppat, ghôri, ângôthli, tarwâr, gôdhri, nêli, âni athâṁ thûlâ nêthain. Rânkhas hâthâṁ pâiâṁ parûṁ lâglâ, sâri dhan daulat thialâ dhêvâlâ kabûl zhailâ, pûn Pequêno Joãozûn kân dhilâ nâhin, âni nêlaṁ Râjâchê mêrê. Râzâ paizmâr zhailâ guê kaissâ mânûs. guê rânkhsâlâ hânlaṁ. Kâ naśib Râjâchê guê Rânkhsâvar baissûn barâ zhâilâ. Râzâ murâd khuśi zhâilâ âni Pequêno Joãolâ pôthainchi sôkrî dhili varâdâvâlâ.

Thâuraṁ têp guêliâvar Râjalâ khabar millî guê thiâchâ zaṅvaiṁ thari hai [môthê kâtûmbânchâ, âni mothê râjâchâ sôkrâ. Tiâchi sakthi zhailthi bhâriṁ mhâthârpanâśiṁ âni âzârâśiṁ, thiatô Pequêno Joãola tharâvilaṁ Râzâ. Râzâ zhailiavar thiazûn âplês bhâvânâṁ thari mothia zâgâ dhilia râzasthanân âni râz châlvilaṁ barêpanamaniṁ; âni mêlia pâtti sâri raith dûkhi zhaili, âni murâd varsaṁ thavaṁ viâdh kêli zâisi kâ mai bâpâchi.

A NOTICE OF THE ZAFARNAMA-I-RANJIT SINGH OF KANHAYYA LAL.

BY E. REHATSEK.

(*Continued from p.* 312.)

The Mahârâja Ranjît Singh now hastened to the celebrated place of pilgrimage, **Jwâlâmukhî**, where he made abundant offerings of gold and silver, bestowed alms upon the poor, hovered round the sacred flame like a moth round a lamp, and rubbed his forehead against the threshold of the goddess's temple. Having relieved his conscience, and gladdened his heart by devotions, the Mahârâjâ again descended from the mountains to the plains. When he reached Bijwâṛâ, the **Rânî Sadâ Kaṅwar** sent him the news that her daughter, **Rânî Mahtâb Kaṅwar** whom he had married, had given birth **to twins, both sons**, namely **Shêr Singh** and **Târâ Singh**. This event gave occasion for great rejoicings, feasts and hunting parties, which were, however, interrupted by the arrival of information from Lâhôr, that the chief of Kasûr had thrown off his allegiance, and had made common cause with the Nawâb of Multân. Both being Muslims, the bond of union between them was close and they had enrolled all their co-religionists among their forces, and had made every preparation for attacking the Sikhs. Disgusted with the treachery of the chief of Kasûr, Ranjît Singh immediately marched from Bijwâṛâ towards the Biyâs, summoned Faṭh Singh from Kapurthalâ with his forces, and asked reinforcements from every locality. Having thus collected a large army, a crossing of the last-named river was effected therewith, in the direction of Kasûr, and several days spent in preparations. When all was ready, the army marched again, plundering every locality through which it passed, not even sparing the lives of the helpless population, till at last the chief of Kasûr came out of the fort with his Afghâns, and, in his turn pretending to show fight, devastated the district. Gradually however the Sikhs drove him back and after besieging him for two months, the distress became so great in the

fort that most of the inhabitants fled, and the remainder were killed by the Sikhs, who succeeded at last in taking it. The defeated chief **Quṭbu'ddîn** craved for pardon, offered gifts, promised tribute and was again received into favour by Ranjît Singh, who then went straight to **Multân**, and after encamping in the vicinity of the town, sent a message to the Nawâb, reproaching him for having failed to pay tribute and for casting off allegiance to the Sikh government, with a threat of annihilation in case of his failing to repent of his errors. The Nawâb replied that he was the humble servant of the Mahârâjâ, but was too poor, and that therefore the latter ought to relax his heavy demands, and to be contented with the tribute to be paid at the end of every year. Ranjît Singh, who was not satisfied with this excuse, made preparations for laying siege to the place, whereon all the inhabitants, who could do so, left it, and the Nawâb retired to the fort; but on being closely pressed he at last satisfied all the demands of Ranjît Singh, who thereon departed to Bahâwalpûr, the chief of which district, Nawâb **'Azîzu'ddîn Bahâwal Khân** waited upon Ranjît Singh as soon as he had crossed the Satluj, but sent him first rich presents. His apology was accepted, and he was confirmed in his position, but mulcted in a large sum of money. Then the Mahârâjâ returned to Lâhôr, and rested several months. His expedition to Kasûr had however resulted in the abandonment of the town by the population, and other localities were also deserted; he therefore attempted to collect the inhabitants who had dispersed, and by bestowing some favours upon them to induce them to settle again in their deserted homes.

22. Although most of the chiefs of the Pañjâb had paid homage to Ranjît Singh, some were still recalcitrant, and he was determined to reduce them. The Mahârâjâ of **Paṭiâlâ** was loyal himself, but was in danger of being deprived of his authority because his spouse had taken a dislike to him and had induced the nobles of his court to conspire with her to depose him, and place his son Karam Singh, who was yet a child, upon the *masnad*. This information having been conveyed to Ranjît Singh by an envoy of the Mahârâjâ, who requested him to come to his rescue and promised to make him a present of a large and wonderfully effective cannon that was in his possession, as well as of a necklace consisting of one hundred precious stones of enormous value, Ranjît Singh at once marched with his army. But he had scarcely crossed the river Biyâs, when the Mahârâjâ of Paṭiâlâ sent him the news that he had himself settled all his difficulties, and achieved peace, by installing Karam Singh as his heir apparent, and reconciling his discontented Mahârânî by bestowing upon her a *jâgîr* near Ṭhânêsar. Ranjît Singh nevertheless continued his march and when he had arrived near Paṭiâlâ, the Mahârâjâ met him at a distance of two or three miles, and presented him with a *nazarâna* of money and jewellery, holding back the gift of the cannon and the necklace he had promised, but he was compelled afterwards to surrender them when Ranjît Singh threatened him with his wrath. The latter, however, ultimately again presented the heir-apparent, Karam Singh, with the precious necklace, and then departed to **Mâlêr Kôṭlâ**, on arriving near which he sent a message to the chief of the place, requiring him to pay homage, and in case of refusal to be prepared for the consequences, whereon he humbly obeyed the summons, paying all the money he was able to afford. Ranjît Singh, now pleased with his prompt submission, confirmed him in his position, settled the amount of the annual tribute, and departed to **Nârâyangaḍh** the young chief of which, Kishṇ Singh, had been represented to be disloyal and perpetually engaged in carousals. He was therefore deprived of his district and plundered of everything he possessed, not, however, without a sanguinary conflict. For after devastating the surrounding country, Ranjit Singh was under the necessity of taking the fort of Nârâyangaḍh itself, and this brought on an engagement in which all the Sikh forces, consisting of 300 infantry and 100 cavalry took part. The enemy, whose forces amounted to double the above number, was defeated, but the **Sirdâr Fatḥ Singh Ahlûwâliâ**, a staunch adherent of Ranjît Singh, was slain. When the fort was entered, not a living soul could be found in it; so all the property was confiscated and a garrison left there.

After this Ranjît Singh crossed the Satluj, bestowed the government of the Dûâb upon his faithful **Dîwân Muhkam Chand** and

marched ostensibly for the purpose of hunting to the Dâman-i-Kôh, but when he arrived at Paṭhânkôṭ he found that the officer who commanded that fort for Sansâr Chand had locked the gates; accordingly he attacked and took it. Then Ranjît Singh crossed the Râvî and marched to **Jasrôtâ**, the Râjâ of which, who professed to be a Râjpût, met him and promised to pay tribute. The Râja of **Chambâ** was equally compliant, and submitted as soon as the sovereign of the Pañjâb approached. After having for some time indulged in the pastime of hunting, roamed about, and secured the allegiance of various chiefs, Ranjît Singh determined to subdue two more of them who had kept aloof and not cared to wait upon him. He intended to punish them for this, and at once marched to **Siâlkôt** whose chief, Jîwan Singh, had accumulated a great deal of money, but whose force consisted of not more than one thousand men. Jîwan Singh locked the gates of his fort, which was taken after a short siege, and the garrison having fled Ranjît Singh annexed the district to his dominions. When the Mahârâjâ approached the town of **Gujrât** which is at the same distance from the Chinâb as Siâlkôt, but on the right side, **Sâḥib Singh Bhangî**, its governor, trembled with fear, and immediately sent a number of presents, one of them being a cannon formerly belonging to Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî, the like of which in size could not be found in the whole of the Pañjâb, and the report of which resembled thunder. These gifts were accepted and propitiated Ranjît Singh. Nidhân Singh the chief of **Daskhâ** likewise approached the Mahârâjâ with presents, as soon as he heard of his arrival, and 'Âlam Khân, the chief of **Akhnûr** did the same, whereon he was likewise received into favour.

Thus Ranjît Singh progressed onwards to the plains, collecting tribute and receiving homage, and at last reached Lâhôr, where he inaugurated great festivities; but whilst engaged in these, the information arrived from **Shêkhupura** that two freebooters, the **Sirdârs Albêl Singh and Amîr Singh**, had taken possession of that place and were, with their followers, plundering the surrounding country. The Mahârâjâ accordingly appointed his own son **Kanwar Kharak Singh** to command the force destined to punish the miscreants. The prince besieged the fort, but was soon obliged to write to his father that its garrison was defending it obstinately; thereon Ranjît Singh himself arrived with siege guns, reduced the fort, incorporated the troops with his own army, and bestowed the district as a *jâgîr* upon the young prince, whose mother was to reside in the fort. Lastly the Mahârâjâ returned to Lâhôr.

23. It was now brought to the notice of **the English** that Ranjît Singh had made himself master of the whole Pañjâb, and the Government desired to be on friendly terms with him. **Mr. Metcalfe** was accordingly sent from Dehlî as an ambassador to the capital of the Pañjâb with credentials, and a number of presents from the Governor-General to the Mahârâjâ, who being pleased with these cordial advances, entertained the ambassador hospitably, but delayed replying to the letter he had brought, and meanwhile assigned to him **Amṛitsar** for his residence. Whilst there, Mr. Metcalfe became witness of a strange disturbance, which was however easily quelled by the strong hand of Ranjît Singh. The cause of this was that the ambassador had arrived with a large escort, which was in reality a small army, ready for combat. The month of Muḥarram happened just to begin when this escort was quartered about the town, and as it consisted of Muslims, the tenth of the month, on which the Imâm Ḥussain was slain, became a day of ostentatious wailing and lamentation to the whole party. At last even the *tâhbût* was paraded with the same noisy demonstrations of sorrow as in the rest of India, and the procession file passed near the **Akâlî** troops, who were excitable and most fanatical Sikhs, considering themselves to be the special disciples of Gurû Gôbind, and always ready to fight and to plunder. When they perceived the Muslims thus plunged in grief, their religious enthusiasm was inflamed, and they attacked them sword in hand, tore their flags, and destroyed their *tâhbût*; whereon the English forces, apprized of what was taking place, came out and fired upon the Akâlîs with military precision and destroyed many lives. At that moment the Mahârâjâ also made his appearance, and expressing his disapproval at the fanaticism of the Akâlîs, reconciled the English troops by giving them presents.

He then paid a visit to the ambassador to apologise for what had taken place; but the latter desired the Akâlîs to be punished, which the Mahârâja promised to do. After this the ambassador remained at Amritsar, whilst Ranjît Singh marched to the banks of the Satluj, with the intention first of bringing all the chiefs of that region under his sway, and then of fixing the boundary between his own and the British dominions in concert with the ambassador. He hastened to cross the Satluj, and a few days afterwards invited also the English envoy to come; after which he sent Karam Singh Châhil, a brave commander with troops to **Farîdkôt**, the commander of which was soon constrained to surrender the keys of the fort. The same thing took place afterwards at **Fîrôzpûr**, whereon all the chiefs of those regions and among them Bhôj Singh, Jaswant Singh, and Lâl Singh, hastened to wait upon the Mahârâjâ and to pay him allegiance. Lastly he appointed **Dîwân Chand** to be governor of those districts. After having thus regulated the administration, Ranjît Singh hastened to pay a visit to the Nawâb of **Mâlêr Kôtlâ**, who, having already paid tribute and being impoverished thereby, had begged to be allowed a respite of a few months, when he promised to satisfy all demands. Ranjît Singh would not, however, accept any excuses, but sent out his own tax-gatherers in every direction, and kept the Nawâb besieged for some time in his own fort, till the Mahârâja of Paṭiâlâ took pity upon him, paid the required sum of money, and thus liberated him from durance vile. The demands of Ranjît Singh having thus been satisfied, he marched to **Bhaṭindâ** which being a dependency of Paṭiâlâ, the Mahârâjâ of that district was frightened, and immediately despatched to Ranjît Singh the money he intended to extort. The sovereign of the Pañjâb now marched to **Jînd**, the chief of which place immediately sent an enormous *nazarâna*, whereon Ranjît Singh went to **Nâbhâ**, but after levying tribute, he was unable to tarry there, as news had arrived that the governor of **Ambâlâ** had suddenly expired without leaving any progeny. He therefore marched immediately to that town with the English ambassador who was kind enough to accompany him; both halted however, and remained safely in the fort of Ghamrâlâ, while the Dîwân Muhkam Chand was despatched in command of the troops to Ambâlâ, the population of which, unable to offer resistance, surrendered the place, when Ranjît Singh appointed an unknown but very loyal man, **Gandâ Singh** by name, to be Governor. The Dêwâlî festival being near Ranjît Singh determined to pay a visit to the river Jamnâ for his purificatory ablutions, and on the way there levied tribute on every chief, but gave away again a portion of it as alms near the river. On his return to **Lâhôr** he ordered the reconstruction of the fort-wall and had also a fosse excavated around it. After inaugurating these works he departed to Amritsar, where he laid the foundation of a citadel, which he surnamed **Gôbindgaḍh**. On that occasion, however, a courier arrived from Ghamrâlâ with the information that the English had treacherously alienated from the Mahârâjâ all the chiefs on the other side of the Satluj, who had now cast off their allegiance to him and become British subjects. Moreover an innumerable English army commanded by **Sir David Ochterlony** had arrived from Dehlî, and encamped at **Lôdiânâ**. The Mahârâja being greatly perplexed, consulted his *amîrs*, and made preparations for resistance. Meanwhile the ambassador Mr. Metcalfe arrived with a friendly letter to inform Ranjît Singh, that all the Chiefs, Râjâs and Mahârâjâs of the region of Sarhand and the country round about had unanimously placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the British Government, which being desirous to remain on friendly terms requested him in future to consider the river **Satluj** as the frontier between his and the British dominions. After the ambassador had delivered this message, Ranjît Singh convoked his counsellors in *darbâr*. They were unwilling to cultivate the friendship of the English, but he was of the contrary opinion, and informed the ambassador to this effect. He therefore agreed to withdraw his troops from the Trans-Satluj districts of **Kôtlâ**, **Ambâlâ**, **Nârâyaṇgaḍh**, **Farîdkôṭ**, **Kaiṭhal**, **Paṭiâlâ**, **Nâbhâ** and **Jînd**, all of which were to be restored to their former owners. The treaty having been signed by the representatives of the two Governments, the evacuation of the said districts was forthwith begun.

After the Mahârâjâ had returned from Amritsar to **Lâhôr**, an envoy from **Sansâr Chand** called upon him to inform him that the **Nepâlîs**,

whom he had already on a former occasion expelled from the country of the just-mentioned chief, had again invaded it and were besieging him in the fort of **Kâṅgṛâ**, which he however now promised to cede to Ranjît Singh, if he would deliver him from his foes. Pleased with the offer, the Mahârâjâ immediately departed towards the mountains, and forthwith demanded the fulfilment of it, but Sansâr Chand demurred, alleging that he was afraid to abandon the fort whilst surrounded by the invaders. At last, however, he admitted Ranjît Singh, who then set about expelling them, and after they had been defeated they agreed never again to cross the boundary. After this victory the Râjâs of **Maṇḍî** and **Kuḷḷû** likewise paid homage to Ranjît Singh, acknowledging him as the sovereign of the mountains. He bestowed upon Sansâr Chand the town of Nâdaun in the Kâṅgṛâ District, and then departed to the *qasba* of Hariânâ in the Jâlandhar Dûâb, the chief of which however refused to make his appearance, and was accordingly deprived of his wealth. Then the Mahârâjâ proceeded to Amritsar, where he spent a couple of months near the temple of Râmdâs, and lastly went to Lâhôr.

24. Ranjît Singh at this period introduced the **English drill** into his army, but no mention is as yet made in this book of his French officers. He also appointed his **Dîwân Muhkam Chand** to be governor of the whole country between the Satluj and the Biyâs, and despatched his other **Dîwân, Bhawânî Dâs**, who was at his court, with abundant troops to conquer the mountain region of **Jammûû**, which exploit the said Dîwân accomplished in one month. Then the Mahârâjâ intended in person to join the troops, but he had scarcely crossed the Râvî and plunged into the desert, when he was overtaken by a courier with the news that **Jôdhâ Singh**, the rebellious chief of **Wazîrâbâd** ceased to live, and that having been a foe to the Mahârâjâ, the wealth of the deceased chief ought forthwith to be confiscated. He accordingly at once marched to the said town, subjugated it, and then departed with the same intention to Gujrât, which he subdued with the same facility, and conceived the idea of conquering all the localities belonging to **Sâḥib Singh**, whom he first pursued to the fort of Islâmgaḍh, but he escaped thence, and afterwards also from Jallâlpûr. Lastly Ranjît Singh besieged and took the **Kachhî**, from which region he despatched a brave officer, 'Atar Singh, to conquer the fort of Sâhiwâl and the town of Khushâb.

Whilst engaged in these conquests, Ranjît Singh received the intelligence that the unfornate **Shâh Zamân**, sovereign of Áfghânistân, having been deprived of his kingdom and afterwards even of his eye-sight,[14] had sought refuge in the dominions of the Mahârâjâ, and was now at Râwal Piṇḍî; moreover, that **Shâh Shujâ'a** had also been dethroned, become a fugitive, and likewise pleaded for hospitality. On the receipt of this news Ranjît Singh hastened to Râwal Piṇḍî, but when he pitched his camp near Ḥasan Abdâl, Shâh Shujâ'a met him in that locality. After receiving him in a friendly manner he assigned him Talambâ[15] for his place of residence, where he would be furnished with everything he required by the governor of the district, and might make his sojourn pleasant in every way.

Now Ranjît Singh despatched **Faqîr 'Azîzu'ddîn** with troops to **Bhimbar** to punish Sulṭân Jân the Governor, who at once submitted, but was nevertheless deprived of his wealth and thrown into prison, whereat the Mahârâjâ was highly pleased; but mercifully restored Sulṭân Jân to his former position, and then marched to Gang, a stronghold in the mountains, the garrison of which he compelled to surrender, by taking possession of the only source from which it could obtain water. Then the Mahârâja despatched Faqîr 'Azîzu'ddîn to **Palûl** with instructions to annihilate Bâgh Singh its chief if recalcitrant, and then to reduce to obedience all the rebels of the district of Wazîrâbâd by plundering them; and lastly to march to Lâhôr. After seeing these orders properly carried out, Ranjît Singh hastened to pay a visit to **Shâh Zamân**, who, hearing of his approach, went to meet him, and was cordially received. Then Ranjît Singh went to Lâhôr

[14] By his own brother Shah Maḥmûd, who succeeded him on the throne and kept him confined in the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr of Kâbul, but still feared him, and took this horrible means of ensuring his own safety.—*Târîkh Sulṭânî*, p. ١٧٩

[15] Talambâ is on the left bank of the Râvî, 30 miles in a straight line from its confluence with the Indus, and nearly 60 miles N. E. of Multân, a dependency of which it was at the time.

and afterwards held a *darbâr* in Amṛitsar, but whilst so engaged, the information arrived that **Buḍḍhâ Singh** had rebelled, and was unwilling to pay tribute, whereon the Mahârâjâ ordered the Dîwân Muhkam Chand to humble him forthwith, by ravaging his district till he submitted, which injunctions were the more easily carried out as Fatḥ Singh, the Mahârâjâ of Kapurthalâ, likewise joined his forces to those of the Dîwân, but not without devastating the country, and shedding much blood in taking the fort **Jâlandhar.** This victory was commemorated with great rejoicings and hospitalities, of which also Sir David Ochterlony partook, and on this occasion too, the wedding of **Kharak Singh,** the first born of the Mahârâja, was celebrated.

25. At this time Fatḥ Khân, who governed the district of Pêshâwar on behalf of the sovereign of Afghânistân, sent an envoy with presents to Ranjît Singh to inform him that **'Aṭâ Muḥammad,** governor of **Kashmîr,** had cast off his allegiance to the then ruler of Afghânistân, and had been joined by the fugitive **Shâh Shujâ'a** who hoped to recover his throne by his aid; but that the governor of Kashmîr might at once be reduced to obedience if the forces of Ranjît Singh were to co-operate with those of Fatḥ Khân and invade Kashmîr. Accordingly Ranjît Singh ordered his commander-in-chief Dîwân Muhkam Chand to march at once to Kashmîr; and when the latter reached the frontier Fatḥ Khân likewise arrived from the direction of Pêshâwar. However when they crossed the Pîr Pañjâl they found that all the chiefs and Râjas of the mountains had become unfriendly, and being unwilling to meet them had gone out of their way. When the united forces reached **Hîrapûr**[16] they first met with resistance, but defeated 'Aṭa Muḥammad, who thereupon retreated to the fort of Shêrgaḍh, which they beleaguered, and only took after they had occupied Śrînagar and established an Afghân administration. When the fort of Shêrgaḍh was taken, both 'Aṭâ Muḥammad and Shâh Shujâ'a became prisoners, and **Fatḥ Khân,** who hated them mortally, believed he had them in his grasp, but was disapppointed by Muhkam Chand, who took them under his protection. Whereon the Afghân general immediately despatched a courier to Ranjît Singh, with a request to order both these exalted prisoners to be given up to him. The question, however, being a knotty one the Maḥârâjâ did not wish to decide it hastily, and whilst considering what answer to send, a messenger arrived from Talambâ with presents from Shâh Bêgam, the spouse of Shâh Shujâ'a, who had taken up her residence in that town. The lady expressed her anxiety and requested the Mahârâja not to surrender Shâh Shujâ'a to his enemy, Fatḥ Khân, but to receive him at the court of Lâhôr, in which case she promised to present Ranjît Singh with the famous diamond, **Kôh-i-Nûr,** which she described as a gem of priceless value, and indeed a "mountain of light."[17] The Mahârâjâ, delighted with the offer, willingly granted the request, and meanwhile a letter arrived from 'Aṭâ Muḥammad, who likewise prayed not to be surrendered to Fatḥ Khân, desired to place his services entirely at the disposal of the Mahârâjâ, and offered him the fort of **Aṭak,** which was yet held by Jahândar Khân, a commandant whom he had himself appointed to it. Hereon the Mahârâjâ sent a very complimentary letter to Dîwân Muhkam Chand to thank him for what he had done, enjoining him to crush Fatḥ Khân altogether if he should offer further resistance, and then to bring Shâh Shujâ'a to Lâhôr with all due honour, to treat 'Aṭâ Muḥammad with the greatest consideration, and to make arrangements with him for taking possession of **Aṭak,** all of which the Dîvân promised to effect.

In due course of time the commander-in-chief, Dîwân Muhkam Chand arrived with the army in Lâhor, bringing also Shâh Shujâ'a who met with a friendly reception, and obtained a provision for his maintenance. Faqîr

[16] The first point across the pass in the Kashmîr Valley.

[17] This diamond had formerly been on the famous peacock throne, which Aurangzêb constructed, but when Nâdir Shâh after his conquest of Dehlî, took possession of the throne, and broke it up, the Kôh-i-Nûr could not be found. At last, however, the discovery was made through a woman of the harem of the vanquished emperor Muḥammad, that he had concealed it in his turban. Accordingly Nâdir Shâh one day politely offered him brotherhood by the usual ceremony of exchanging turbans on such an occasion, which the emperor could not refuse, and thus the diamond fell into the possession of Nâdir Shâh. When Shâh Zamân, who had obtained it, was a fugitive, he concealed the diamond in the chink of a wall, but Shâh Shujâ'a, who had recovered it, was compelled to send it to Ranjît Singh, and in the end it came into the possession of Her Majesty the Queen of England.

'Azîzu'ddîn having been despatched with troops to take possession of **Aṭak,** was received with demonstrations of submission by Jahândar Khân, who at once yielded, and a Sikh garrison having been quartered therein, its works were likewise repaired. The Mâhârâjâ was so pleased with this successful transaction that he made 'Aṭâ Muḥammad a present of a *lâkh* of rupees and a dress of honour. Ranjît Singh now bethought himself of the **Kôh-i-Nûr,** promised by the spouse of Shâh Shujâ'a, and desired to obtain possession of it. She had indeed joined her husband, but the "the mountain of light" was not forthcoming until the supplies were stopped, whereon Shâh Shujâ'a at last surrendered it.[18] This happy event Ranjît Singh celebrated with a great banquet.

The carousals of the Mahârâjâ had not yet come to an end, when a courier arrived with the information that **Fatḥ Khân** was besieging the fort of **Aṭak,** and that the garrison, being in great distress for food, expected reinforcements. Accordingly the Dîwân Muhkam Chand and Ghâzî Khân were immediately despatched at the head of numerous troops, and reached Aṭak by forced marches. The Sikhs found that the whole surrounding population sympathised with the besiegers, but it being the hot season, and almost unbearable to the Afghâns, accustomed to their cold mountain climate, they were defeated in the first engagement, chiefly because they suffered from burning thirst, which many hastened to quench in the river even during the battle. The siege having been abandoned, Muhkam Chand entered the fort without meeting an enemy, and after having abundantly provided the famishing garrison with food, returned with all the booty he had gained to Lâhôr, where the Mahârâjâ overwhelmed him with honours. Having made a vow to perform a pilgrimage to **Jwâlâmukhî** in the lower Himâlayas after the prosperous termination of the Afghân campaign, the Mahârâjâ now hastened to fulfil it. After performing his adorations to the goddess, replenishing her treasury, and spending large sums in alms, the Mahârâjâ determined ot surprise the ruler of **Kashmîr,** who was his enemy, and enrolling all the mountain chiefs to aid him with their forces, began the march. But it was autumn, and cold weather had set in, and on arriving near the Pîr Panjâl Pass, it was found to be blocked up with snow; therefore Ranjît Singh marched back to Lâhôr. It had been reported to the Mahârâja that **Shâh Shujâ'a** possessed a great deal of jewellery and precious stones, which he might be induced to part with, and messengers were at once sent with offers to purchase them, but he replied that being a poor exile he had nothing for sale and had already given away the priceless **Kôh-i-Nûr.** All excuses were, however, of no avail, and he was forcibly deprived of all his precious stones, which dastardly act exasperated and perhaps also frightened him, so that he planned and executed the flight of his harem. Our author, however, adds that after his harem had escaped, Shâh Shujâ'a was imprisoned, but succeeded in making during the night a hole in the wall of the room where he had been confined, and escaping from it walked on foot and in disguise to the British frontier, where he made himself known, and met with a kind reception.

(*To be continued.*)

[18] According to the *Târikh Sulṭâni* p. ۲۶۳—۲۰۵ Fatḥ Khân surrendered Shâh Shujâ'a to Muhkam Chand, who took him to Lâhôr where he was received with great honours by Ranjît Singh, who assigned to him for a residence the *ḥavêlî* of Sadâ Singh, and another *ḥavêlî* for his harem, but so that, if needed, intercourse between two residences could be interrupted. When Ranjît Singh demanded the Kôh-i-Nûr, Shâh Shujâ'a sent answer that it was not at hand just then, but would be forthcoming, as soon as a more intimate friendship could be established between him and the Mahârâjâ. The demand having several times been iterated and eluded by the same subterfuge, Ranjît Singh ceased to supply his guest with food and drink, and after keeping him for a month in great distress, offered him 50,000 Nânakshâhî rupees for the Kôh-i-Nûr. But now Shâh Shujâ'a insisted on a written bond of alliance, so Ranjît Singh had at once a document concocted, in which he swore by the Gurû Nânak and his *Granth*, that he would never cease to be the friend of Shâh Shujâ'a; whereon the latter gave up the famous diamond and Ranjît Singh withdrew the guards he had placed over the house of his guest, who was then again enabled to have intercourse with his harem. Some time afterwards Ranjît Singh marched to Pêshâwar, to attack Fatḥ Khân 'Âzim and compelled Shâh Shujâ'a to accompany him, although he suffered greatly from asthma. On returning to Lâhôr, Rânjît Singh left Shâh Shujâ'a at Râwal Pinḍî in charge of Râm Singh, who, with Kharak Singh carried off secretly all the bedding and furniture of Shâh Shujâ'a, robbing him likewise of some of his money; and on his taking them to task for what they had done, they gave evasive replies. At last Shâh Shujâ'a was taken to Lâhôr and there kept closely guarded, which indignity so disgusted him that he determined to fly, but being loth to do so without his family he hired a number of carts outside the town, and dressing his family in the costumes of the Indian women who frequented his harem, got them on four different occasions gradually conveyed out of town, under the escort of ten men each time, on the pretence of going to the river to bathe, as is the custom in Lâhôr, or for taking a walk outside the town. Thus all reached the carts and departed to Lôdiânâ, where Shâh Shujâ'a was sure of a friendly reception by the English.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. VIII.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Russian Imperial Archæological Society, edited by Baron V. R. Rosen, Vol. I., Part IV. (concluding the volume) St. Petersburg, 1887.

(*a*). *Accounts of the. Meetings of the Society. Meetings Nov.* 20 (*O. S.*), 1886, *and* 19 *Dec.* (*O. S.*) 1886.

Baron Tysenhausen informed the meeting that eleven numbers of the *Indian Antiquary* had been received in exchange for the *Transactions* of the Russian Archæological Society.

C. J. Chakhotin sent from Constantinople 12 coins, two of which are very interesting, one Byzantino-Arabian and another an Arabian coin of the 6th century of the *hijra.*

N. Ostrvoümov sent from Tashkand a song in the language of the **Sarts**, which will be printed in the *Transactions.*

V. Smirnov gave an account of the excavations he had caused to be made during the preceding summer in the Crimea. Count A. Bobriuski also gave an account of some excavations he had conducted in the Crimea in the village of Autka, near Yalta, and in Alushta. He also noticed some curious graves and human remains; some of the skulls being *mikrocephalic.*

(*b*). *Arabian Accounts of the Defeat of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes, by Alp-Arslân* (*continued*). Prof. W. Wright, of Cambridge, communicated to Baron Rosen a specimen of an interesting manuscript, recently acquired by the British Museum, but unknown till then. The MS. is a small octavo of 112 leaves. The author **Sadru'd-Dîn Abû'l-asan 'Alî**, lived at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, and the work was written after 590 A.H. (1194 A.D.). The extracts sent by Prof. Wright contain several accounts of expeditions of **Alp-Arslân** in Armenia and Georgia, which are not found in **Ibn-al-Aṣîr**. The account of the overthrow of **Diogenes** also gives some interesting details, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Wright will soon publish the whole manuscript.

(*c*). *The Oldest Chinese Coins, by S. Georgievski.* In the earliest times the shell *Cypræa*, cloth and silk, were used as means of exchange. This is shown by the characters which imply these ideas entering into many words signifying riches, &c. In dealing with strangers the Chinese used objects for money which they did not employ among themselves; thus the Mongol soldiers were sometimes paid in brick-tea! It is impossible to give full credence to the great mass of Chinese historical literature, because it is so mixed with fable and is inconsistent with itself. That the historical life of the Chinese did not begin with the epoch, Tsin-shi-khunan-li, and that the Great Wall, as it is called, was not their first architectural production is clear; but much destruction has gone on among their monuments. Their archæological writings are not trustworthy, but we may learn something from their coins; and the native books on Chinese Numismatology are as untrustworthy as those on history. The writer then proceeds to enumerate some early Chinese money, the article being illustrated with eleven plates, *viz.*—1. The coins of the Emperors Fu-si. 2. Sheu-nun. 3. Khuan-di. 4. Shaokhao. 5. Chuan-süi. 6. Yao. 7. Shun. 8. Üi and the dynasty Sya. 9. the dynasty Choŭ. 10. the territory (or district) Tsi. 11. the territory Tsüi.

The information given by Chinese Numismatists will only be of value when corroborated by discoveries of Chinese coins, which, it is to be hoped, Europeans will make in the country at some time or other.

(*d*). *Archæological Excursions in the Crimea in the Summer of* 1886, *by V. Smirnov.* The chief objects of the writer's visits was to examine documents in the **Tâtâr** language, but he also made notes on other points, as the country contains so much to arrest the attention. As the photographs ordinarily taken are only of objects likely to interest the general tourist the writer got a photographer, M. Babaev, of Theodosia, to accompany him into the interior to take those objects which struck him as worthy attention. He began with the fortress of Sudak, one of the oldest spots in the Crimea, celebrated for its past history, under the Venetians, Genoese, and Tâtârs. The gates of the fortress are important, and so is the so-called Iron-Tower. It received its name from the iron fastenings, which the other towers have not got. On the right is another tower called **Kiz-kullesi**, *i.e.* the Tower of the Maidens, said to be so called because women were kept there to be sold into slavery. Further to the right is another tower and behind it are the ruins of a church with Greek frescoes. The chief curiosity of Sudak is the building which is now an Armenian-Catholic church. A Latin inscription on the altar says: *In Christi nomine amen.* 1423 *die* 4 *Januari* (*hoc*) *opus fecit fieri Domius* (*sic*) *R. Catalanus. Christus Custodiat.* In 1475 the Turks turned the building into a mosque, but in 1783

it was turned by the Russians again into a Christian church. **Stary-krim** possesses a great quantity of **Tâtâr** monuments. Many of these have unfortunately been destroyed. One large mosque remains, that of **Usbaq.** There are also in Stary-krim the ruins of another large building of Tâtâr origin, called by the inhabitants "**Khânsarâi.**" The writer thinks the place was once a caravan-serai. There are also other ruins which are called among the people the "Jewish School," and are probably the remains of a Karaite synagogue. The present town of Stary-krim covers ground full of antiquities. Recently in laying down water-pipes they came upon the ruins of a bath with stoves, &c. The writer regrets that the antiquities of the place are not better preserved. About five versts from the town is an old **Armenian monastery,** built in the year 1338. There is a curious picture in it of late execution, in which knives and forks are introduced in the "Last Supper"!! The monastery is called that of the Holy Cross. On the road from Stary-krim to **Karasu Bâzâr** are some old Armenian churches. That at **Ortalân** is especially remarkable. At **Bakche-Iliu** is the house of the Murzas named Shirinski. This exhibits a specimen of ancient **Tâtâr** domestic architecture, which unfortunately is doomed by the proprietor to destruction. The writer also gives an account of the excavation of some graves. The article is accompanied by three photographs, *viz.*:—(1) The inscription on the mosque of Usbaq Khân at Starykrim. (2) Another view (the left side) of the same. (3) the Tâtâr house at Bakche-Iliu.

(*e*). *Additions and corrections to the Essay on the Nestorian Inscriptions in Semirechia* (*vide supra* p. 276,) by *Dr. Chwolson.* In this article the writer corrects some of his previous interpretations of the stones by the help of 180 new photographs. With the addition of the newly-received copies of the inscriptions, the number of them mounts up to **209 inscriptions,** as the writer says, from places where no such discovery could ever have been looked for, and belonging to a people, from whom up to the present time, no written memorial whatsoever had been handed down. The inscriptions range from 1226 to 1373 in date. The **Nestorian-Christian** settlement, as it appears, suffered very much during the two years in which the plague raged, 1338 and 1339; for no less than 37 inscriptions refer to these years. In a linguistic point of view these inscriptions exhibit much that is curious, and furnish valuable material for **Syriac** lexicography. In a palæographical point of view the inscriptions have great importance. Independently of our finding forms among them which are *not* met with in Syriac manuscripts, even of Nestorian origin, these inscriptions show us in what way the **Uighur** system of writing was developed out of the Syrian alphabet, and especially the alphabet of the Nestorians of those localities. The **Estrangelo writing** could never have developed itself straight from the old Syrian alphabet.

(*f*). *Supplement to the Essay on the Oldest Chinese Coins.* Here the writer gives references to several works on this subject—some by Englishmen, such as Dickinson, Williams, &c.

(*g*). *A Notice of the Coins belonging to S. Chakhotin, previously spoken of,* by *Tysenhausen.* Some of these are common and of but little importance; two, however, demand our attention. Of one of these this is the first specimen known, and the other although two specimens have been found, stands in need of further explanation. Unfortunately both coins are in a bad state of preservation, so that it is difficult to assign them to any known class. On one of them occurs the name **Addu'ddaula Sanjar,** which shows that the money was coined between 530-555 of the *hijra* Under this name the **Saljûq Sultân Sanjar,** son of **Malik Shâh,** is known, who ruled from 511 to 552. The second coin belonging to the 639th year of the *hijra* has been twice published, but the inscription incorrectly read.

(*h*). *A Notice of some other Coins sent by S. Chakhotin,* by Tysenhausen. Among the ten eastern coins newly sent the first place belongs to the unique copper coin, unfortunately badly preserved, belonging to the **Byazntine-Arabian** coinage of the first century of the Musalmân era, that is to say, the seventh according to our reckoning. (2). An **'Umayad** *dînâr* of the **Khalîfa 'Abdu'l-Malik,** in the eightieth year of the *hijra* (= 699-700 A.D.).(3). *Dirham* of the year 193 (= 808-809), struck at **Madînat-as-Salyâm.** A coin of the **'Abbâsî Khalîfa Hârûn-ar-Rashîd.** (4 and 5). Two little silver coins, very much rubbed, apparently **Saljûq**; at all events on one of them is read the name of the Saljûq Amîr **Kaiqubâd,** son of Kaikhusrav. (6). A silver coin with a bilingual inscription of the Armenian Tsar **Khetum I.** with a representation on one side of the Tsar on horseback, with a sceptre in his right hand, and an Armenian inscription; on the reverse an Arabic inscription on the sides "Coined at **Sîsa,** in the year 642 (?)" (= 1244-5). A coin of the **Ortaqîs, Qutbu'ddîn al-Ghâzî,** with a representation of the busts of two figures, coined in the year 577 (= 1181-2). (8). A copper coin of the **Ortaqîs, Nasîru'ddîn Ortaq Arslân,** year 620 (= 1223-4). (9). A copper coin of the **Ortaqîs,** the same ruler coined, it appears, in the year 611 (= 1214-5). (10). A beautiful specimen of

the copper coinage of the last but one of the Môsal Â'tâbaqs, Badru'ddîn Lûlû, of the year 656 A.H. (=1258). Two words on the fifth line of the inscription on this coin are still obscure. Lane-Poole's *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* is cited. Tysenhausen disagrees with those who see in the two words a further title given to Mangû Khân, and thinks that it is only the expression of a pious wish for the increase of his honours. A further note is added on the only specimen known of a silver coin of the last Môsal Âtâbaq Isma'il, son of the abovenamed Badru'd-dîn Lûlû; coined at Môsal in 660 A.H., and now preserved in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

(*i*). *A Specimen of Persian Humour, by V. Zhukovski.* It is a song, which the writer took down when at Isfahân, but he regrets that he was not able to get another of the same sort. It is made the more comic by being in the metre of the *Shâhnâma*, and is a satire on Persian boastfulness and swagger, thus:—

"I am that warrior, whose dagger in the day of battle makes a hole in transparent water!" The writer adds that about 20 years ago, as he is told, there was a little book of verses much circulated in Persia, the authorship of which was assigned to the well-known 'Abbâs Mirzâ, the son of Fatḥ Shâh. The poet declares that he is going to sweep the Russians (Urûs) from the face of the earth. The writer was not able to procure a copy of this work, which seems to have fallen into neglect, partly no doubt in consequence of the disasters experienced by the Persians in their wars.

(*j*). REVIEWS. (1). By *V. Nalivkin and M. Nalivkina:—Sketches of Female life among the inhabitants of Fargana.* A valuable work for making us acquainted with the mode of life of women in Central Asia from the cradle to the grave.

(2). *Translations of the Orthodox (Greek) Missions of Eastern Siberia, published by the Committee of the Society at Irkutsk.* Some of the articles are of general importance, *e.g.*, 'Remarks the Shamanism of the Buriats,' 'Buddhist Cosmogony,' 'Religious Beliefs, Family Rites and Sacrificial Offering of the Shamanist Buriats of the northern region of Lake Baikal,' Lamaism beyond Lake Baikal,' &c.

(3). *La Réforme monétaire en Egypte. Le Caire*, 1886. Founded chiefly on the labours of Marsden, Bernard, Lane-Poole, Rogers, &c.

(4). *Ignazio Guidi. Testi Orientali inediti sopra i sette dormisenti di Efeso* (The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus). *Roma*, 1885. The Greek text of this story, which is the earliest, was composed about the beginning of the sixth century. But the earliest version has not been found; the earliest known being that of Simeon Metaphrastes, who, in all probability, made considerable alterations in the story. The Syrian version exists in two recensions, of which the most ancient belongs to the sixth century. The Arabian versions are of two kinds, Arabo-Christian and Arabo-Musalmân. The Arabo-Christian version is supposed to belong to the eighth or ninth centuries. From this version comes the Ethiopic, belonging probably to the fifteenth century. The Armenian version comes perhaps from some Greek text more ancient than the composition of Metaphrastes. The reviewer winds up with the expression of a hope that some of the Arabo-Christian manuscripts in the Vatican, which have not been properly examined, may throw light upon early parts of Russian history.

(5). *Ein Buddhistischer Katechismus nach dem kanon der kirche des südlichen Indiens bearbeitet von Henry S. Olcott, Präsident der Theosophischen Gesellschaft! Leipzig*, 1885. This *Catechism* was first published in 1881, and had a remarkable success. In about three years 17,000 copies were circulated among the various schools and families of the Buddhists of Ceylon. In the year 1885 a Burmese edition of 15,000 copies was prepared both in the native language and in English. The same year the *Catechism* was published at Washington. In the following year, 1886, an excellent edition appeared in French at Paris, and now it has been translated into German!

(6). *Hunter's Gazetteer.—The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VI., 2nd Ed., London*, 1886. The reviewer praises the Essay on India, which is complete and conscientiously written. But some reference should have been made to H. Limmer's *Altindisches Leben, Die Kultur der vedischen Asien*, and R. Roth's *Die Todtenbestattung im Indischen Alterthum.* We get many curious details, *e.g.*, of the great development of the drama in modern India, &c. The work is inaccurate in thinking the date of Pâṇini settled, and Burnell was wrong in the period he fixed for the *Laws of Manu.* "The trifling deficiencies which we have found in the book of Mr. (Sir W. W.) Hunter, do not detract from its importance, and we part with it with an eager desire to meet it again soon in a Russian translation."

(7). *Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Contains articles in the German, French, English, and Italian languages. The Reviewer wishes all success to the new undertaking.[1]

W. R. MORFILL.

[1] [Noticed in these pages, *ante*, p. 112.—ED.]

BOOK NOTICE.

THE ABHIJNANA-SAKUNTÂLA OF KALIDASA, with the Commentary (Arthadyôtanikâ) of RAGHAVABHATTA, edited with explanatory English Notes and Various Readings by NARAYAN BALAKRISHNA GODABOLE, B.A., and KASINATHA PANDURANGA PARABA.—Second edition. Bombay: *Nirnaya-Sâgara Press.* 1886. pp. 8, 267, 75, 24.

The chief merit of Godabole's and Paraba's first edition of the Śâkuntala consisted in the publication of the commentary of Râghavabhaṭṭa; but the printed text of the play did not, in that edition, agree with the text commented upon by Râghavabhaṭṭa, though his readings were generally given in the notes. In this second edition the text has been made to agree with the commentary; and the commentary which formerly was printed separately at the end of the book has now been placed below the text. Thus, besides being more convenient for use, the book has a merit of its own, as giving the text of the Dêvanâgarî recension of the *Śâkuntala* as it was read by one of its commentators. It is to be desired that, in the same scholarly way, the commentaries of the other recensions, with *their* text of the play, should be edited. Not before this has been done can we form a correct idea of the relative merits of the different recensions, all of which, notwithstanding what has been said by different scholars in favour of one or the other recension, have been tampered with by those who thought it their duty to remove what they considered as blemishes.

If we were called upon to suggest an improvement for the next edition of this work, it would be this, that the orthography of the Prâkṛit portions should be made to agree more closely with rules which have been laid down by the Prâkṛit grammarians or may be inferred from the usage of the best MSS. In all native editions of Sanskṛit plays the different Prâkṛit idioms are mixed up with each other, less, of course, in those published by trained scholars, among whom the editors of the "Bombay Series" rank foremost, but in a very large degree in those brought out by men who look to pecuniary results rather than to scholarship. And even the best MSS. are not free from this fault. To begin with the Mahârâshṭrî, the language of the *Gâthâs*, the softening of dental surds is not allowed in this dialect; hence we ought to read, p. 137, *l.c.* लआंओ for लदाओ, p. 142, 2 सहावेइ for सहावेदि, p. 166, 3 पच्छिओ for पुच्छिदो. On page 189, l. 9, we ought to have जीविअ सच्चं for जीविद सत्तं, l. 10 चूअ for चूद; on page 12, l. 2 पमदाओ must be changed to पमंआओ, and ओदंसअंति to ओअंसअंति or ओदंसअंति, though the Comm. already had the wrong reading. Even wrong forms have crept into the text, *e.g.* 191, 8 गहीद is Saurasênî form; in Mahârâshṭrî it should be गहिअ; as required in our passage by the metre. In the same verse तुमं must be replaced by तं, for तुमं is against the metre. P. 101, l. 3, निग्घिण तवइ बलीअं; here the last word is a Sanskritism the Prâkṛit being बलिअं; therefore read निग्घिण तवेइ बलिअं. On the other hand, in Saurasênî, the common Prâkṛit of prose conversation, the surd dentals should be softened, and the soft ones retained. This rule has frequently been infringed that instances of wrong spellings might be adduced by the dozen. Again, in all Prâkṛits, म्पि for वि, च्च for अ, त्ति for त्ति, must be used after *anusvâra* and nowhere else. This rule also is frequently not observed in the edition under review. In Saurasênî, येव्व (or जेव्व) after *anusvâra* and य्येव्व (or ज्जेव्व) after short or shortened vowels, is the correct form for एव; the form एव्व should not be used. In the Mâgadhî passages of the 6th act the rules of the grammarians have sometimes been neglected; thus we find p. 183, l. 5, मच्छ for मश्च, अहके for हगे, p. 186, l. 1, पत्तहस्ये for पत्तहस्ते, l. 3, वेक्खिदशाशि for पेस्किदशाशि etc.

I cannot conclude this notice without entering a protest against Râo Bahâdur S. P. Paṇḍit's assertion, to which the editors of the work under notice, preface p. 2, emphatically subscribe, "that there is nothing in Kâlidâsa's works that renders the ordinary tradition assigning him to the age of Vikramâditya of the Saṁvat era untenable." It is a generally admitted fact that the Hôrâśâstra of the Hindus was borrowed by them from the Greeks and that Kâlidâsa was well acquainted with Greek astrology; for he even uses a Greek word जामित्र, i. e. διάμετρος, a word which has no etymology in Sanskṛit, but one fitting its denotation in Greek. Now in Greece astrology became a science, *i.e.* was reduced to a teachable system (the same which is adopted by the Indian writers), not before the second century A.D. Hence we must conclude that Kâlidâsa lived later than that epoch. Therefore, in the opinion of most Sanskritists, it is an exploded theory that Kâlidâsa lived before or about the beginning of our era; but whether the date, fixed upon by Prof. Max Müller, is to be adopted as the correct one, further discussion must decide.

HERMANN JACOBI.

Kiel.

MOUNT ABU STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHA.

[VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1342.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

THIS inscription, which I edit from a rubbing sent to me by Mr. Fleet, who obtained it from Kavirâj Śyâmal Dâs, was first brought to public notice in 1828, when in a paper entitled 'Sanskrit Inscriptions at Âbû,' and published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 284 ff., H. H. Wilson gave a kind of translation of it (*ib.* p. 292-298), from an evidently very inaccurate copy of the original Sanskrit text presented, together with a large number of other inscriptions from Âbû, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speirs, Political Agent at Sirohi. Afterwards, in 1860, the inscription has been again referred to, in the *Journal American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI. pp. 518 and 519, by F. E. Hall, in his notes on a Chêdi inscription of [Chêdi]-Saṁvat 907 (republished in the *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, p. 107), which gives the names of several princes mentioned in this inscription. From a copy of the original, supplied by Sir Henry Lawrence, Dr. Hall, in the notes alluded to, made known, not quite correctly, the original text of four and a half verses of the inscription, with an English translation of the same verses. And finally, in 1886, the inscription has been edited in full, with a Hindî translation, by Kavirâj Śyâmal Dâs, member of the state council of Mêwâḍ, and accompanied by an English translation prepared from the Hindî version by Munshi Râm Prasâd, in the *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. LV. Part I. pp. 48, 57, and 32. The Hindî version was, I understand, made from a Gujarâtî MS., and gives fairly the general sense of the original. The published Sanskrit text contains a number of minor mistakes, to which it is unnecessary to draw attention here in detail.

According to the information furnished by Kavirâj Śyâmal Dâs (*loc. cit.* p. 18), the inscription, which contains 48 lines, exists in a monastery adjoining the temple of Achalêśvara (Śiva) near Achalgaḍh on **Mount Âbû.** Its preservation appears to be perfect; and there are only three or four *aksharas*, specified below, which cannot be made out with certainty from the rubbing.—The **writing** covers a space of about 3′ broad by 2′ 7½″ high; and the **size** of the letters is about ⅜″.—The **characters** are Dêvanâgarî, of the kind found in Jain MSS. from Gujarât of the 13th or 14th century. They were written by Śubhachandra, and engraved by Karmasiṁha (verse 62).—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening *ôṁ ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya*, the word *kiṁcha* in line 4, and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses, the number of which is 62, were composed, as is stated in verse 60, by the Nâgar Brâhmaṇ Vêdaśarman of **Chitrakûṭa**, the Chitôr of the maps, who reports that he also had composed the eulogies in the famous temple of Chakrasvâmin (Vishṇu) at **Ekaliṅga.**[1] The versification is excellent; but, as regards the contents, the poem, from a literary point of view, is a poor one, and hardly repays the labour of translation. The author, knowing next to nothing of the princes whom it is his duty to eulogize, has recourse to the usual phrases, which mean very little, and to well-known plays on certain expressions; and he more than once repeats himself. The language is fluent and, with one or two exceptions, correct.—In respect of **orthography**, I may notice the employment of the sign for *kha* instead of the sign for *sha*, and *vice versâ*, in *sarvvaṁkakhaḥ*, line 7, for *sarvvaṁkashaḥ*; *mayûsha*, line 11, for *mayûkha*; *makhî*, line 24, for *mashî*; *lilêsha*, line 31, for *lilêkha*; *mûlaṁkakha*, line 32, for *mûlaṁkasha*; the use of the palatal for the dental sibilant, and *vice versâ*, in *sitimânam*, line 3, for *śitimânam*; *śachivaḥ*, line 13, for *sachivaḥ*; *śishêcha*, line 16, for *sishêcha*; and the non-observance of the rules of *saṁdhi* in *niḥpratyûha*, line 11, for *nishpratyûha*; *duḥkaraṁ*, line 44, for *dushkaraṁ*; and *asmin tapasyati*, line 43, for *asmiṁs=tapasyati*. The signs for *ba* and *va* are clearly distinguished; but in line 20 we have *bibhramaṁ* wrongly for *vibhramaṁ*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the prince **Samara**, or **Samarasiṁha**, of

[1] Near Udayapur (Oodeypur); Tod's *Râjasthân*, Vol. I. p. 222; *Journal, As. Soc. Bombay*, Vol. IX. p. XVI.

Mêdapâṭa, the modern **Mêwâḍ.** It is dated, in figures only, in the year 1342 (A.D. 1285), on the first day of the light half of the month Mârgaśîrsha. And it records the putting in repair, by the order of the prince, of a *maṭha* or monastery on **Mount Arbuda,** or **Âbû;** the establishment, in connection with the monastery, of a residence for four pious men, for the support of whom provision was made by the prince (verse 53); and the erection of a golden flagstaff in honour of Achalêśvara, (Śiva) 'the Lord of the Mountain' (verse 54).

The main value of the inscription lies in its furnishing the following list of the **Guhila** princes (verses 5 and 6) of **Mêwâḍ**:—

1. **Bappa,** or **Bappaka,** the founder of the family, is said to have had royalty conferred on him by the sage Hârîta, practising penance at the town **Nâgahrada**[2] (verses 7-11).
2. **Guhila** (v. 12).
3. **Bhôja** (v. 13).
4. **Śîla** (v. 14).
5. **Kâlabhôja** (v. 15).
6. **Bhartṛibhaṭa** (v. 16).
7. **Siṁha** (v. 17).
8. **Mahâyika**[3] (v. 18).
9. **Shuṁmâṇa**(v.19), or Shôṁmâṇa[4](v.37)
10. **Allaṭa** (v. 20).
11. **Naravâhana** (v. 21).
12. **Śaktikumâra** (v. 22).
13. **Śuchivarman** (v. 23).
14. **Naravarman** (v. 24).
15. **Kîrtivarman** (v. 25).
16. **Vairaṭa** (v. 26).
17. **Vairisiṁha** (v. 27).
18. **Vijayasiṁha** (verses 28 and 29).
19. **Arisiṁha** (verses 30 and 31).
20. **Chôḍa** (v. 32).
21. **Vikramasiṁha** (v. 33).
22. **Kshêmasiṁha** (verses 34 and 35).
23. **Sâmantasiṁha** (v. 36).
24. **Kumârasiṁha** (v. 37).
25. **Mathanasiṁha** (verses 38 and 39).
26. **Padmasiṁha** (verses 40 and 41).
27. **Jaitrasiṁha** (verses 42 and 43).
28. **Têjaḥsiṁha** (verses 44 and 45).
29. **Samarasiṁha** (verses 46—48).

In the case of ten of these princes (2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 13, 20, 21, 23, and 29) it is distinctly intimated in the inscription, that they were the sons of their respective predecessors.

Assuming that the allusion in verse 15, to the wars of 5, **Kâlabhôja,** with the rulers of **Chôḍa** and **Karṇâṭa** is put in merely for the sake of poetical ornament, nothing of historical importance is mentioned of any of the above princes excepting 24, Kumârasiṁha, 27, Jaitrasiṁha, and 29, Samarasiṁha. From verse 37, it appears that **Kumârasiṁha** reconquered the land of his predecessors, which had got into the possession of some enemy. Of **Jaitrasiṁha** it is stated, that he eradicated **Naḍûla,** defeated a **Turushka** army, and had engaged in battle with the **Sindhuka** (?)-army[5] (verses 42 and 43). And of **Samarasiṁha** we learn that he 'lifted the deeply sunk **Gûrjara**-land high out of the **Turushka**-sea' (v. 46), in other words, that he defeated the Muhammadans.

As regards **Kumârasiṁha,** I would merely draw attention to the fact that according to verse 38 of the inscription A, appended to Mr. Kâthavate's edition of the *Kîrtikaumudî*, a prince, **Sâmantasiṁha,** who probably was our No. 23, the predecessor of Kumârasiṁha, was defeated by **Prahlâdana,** lord of Âbû. **Naḍûla** I take to be the place Naḍûl or Naḍôl mentioned by Muhammadan writers[6], a ruler of which (*Naḍula-nâyaka*), according to the *Kîrtikaumudî* II. 69, was defeated by **Lavaṇaprasâda,** chief of Dhôlka. The allusion to a **Sindhuka** (?) army appears to point to the repulse, by **Jaitrasiṁha,** of some invasion from Sindh.

From the Chêdi inscription of [Chêdi]-Saṁvat 907, referred to at the beginning of this paper, we learn that the wife of the **Chêdi** prince **Gayakarṇa, Alhaṇadêvî,** whose benefactions are recorded in that inscription, was the daughter of **Vijayasiṁha,** born to him by his wife **Śyâmaladêvî,** 'the beauteous daughter of **Udayâditya,** supreme ruler of the realm of **Mâlava.**' The same inscription records that Vijayasiṁha was the son of **Vairisiṁha,** who again is stated to have been the son of **Haṁsapâla,** of

[2] 'Nâgda, still a place of religious resort, about ten miles north of Oodipur'; Tod, *loc. cit.* Vol. I. p. 222.

[3] See my note 71 on the translation, below.

[4] Usually called Khumâṇ or Khômâṇ.

[5] The original publication of the text has *Saṁdhaka*, translated by 'of the Sindhis.'

[6] See Sir H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II. *e.g.* p. 229; Elphinstone's *History of India*, ed. Cowell, p. 366; Tod's *Râjasthân*, Vol. I. p. 249.

'the race of the sons of **Gôbhila.**' That Vairisiṁha and Vijayasiṁha are the princes of the same name, 17 and 18 of our inscription, there can be no doubt. Regarding Haṁsapâla, I can only repeat Dr. Hall's note,[7] that 'he was also called Vairaṭa,' No. 16 of our inscription, 'unless Vairaṭa was his brother, or some other near relative.' Assuming that the initial point of the Chêdi era has been properly determined (of which as yet I entertain some doubts, because my calculation of the week-days of the hitherto discovered Chêdi inscriptions does not agree with that of Sir A. Cunningham), it would follow, that Vijayasiṁha must have ruled over Mêwâḍ some time during the first half of the 12th century A.D., about 150 years before Samarasiṁha, the 11th in succession from him.

TEXT.[8]

1 ‖ Ôṁ[9] ‖ Ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya ‖ Dhyân[10]-ânaṁda-parâḥ surâḥ kati kati Brahmâdayô=pi sva-saṁvêdyaṁ yasya mahaḥ sva-bhâ[va]-viśadaṁ kiṁchid=vidâṁ-ku-[rvva]tê । mâyâ-mukta-vapuḥ sva-saṁgata-bhav-âbhâva-pradaḥ prîtitô lôkânâm=Achalêśvaraḥ sa diśatu śrêyaḥ pra-

2 bhuḥ praty-ahaṁ ‖ 1 [‖*] Sargg-ârtthaṁ sva-tanuṁ hutâśam=aniśaṁ padm-âsanê juhvataḥ prâṇaiḥ prâjani nîla-lôhita-vapur=yô Viśva-mûrttêḥ purâ । dusht-âṁgushṭha-nakh-âṁkurêṇa haṭhatas=têjômayaṁ paṁchamaṁ chhinnaṁ dhâtṛi-śiraḥ kar-âmbuja-talê [bi]bhrat=sa vas=trâ-

3 yatâṁ ‖ 2 [‖*] Avyakt-âkshara-nirbhara-dhvani-japas=tyakt-ânya-karmma-śramaḥ svaṁ dêhât=si(śi)timânam=ujjhitu-manâ dân-âmbu-saṁvarddhitaḥ । yat-kumbh-âchala-gas=tapâṁsi vitanôty=ady=âpi bhṛiṁga-vrajaḥ pratyûh-âpagam-ônnatir=Gaja-mukhô dêvaḥ sa vô Sstu śriyê

4 ‖ 3 [‖*] Kiṁ-cha ‖ Kshubhyad-vâridhi dîryamâṇa-śikhari-śrêṇi bhramad-bhûtalaṁ truṭhya(ṭya)d-vyôma digaṁta-saṁhati-patad-brahmâṁḍa-bhâṁḍa-sthiti । kalp-âṁtasya viparyayê=pi jagatâm=udvêgam=uchchair=diśat=siṁdhôr=laṁghanam=adbhutaṁ Hanumataḥ pâyâd=apâyât=sataḥ ‖ 4 [‖*] Śâkh[11]-ôpaśâkh-â-

5 kulitaḥ su-parvvâ guṇ-ôchitaḥ patra-vibhûshit-âśaḥ । kṛit-âspadô mûrddhani bhû-dharâṇâṁ jayaty=udârô **Guhilasya** vaṁśaḥ ‖ 5 [‖*] Yad[12]=vaṁśô **Guhilasya** râja-bhagavan-Nârâyaṇaḥ kîrttyatê tat=satyaṁ katham=anyathâ nṛipatayas=taṁ saṁśrayaṁ[tê]tarâṁ । muktêḥ kalpita-[chê]ta-

6 saḥ kara-tala-vyâsakta-daṁḍ-ôj[j*]valâḥ prâṇa-trâṇa-dhiyaḥ śriyaḥ samudayair=nyast-âpaha[stâ]ḥ sadâ ‖ 6 [‖*] Mêdaḥ-klêda-bharêṇa durjjana-janasy=âplâvitaḥ saṁgarê dêśaḥ klêśa-kath-âpakarshaṇa-paṭur=yô **Bappakên**=ô[chcha]kaiḥ । lâvaṇy-ôtkara-nirjjit-âmara-pu-

7 raḥ śrî-**Mêdapâṭ**-âbhidhâm=âdhattê sma sa êsha śêsha-nagara-śrî-garvva-sarvvaṁkakha-(sha)ḥ ‖ 7 [‖*] Asti[13] **Nâgahradaṁ** nâma s-âyâmam=iha pattanaṁ । chakrê tapâṁsi Hârîta-râśir=yatra tapô-dhanaḥ ‖ 8 [‖*] Kê=pi[14] kv=âpi para-prabhâva-janitaiḥ puṇyair=havirbhir=vvibhuṁ prîṇaṁti [jva]lanaṁ hitâ-

8 ya jagatâṁ prârabdha-yâga-kramâḥ । anyê prâṇa-nirôdha-bôdhita-sukhâḥ paśyaṁti ch=âtma-sthitaṁ viśvaṁ sad=vijana-sthalîshu munayô yatr=âpta-tat[t*]v-ôdayâḥ ‖ 9 [‖*] Asminn=êva vanê tapasvini janê prâyaḥ skhalad-baṁdhanê vṛittâṁtaṁ bhuvanasya yôga-[na]ya[nai]ḥ[15] pratyakshataḥ paśyati । Hâ-

9 rîtaḥ Śiva-saṁgam=aṁga-vigamât=prâptaḥ sva-sêvâ-kṛitê **Bappâya** prathitâya siddhi-nilayô râjya-śriyaṁ dattavân ‖ 10 [‖*] Hârîtât=kila **Bappakô** Smhri-valaya-vyâjêna lêbhê mahaḥ kshâtraṁ dhâtṛi-nibhâd=vitîrya munayê brâhmyaṁ sva-sêvâ-chchha-

[7] *Journal American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI. p. 519.

[8] From the rubbing.

[9] This word is expressed by a symbol.

[10] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following three verses.

[11] Metre, Upajâti.

[12] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

[13] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[14] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following two verses.

[15] Originally *yôga-niyataḥ*; but I am almost certain, that *niyataḥ* has been changed to *nayanaiḥ*.

10 lât । êtê ऽdy=âpi mahîbhujaḥ kshiti-talê tad-vaṁśa-saṁbhûtayaḥ śôbhaṁtê sutarâm=upâtta-vapushaḥ kshâtrâ hi dharmmâ iva ॥ 11 [॥*] Bappakasya[16] tanayô naya-nêtâ saṁbabhûva nṛipatir=**Guhil**-âkhyaḥ । yasya nâma-kalitâṁ kila jâtiṁ

11 bhûbhujô dadhati tat-kula-jâtâḥ ॥ 12 [॥*] Yaḥ[17] pîyûsha-mayûsha(kha)-suṁdara-matir=vidyâ-sudh-âlaṁkṛitir=niḥ(sh)pratyûha-vinirjita-smara-[vapuḥ][18] prâkâmya-ramy-âkṛitiḥ । gâṁbhîry-ônnati-saṁbhṛitasya jaladhêr=vi[sphô][19]ṭit-âhaṁkṛitis=tasmâd=**Bhôja**-

12 narêśvaraḥ sa samabhût=saṁsêvita-Śrîpatiḥ ॥ 13 [॥*] **Sîlaḥ**[20] salîla-karavâla-karâla-pâṇir=bhêjê bhujêna tad-anu pratipaksha-lakshmîṁ । utsâha-bhâva-gamakam pulakaṁ dadhânô vîraḥ svayaṁ rasa iva sphuṭa-baddha-dêhaḥ ॥ 14 [॥*] **Chôḍa**[21]-strî-ra-

13 ti-khaṁḍanaḥ kula-nṛipa-śrêṇî-śirô-maṁḍanaḥ **Karṇṇâṭ**-êśvara-daṁḍanaḥ prabhu-kalâ-maitrî-manô-naṁdanaḥ । tat-sûnur=naya-marma-narmma-śa(sa)chivaḥ śrî-**Kâla-bhôjaḥ** kshamâpâlaḥ kâla-karâla-karkkaśa-dhanur-ddaṁḍa-prachaṁḍô ऽjani ॥ 15 [॥*] Chhâyâ-

14 bhir=vanitâḥ phalaiḥ su-manasaḥ sat-patra-puṁjair=diśaḥ śâkhâbhir=dvija-varggam=arggala-bhujaḥ kurvvan mudâm=âspadaṁ । tad-vaṁśa-prabal-âṁkurô ऽti-ruchiraḥ prâdur-babhûv=âvanîpâlô **Bhartṛibhaṭas**=trivishṭapa-tarôr=ggarvv-âbhiharttâ tataḥ ॥ 16 [॥*] Mushṭi[22]-pra-

15 mêya-madhyaḥ kapâṭa-vakshaḥ-sthalas=tad-anu । **Siṁhas**=trâsita-bhûdhara-matt-êbhô bhûpatir=jayati ॥ 17 [॥*] Taj-janmâ[23] sa **Mahâyikaḥ** sva-bhujayôḥ prâpt-aika-sâhâyikaḥ kshôṇî-bhâram=udâram=unnata-śirâ dhattê sma bhôg-îśvaraḥ । yat-krô-

16 dh-ânala-visphuliṁga-mahasi pratyarthinô ऽnarthinaḥ prâṁchat-paksha-parigrah-âkula-dhiyaḥ pêtuḥ pataṁgâ iva ॥ 18 [॥] **Shuṁmâṇasya** tataḥ prayâṇa-viyati kshôṇî-rajô-durddinê nistriṁś-âṁbudharaḥ śi(si)shêcha su-bhaṭân dhârâ-

17 jalair=uj[j*]valaiḥ । tan-nârî-kucha-kuṁkumâni jagaluś=chitrâṇi nêtr-âṁjanair=ity=âścharyam=ahô manaḥsu sudhiyâm=ady=âpi visphûrjati ॥ 19 [॥*] **Allaṭô**[24] ऽjani tataḥ kshitipâlaḥ saṁgarê ऽsukṛita-durjjaya-kâlaḥ । yasya vairi-pri-

18 tanâṁ karavâlaḥ krîḍay=aiva jayati sma karâlaḥ ॥ 20 [॥*] Udayati[25] sma tatô **Naravâhanaḥ** samiti-saṁhṛita-bhûpati-vâhanaḥ । vinaya-saṁchaya-sêvita-Śaṁkaraḥ sakala-vairi-janasya bhayaṁkaraḥ ॥ 21 [॥*] Vikrama[26]-vidhûta-viśva-pratibha-

19 ṭa-bhîtês=tatô guṇa-sphîtêḥ । kîrttis=târaka-jêtrî **Śakti[kumâra]sya** saṁjajñê ॥ 22 [॥*] Âsît[27]=tatô narapatiḥ **Śuchivarmma**-nâmâ yuddha-pradêśa-ripu-darśita-chaṁḍa-dhâmâ । uchchair-mahîdhara-śirahsu nivêśit-âṁhrêḥ Śaṁbhô-

20 r=Viśâkha iva vikrama-saṁbhṛita-śrîḥ ॥ 23[॥*] Svar[28]-llôkê Śuchivarmmaṇi sva-sukṛitaiḥ pauraṁdaraṁ bi(vi)bhramaṁ bibhrâṇê kala-kaṁṭha-kinnara-vadhû-saṁgîta-dôr-vikramê । mâdyan-mâra-vikâra-vairi-taruṇî-gaṁḍa-sthalî-pâṁḍurair=brahmâṁḍam **Na-**

21 **ravarmmaṇâ** dhavalitaṁ śubhrair=yaśôbhis=tataḥ ॥ 24 [॥*] Jâtê[29] sura-strî-pariraṁbha-saukhya-samutsukê śrî-Naravarmadêvê । raraksha bhûmîm=atha **Kîrttivarmmâ** narêśvaraḥ Śakra-samâna-dharmmâ ॥ 25 [॥*] Kâma[30]-kshâma-nikâma-tâpini tapê ऽmu-

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[16] Metre, Svâgatâ.
[17] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[18] I am very doubtful about these two *aksharas*.
[19] Originally *sphê*.
[20] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[21] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.
[22] Metre, Upagîti.
[23] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.
[24] Metre, Svâgatâ.
[25] Metre, Drutavilambita.
[26] Metre, Âryâ.
[27] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[28] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[29] Metre, Upajâti.
[30] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

22 shmin=nṛipê râgiṇi svaḥ-siṁdhôr=jjala-saṁplavê ramayati svar-llôka-vâmabhruvaḥ I dôr-daṁḍa-dvaya-bhagna-vairi-vasatiḥ kshôṇîśvarô **Vairaṭaś**=chakrê vikramataḥ sva-pîṭha-viluṭhan-mûrddhnaś=chiraṁ=dvêshiṇaḥ II 26 [II*] Tasminn[31]=uparatê râjñi nihi(ha)[32]t-âśêsha-vidvishi I **Vairisiṁ-**

23 **has**=tataś=chakrê nijaṁ nâm=ârthavad=bhuvi II 27 [II*] Vyûḍh-ôraskas=tanur=mmadhyê kshvêḍâ-kaṁpita-bhûdharaḥ I **Vijay-ôpapadaḥ Siṁhas**=tatô ऽri-kariṇô ऽvadhît II 28 [II*] Yan[33]=muktaṁ hṛiday-âṁgarâga-sahitaṁ gauratvam=êta[d*]-dvishan-nârîbhir=virahât=tatô=pi samabhût=kiṁ karṇikâra-

24 kramaḥ I dhattê yat-kusumaṁ tadîyam=uchitaṁ raktatvam=âbhyaṁtarê bâhyê piṁjaratâṁ cha kâraṇa-guṇa-grâm-ôpasaṁvarggaṇaṁ II 29 [II*] Tataḥ[34] pratâp-ânala-dagdha-vairi-kshitîśa-dhûm-âchchha-makhî(shî)-rasêna I nṛipô **ऽrisiṁhaḥ** sakalâsu dikshu lilê[kha] vîraḥ sva-yaśaḥ-praśastiṁ

25 II 30 [II*] Lôchaṇêshu[35] sumanas-taruṇînâm=aṁjanâni diśatâ yad=anêna I vâri-kalpitam=ahô bata chitraṁ kajjalaṁ hṛitam=arâti-vadhûnâṁ II 31 [II*] Nṛip[36]-ôttamâṁg-ôpala-kâṁti-kûṭa-prakâśit-âshṭâpada-pâda-pîṭhaḥ I abhûd=amushmâd=atha **Chôḍa**-nâmâ narêśva-

26 raḥ sûrya-samâna-dhâmâ II 32 [II*] Kuṁbhi[37]-kuṁbha-viluṭhat-karavâlaḥ saṁgarê vimukha-nirmita-kâlaḥ I tasya sûnur=atha **Vikramasiṁhô** vairi-vikrama-kathâṁ niramâthît II 33 [II*] Bhuja[38]-vîrya-vilâsêna sa[ma]st-ôddhṛita-kaṁṭakaḥ I chakrê bhuvi tataḥ kshêmaṁ **Kshê-**

27 **masiṁhô** narêśvaraḥ II 34 [II*] Raktaṁ[39] kiṁchin=nipîya pramada-parilasat-pâda-vinyâsa-mugdhâḥ kâṁtêbhyaḥ prêta-vadhvô dadati rasa-bhar-ôdgâra-mudrâ-kapâlaiḥ I pâyaṁ pâyaṁ tad=uchchair=mudita-sahacharî-hasta-vinyasta-pâtraṁ prîtâs=tê tê piśâ-

28 châḥ samara-bhuvi yaśô yasya saṁvyâharaṁti II 35 [II*] **Sâmaṁtasiṁha**[40]-nâmâ kâm-âdhika-sarva-suṁdara-śarîraḥ I bhûpâlô ऽjani tasmâd=apahṛita-sâmaṁta-sarvasvaḥ II 36 [II*] **Shômmâṇa**[41]-saṁtati-viyôga-vilaksha-lakshmîṁ [nê]t=â[tha] dṛi-

29 shṭa-virahâṁ **Guhil**-ânvayasya I râjanvatîṁ vasumatîm=akarôt=**Kumârasiṁhas**=tatô ripu-ga[tâ]m=apahṛitya bhûyaḥ II 37 [II*] Nâm[42]=âpi yasya jishṇôḥ para-bala-mathanêna s-ânvayaṁ jajñê I vikrama-vinîta-śatrur=nṛipatir=abhûn=**Matha-nasiṁ-**

30 **hô** ऽtha II 38 [II] Kôśa[43]-sthiti(ta)[44]ḥ pratibhaṭa-kshatajaṁ na bhuṁktê kôśaṁ na vairi-rudhirâṇi nipîyamânaḥ I saṁgrâma-sîmani punaḥ parirabhya yasya-pâṇiṁ dvi-saṁśrayam=avâpa phalaṁ kṛipâṇaḥ II 39 [II*] Śêsha[45]-niḥśêsha sârêṇa **Padma-**

31 **siṁhêna** bhûbhujâ I **Mêdapâṭa**-mahî paśchât=pâlitâ lâlit=âpi cha II 40 [II*] Vyâ-dîrṇṇa[46]-vairi-mada-siṁdhura-kuṁbha-kûṭa-nishṭh[y*]ûta-mauktika-maṇi-sphaṭa-varṇṇa-bhâjaḥ I yuddha-pradêśa-phalikâsu samullilêsha(kha) vidvân=ayaṁ sva-bhuja-vîra-ra[sa-pra]-

32 baṁdhân II 41 [II*] [**Naḍû**]la[47]-mûlaṁkakha(sha)-bâhu-lakshmîs=**Turushka**-sainy-ârṇṇava-**Kuṁbhayôniḥ** I [a]smin sur-âdhîśa-sahâsana-sthê raraksha bhûmim=atha **Jaitrasiṁhaḥ** II 42 [II] Ady[48]=âpi [**Siṁdhu**]ka-chamû-rudhir-âvamatta-saṁ-ghûrṇṇamâna-ramaṇî-pariraṁbhaṇêna I â-

[31] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.
[32] Perhaps corrected already in the original.
[33] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[34] Metre, Upêndravajrâ.
[35] Metre, Upêndravajrâ.
[36] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[37] Metre, Svâgatâ.
[38] Metre, Svâgatâ.
[39] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[40] Metre, Âryâ.
[41] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[42] Metre, Âryâ.
[43] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[44] Perhaps corrected already in the original.
[45] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[46] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[47] Metre, Upajâti. I am somewhat doubtful about the second akshara put in brackets.
[48] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.—I am doubtful about the two aksharas put in brackets after *Ady=âpi*. The writer originally wrote *rdha*; but he subsequently struck out *rd*, and added above the line, between the original *rd* and *dha*, an akshara which I take to be *siṁ*, and of which the consonant at any rate is clear; he also appears to have added the vowel *u* below the consonant of the second akshara.

33 namda-mamda-manasaḥ samarê piśâchâḥ śrî-Jaitrasiṁha-bhuja-vikramam=udgriṇaṁti ‖ 43 [‖*] Dhavalayati[49] sma yaśôbhiḥ puṇyair=bhû-maṁḍalaṁ tad-a[nu] ‖ vihit-âhita-nṛipa-śaṁkas=Têjaḥsiṁhô nir-âtaṁkaḥ ‖ 44 [‖ *] Uptaṁ[50]

34 mauktika-vîjam=uttama-bhuvi tyâgasya dân-âṁbubhiḥ siktvâ sad-guru-sâdhanêna nitarâm=âdâya puṇyaṁ phalaṁ ‖ râjñâ ऽnêna kṛishâṇa-kôṭim=aṭa[tâ] svairaṁ vigâhya śriyaḥ paśchât=kê=pi vivarddhitâ diśi diśi

35 sphârâ yaśô-râśayaḥ ‖ 45 [‖*] Âdya-krôḍa-vapuḥ kṛipâṇa-vilasad-daṁshṭṛ-âṁkurô yaḥ kshaṇân=magnâm=uddharati sma Gûrjara-mahîm=uchchais=Turushk-ârṇṇa-vât ‖ Têjaḥsiṁha-sutaḥ sa êsha Samaraḥ kshôṇîśvara-grâmaṇîr=âdhattê Bali-Karṇṇayôr=dhu-

36 râm=ilâ-gôlê vadânyô ऽdhunâ ‖ 46 [‖*] Tâlîbhiḥ sphuṭa-tûrya-tâla-rachanâ-saṁjîva-nîbhiḥ kara-dvaṁdv-ôpâtta-kabaṁdha-mugdha-śirasaḥ saṁnarttayaṁtaḥ priyâḥ ‖ ady=âpy=unmada-râkshasâs=tava yaśaḥ khaḍga-pratishṭhaṁ raṇê gâyaṁti prati-

37 paksha-śôṇita-madâs=Tejasvi-Siṁh-âtmaja ‖ 47 [‖*] Apramêya[51]-guṇa-gumpha-kôṭibhir=gâḍha-baddha-[vṛi]sha-vigrah-âkṛitêḥ ‖ kîrttyatê na sakalâ tava stutir=graṁ-tha-gaurava-bhayân=narêśvara ‖ 48 [‖*] Arbudô[52] vijayatê girir=u-

38 chchair=dêva-sêvita- kulâchala-ratnaṁ ‖ yatra shôḍaśa-vikâra-vipâkair=ujjhitô=kṛita ta-pâṁsi Vaśishṭhaḥ ‖ 49 [‖*] Klêś[53]-âvêśa-vimugdha-dâṁta-janayôḥ sad-bhukti-mukti-pradê Lakshmî-vêśmani puṇya-Jahnutanayâ-saṁ-

39 sargga-pût-âtmani ‖ prâpa prâg=Achalêśvaratvaṁ=achalê yasmin Bhavânî-patir=viśva-vyâpti-vibhâvya-sarvvagatayâ dêvaś=chalô=pi prabhuḥ ‖ 50 [‖*] Sarvva[54]-saumdarya-sârasya kô=pi puṁja iv=âdbhutaḥ ‖ ayaṁ yatra

40 maṭhas=tishṭhaty=anâdis=tâpas-ôchitaḥ ‖ 51 [‖*] Yatra[55] kv=âpi tapasvinaḥ su-charitâḥ kutr=âpi marttyâḥ kvachid=gîrvvâṇâḥ paramâtma-nirvṛitim=iva prâptâḥ ksha-ṇêshu trishu ‖ yasy=âdy-ôdgatim=Arbudêna sahitâṁ gâyaṁ-

41 ti paurâṇikâḥ saṁdhattê sa khalu kshaṇa-traya-mishât=trailôkya-lakshmîm=iha ‖ 52 [‖*] Jîrṇṇ-ôddhâram=akârayan=maṭham=imaṁ bhûmîśvara-grâmaṇîr=dêvaḥ śrî-Samaraḥ sva-bhâgya-vibhav-âdishṭô nija-śrêyasê ‖ kiṁ[ch=â]smi-

42 [n] param-âstikô narapatiś=chakrê chaturbhyaḥ kṛipâ-saṁślishṭaḥ śubha-bhôjana-sthitim=api prîtyâ munibhyas=tataḥ ‖ 53 [‖*] Achalêśa[56]-daṁḍam=uchchaiḥ sauvarṇṇaṁ Samara-bhûpâlaḥ ‖ âyur=vvâyu-chalâchalam=iha dṛishṭvâ kâra-yâm-âsa ‖ 54 [‖*]

43 Âsîd[57]=Bhâvâgni-nâm=êha sthân-âdhîśaḥ purâ maṭhê ‖ hêl-ônmûlita-saṁsâra-vîjaḥ pâśupatair=vrataiḥ ‖ 55 [‖*] Anyônya[58]-vaira-virahêṇa viśuddha-dêhâḥ snêh-ânubaṁdhi-hṛidayâḥ sa-dayâ janêshu ‖ asmin[59] tapasyati mṛigêṁ-

44 dra-gaj-âdayô=pi sat[t*]vâḥ samîkshita-vimôksha-vidhâyi-tat[t*]vâḥ ‖ 56 [‖*] Śi-shyas[60]=tasy=âyam=adhunâ naishṭhikô Bhâvaśaṁkaraḥ ‖ Śiva-sâyô(yu)[61]jya-lâ-bhâya kurutê duḥ(sh)karaṁ tapaḥ ‖ 57 [‖*] Phala[62]-kusuma-samṛi-

45 ddhiṁ sarvva-kâlaṁ [va]haṁtaḥ parama-niyama-nishṭhâṁ yasya bhûmîruhô ऽmî ‖ apara-muni-janêshu prâyaśaḥ sûchayaṁti skhalita-vishaya-vṛittêr=Arbudâdri-prasûtâḥ ‖ 58 [‖*] Râjñâ[63] Samarasiṁhêna Bhâvaśaṁka-

46 ra-śâsanât ‖ maṭhaḥ sauvarṇṇa-daṁḍêna sahitaḥ kâritô ऽrbudê ‖ 59 [‖*] Yô[64] ऽkârshîd=Ekaliṁga-tribhuvana-vidita-śrî- samâdhîśa - Chakrasvâmi - prâsâda - vṛiṁdê Priyapaṭu-tanayô Vêdaśarmmâ

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[48] Metre, Upagîti.

[49] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following two verses.

[51] Metre, Rathôddhatâ.

[52] Metre, Svâgatâ.

[53] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[54] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[55] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

[56] Metre, Upagîti.

[57] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[58] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[59] Read *asmiṁs=tapasyati.*

[60] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[61] Perhaps corrected already in the original.

[62] Metre, Mâlinî.

[63] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[64] Metre, Sragdharâ.

47 praśastîḥ ǀ tên=aish=âpi vyadhâyi sphuṭa-guṇa-viśadâ nâgara-jñâti-bhâjâ viprêṇ=âśêsha-vidvajjana-hṛidaya-harâ **Chitrakûṭa**-sthitêna ǁ 60[ǁ*] Yâvad[65]=Arbuda-mahîdhara-saṁgaṁ saṁbibhartti bhagavâ-

48 n=Achalêśaḥ ǀ tâvad=êva paṭhatâm=upajîvyâ sat-praśastir=iyam=astu kavînâṁ ǁ 61[ǁ*] Likhitâ[66] Śubhachaṁdrêṇa praśastir=iyam=uj[j*]valâ ǀ utkîrṇṇâ[67] Karmmasiṁhêna sûtradhârêṇa dhîmatâ ǁ [62 ǁ*] Saṁ 134[2] varshê Mârgga su di [1 praśastiḥ kṛitâ ǀ]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm !

Ôm ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1.)—May the mighty Lord of the Mountain day by day bestow happiness on the people !—he who in his pleasure grants freedom from worldly existence to those who resort to him, himself free from illusion; (*and*) whose splendour, by its nature pure, (*fully*) to be known (*only*) to himself, the several gods even, Brahman and the rest, devoted to the joy of meditation, apprehend imperfectly !

(V. 2.)—May (Rudra), whose body is dark-blue and purple, protect you !—he who was born of yore from (Brahman) whose body is the universe, when on his lotus-seat he was continually sacrificing, for the sake of creation, his vital airs to fire, his own body; (*and*) who carries on the palm of his lotus-hand that fifth resplendent head of the Creator, forcibly torn off by the sproutlike nail of his wicked thumb !

(V. 3.)—May the elephant-faced god (Gaṇêśa), the remover[68] of obstacles, bring you happiness !—he on whose mountain-like frontal globes the swarm of bees, feeding on the rutting-juice, desirous of ridding the body of its black colour, even now practises penances, humming prayers full of inarticulate sounds, (*and*) avoiding the fatigue of other rites !—Moreover,—

(V. 4.)—May Hanumat's marvellous feat of crossing the ocean protect the good from evil !—which, when the sea was heaving, (*and*) when mountain-ranges were torn up, (*and*) the earth was shaking, (*and*) when the heavens were falling asunder, (*and*) the frame of the whole creation was breaking down through the collapse of the quarters, intensely agitated the worlds, even though it was not the season for their destruction !

(V. 5.)—Triumphant is the noble race of **Guhila**, of which there are numerous branches and sub-branches, (*and*) excellent divisions; which delights in noble qualities, decorates the regions with its vehicles, (*and*) takes its place at the head of princes; (resembling the lofty bamboo, which is crowded with big and small branches, has beautiful joints, is fit for the bow-string, beautifies the regions with its leaves, and grows on the tops of mountains.)

(V. 6.)—That the race of **Guhila** is glorified to be the king, the holy **Nârâyaṇa**, is right; otherwise, how is it that princes eagerly resort to it, (*princes*) who, having set their minds on liberation, are radiant with the fines carried on the palms of their hands, (*and*) who, desirous of saving (*their*) lives, always have the backs of the hands weighed down with quantities of treasure, (resembling the devotees who, to attain final liberation, carry staves in their hands, preserve the lives of the creatures, and always spend their possessions in bestowing alms) ?

(V. 7.)—The territory, fit (*paṭu*) to remove the tale of distress, which by **Bappaka** was deeply inundated in battle with a mass of fat (*mêdas*) and the discharge from sores of wicked people,—this (*territory*) here, surpassing by the excess of its loveliness the town of the immortals, (*and*) completely humbling the pride in their beauty of all other towns, received the name of glorious **Mêdapâṭa**.

(V. 8.)—Here there is an extensive town, **Nâgahrada** by name, where a multitude[69] of Hârîta's disciples, rich in penance, performed penances.

(V. 9.)—Where, engaged in a series of sacrifices for the benefit of the worlds, in one

[65] Metre, Svâgatâ.

[66] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[67] From here up to the end the lower portion of the letters has been torn off in the rubbing.

[68] The word *unnati* in the text I take to be used in the sense of *utpatti*, *utpattisthâna*.

[69] Wilson may be right in regarding *râśi* to be 'the common epithet of a set of religious characters' (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 293, note); compare the names *Kêdâra-râśi*, etc. (*ib.* pp. 300, 301). In that case we should have to translate 'where Hârîta-râśi, rich,' etc.

place some gratify the mighty fire with the holy oblations which they have produced by their transcendent power; while in solitary spots other sages, having attained to the rising of truth, behold all that is as existing in the soul, betraying (*their*) delight by checking the breath.

(V. 10.)—While in this same grove the ascetics, almost freed from bonds, were perceiving with the eyes of contemplation, as if happening in their presence, the events of the world, Hârîta, the abode of perfection, having attained to union with Śiva through the relinquishment of his body, bestowed the splendour of royalty on the famous **Bappa**, on account of (*Bappa's*) devotion to him.

(V. 11.)—From Hârîta, resembling the Creator, **Bappaka**,[70] so the tale goes, obtained regal splendour in the guise of an anklet, after he had bestowed on the sage priestly (*splendour*) under the guise of his devotion. Even now these princes here, who are born in his race, are shining intensely on the surface of the earth, verily, like the regal duties in bodily form.

(V. 12.)—As Bappaka's son, was born the prince named **Guhila**, a master of policy; whose rank the princes hold that are born in his family, together indeed with his name.

(V. 13.)—From him was born that ruler of men, **Bhôja**, the devotee of (Vishṇu) the Lord of Fortune, who, having for his ornament the nectar of knowledge, had a mind beautiful like the rays of ambrosia; (*and*) who, of exceedingly lovely appearance, conquered without hindrance the beauty of the god of love; who crushed the pride of the ocean, endowed though (*the ocean*) is with both depth and elevation.

(V. 14.)—Thereupon **Śîla**, whose hand was formidable with the playful sword, appropriated by his arm the fortune of the adversary; having the hairs of his body erect, indicative of his energetic disposition, he was as it were the sentiment of valour itself embodied in visible form.

(V. 15.)—As his son, was born the protector of the earth, the illustrious **Kâlabhôja**; who put an end to the pleasure of love of the Chôḍa women; who was the ornament at the head of a line of high-born princes; who punished the ruler of **Karṇâṭa**, (*and*) delighted the mind with his lordly arts and friendly disposition; who was a councillor in the secrets of statecraft as well as in amusement; (*and*) who, terrific with his sword, bow, and mace, inspired fear like the god of death.

(V. 16.)—Then there appeared the protector of the earth, **Bhartṛibhaṭa**, an exceedingly pleasing mighty shoot of that race, who humbled the pride of the tree of paradise; endowed with arms like iron bars, he was causing joy to women by his features, to the well-disposed by rewards, to the regions by multitudes of excellent vehicles, to the tribe of the twice-born by (*the support of*) Vêdic schools, (as a bamboo-shoot delights women with its shade, flowers (?) with its fruit, the regions with masses of excellent leaves, and the swarm of birds with its branches).

(V. 17.)—Thereupon was victorious the lord of the earth **Siṁha**, whose waist could be spanned with the fist, (*and*) whose chest was like the panel of a door; he made the princes tremble, as the lion does infuriated elephants.

(V. 18.)—Born from him, that **Mahâyika**,[71] the ruler of kings,—bore (like the lord of serpents) with uplifted head the weighty burden of the earth, having his two arms for his sole companions; into the sparkling blaze of the fire of whose anger adversaries fell, against their will, having their minds confounded by the capture of their yielding adherents, like moths (confounded by the seizure of their moving wings).

(V. 19.)—That afterwards the sword of **Shuṁmâṇa**, on expeditions enveloped in the dust of the earth, should have covered the (*hostile*) combatants with the rays of its edge, as in the darkish sky a cloud pours down its streams of water, (*and*) that (*at the same time*) the saffron should have run down from the breasts of their wives, variegated by the collyrium of their eyes,—this marvel, oh, even now rises up in the minds of the thoughtful.

(V. 20.)—From him was born the protector of the earth, **Allaṭa**, who imitated the invincible god of death in battle; whose terrific sword in very play defeated the army of the enemy.

[70] Compare the curious and somewhat disgusting story Tod, Râjasthân, Vol. I. p. 226.

[71] In the two previous translations the name of this prince has been taken to be 'Samahâyika.'

(V. 21.)—Then there arose **Naravâhana**, who in battle annihilated the forces of princes; who with profound humility served Śaṁkara, (*and*) inspired with fear all his enemies.

(V. 22.)—Then there rose the fame, surpassing (*in brilliancy*) the stars, of the abundance of the excellencies of **Saktikumâra**, who by his valour had scattered the fear from every adversary,—(fame like that of Kumâra, the conqueror of Târaka).[12]

(V. 23.)—To him, who had put down his foot on the heads of great princes, was born the lord of men named **Suchivarman**, who showed his fierce might to his enemies on the battle-fields, (*and*) whose majesty was enhanced by his valour; as Viśâkha was born to Śambhu, who places his feet on the tops of high mountains.

(V. 24.)—Afterwards, when through his good deeds Śuchivarman in the world of heaven was possessed of Indra's loveliness, having the valour of his arm sung by sweet-voiced Kiṁnara women, the universe was by **Naravarman** irradiated with his resplendent fame, white like the cheeks of the young wives of his enemies, whose passion of love had turned into despair.

(V. 25.)—When the illustrious Naravarmadêva had become eager to enjoy the embraces of celestial damsels, then the ruler of men **Kîrtivarman** protected the earth, (*a ruler*) whose nature was equal to Indra's.

(V. 26.)—When that prince, a sun exceedingly scorching those emaciated with love, full of passion, was delighting the beautiful-eyed women of the world of heaven in the surging waters of the river of heaven, then the ruler of the earth, **Vairaṭa**, having destroyed with his two massive arms the habitations of his enemies, by his valour made the adversaries for a long time lay down their heads on his foot-stool.

(V. 27.)—When that king, who had slain all his adversaries, was no more, then **Vairisiṁha**, 'the lion of the enemies,' made his name full of meaning the earth over.

(V. 28.)—After him, **Vijayasiṁha**, 'the lion of victory,' broad-chested (*and*) slender of waist, slew his enemies, causing the princes to tremble by his battle-cry, as a lion, who shakes the mountains by his roaring, kills the elephants.

(V. 29.)—That the wives of his adversaries in their desolation lost their reddish complexion together with the (*yellow*) sandal-paste of their breasts,—is it hence, perhaps, that the Karṇikâra has received its peculiarity? (*the Karṇikâra*) whose flower within has the reddish tint that used to be theirs, and without the yellowish colour (*of the sandal-paste*)—a combination of excellencies suitable to their causes?

(V. 30.)—Then the prince **Arisiṁha**, the hero, inscribed the eulogium of his fame on all quarters, with a clear ink consisting of the smoke (*rising*) from hostile monarchs burnt by the fire of his prowess.

(V. 31.)—Oh, wonderful indeed it is, that, while causing the young damsels of the gods[13] to apply collyrium to their eyes, he took away the collyrium (*from the eyes*) of the wives of his enemies, mixed with the water (*of their tears*).

(V. 32.)—From him then was born the ruler of men, named **Chôḍa**, whose foot-stool was illuminated by the magnificent lustre of the heads of princes, (*and*) whose brilliancy (*therefore*) resembled that of the sun, the rays of which rest on Kailâsa, illuminated by the excessive lustre of precious stones.

(V. 33.)—Then his son **Vikramasiṁha**, 'the lion of valour,' whose sword fell down on the frontal globes of the elephants, (*and*) who caused the death of the opponents in battle, put an end to the tale of the valour of his enemies.

(V. 34.)—After him the ruler of men, **Kshêmasiṁha**, 'the lion of prosperity,' established prosperity on the earth, having completely eradicated (like thorns) the seditious people, by the play of the strength of his arm.

(V. 35.)—On the battle-field the wives of goblins, charming as they put down their

[12] The above is not a literal translation, but the mythological fact stated is no doubt alluded to in the verse.

[13] The word *sumanas*, translated by 'gods,' also means 'well-disposed, benevolent,' and is thus opposed to *arâti* in the second half of the verse. The celestial damsels decorate themselves to receive the warriors slain in battle.

madly dancing feet, after they have drunk a little, offer the blood to their lovers in skulls full to (?) overflowing with the mass of the liquid; (*and*) the various goblins, having again and again drunk it from the cups held by the hands of their joyous mates, full of delight loudly proclaim the fame of that (*prince*).

(V. 36.)—From him was born the protector of the earth, named **Sâmantasiṁha**, 'the lion of neighbouring princes,' whose body in every way was more beautiful than that of the god of love, (*and*) who took away the possessions of neighbouring princes.

(V. 37.)—Afterwards, winning (*again*) Fortune who was embarrassed by her separation from the lineage of **Shômmâṇa**, (*and*) who clearly was pining for the **Guhila** family, **Kumârasiṁha** made the earth possessed of a good king, having taken it away again from the possession of the enemy.

(V. 38.)—Then there came the lord of men **Mathanasiṁha**, 'the crushing lion,' who chastised his enemies by his valour, (*and*) of whom, the victorious, even the name became significant, inasmuch as he crushed the hostile forces.

(V. 39.)—(*A sword*) sheathed in the scabbard does not taste the blood of adversaries, (*and*) when drinking the blood of the enemies, it has no scabbard; but when the sword was grasped by *his* hand on the battle-field, it obtained a two-fold enjoyment (drinking as it was the blood of the enemy, and at the same time taking possession of his treasure).[74]

(V. 40.)—Afterwards the country of **Mêdapâṭa** was protected, as well as tenderly cherished, by the prince **Padmasiṁha**, who was the complete essence of all the rest.

(V. 41.)—On the tablets of the battle-fields this learned (*prince*) wrote down the narratives of the heroism of his arm in clear letters, which were the jewels ejected from the cleft high frontal globes of the infuriated elephants of the enemy.

(V. 42.)—Afterwards, when he was occupying the same seat with the lord of the gods, **Jaitrasiṁha** protected the earth, the fortune of whose arm completely eradicated **Naḍûla**, (*and who proved*) a very Agastya[75] to the sea of the **Turushka** army.

(V. 43.)—Even now goblins loudly sing in battle the valour of the arm of the illustrious Jaitrasiṁha, having their minds ecstatic with pleasure caused by the embrace of their mistresses who are tottering about intoxicated with the blood of the **Sindhuka** (?) army.

(V. 44.)—After him **Têjaḥsiṁha** whitened the orb of the earth with his pure fame, inspiring with anxiety the hostile princes, (*himself*) free from fear.

(V. 45.)—This king, having sprinkled the seed of salvation, which he had sown on an excellent field, with the water (*poured out when making*) gifts of liberality,[76] having through the agency of a good preceptor abundantly reaped the fruit consisting in religious merit,—when, dwelling among a crore of cultivators, he had to his heart's content enjoyed every kind of fortune, afterwards stored up in every quarter some extensive piles of fame.

(V. 46.)—Now **Samara**, the son of Têjaḥsiṁha, the foremost among the rulers of the earth, munificent as he is, is performing the part of Bali and of Karṇa here on the orb of the earth; this (*prince*) who like unto the primeval boar, having the sword for his flashing tusk, in a moment lifted the deeply sunk **Gûrjara**-land high out of the **Turushka**-sea.

(V. 47.)—Even now, O son of the Resplendent Lion, demons, intoxicated with the liquor of the blood of the enemies, sing the fame acquired by thy sword in battle; causing their mistresses, whose heads are charming with the headless corpses which they have taken up with their hands, to dance to the clapping of hands which revives the clear melody of musical instruments.

(V. 48.)—Your form being firmly encircled, as with strings, with innumerable crores of

74 The word *kôśa* means both 'the scabbard of a sword' and 'a treasury' or 'treasure.' The Pass. Partic. *nipîyamânaḥ* in the original appears to have been used in the sense of the Act. Partic. *nipiban*. Or *nipîyamânaḥ* may be a mistake of the engraver, for the Pass. Partic. of the Pass. of the Causal *nipâyyamânaḥ* 'when made to drink' the blood, etc.

75 Agastya, 'the pitcher-born,' is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

76 In the first line there is some allusion to the battle-field; the seed sown there consists in the pearls dropped down from the frontal globes of slain elephants, and the water with which that seed is sprinkled is the rutting juice of other elephants.

excellencies, like the body of the Bull (Virtue), all your praise is not proclaimed (*here*), O ruler of men, from fear lest our song should become too lengthy.

(V. 49.)—Supremely triumphant is **Mount Arbuda**, the jewel among the mountain-ranges frequented by the gods; where Vaśishṭha, freed from the consequences of the sixteen productions,[77] performed penance.

(V. 50.)—On this mountain, which to people bewildered by the approach of affliction and to those curbing the passions offers the enjoyment of good things and salvation, the habitation of Lakshmî, purified by the contact with (Gaṅgâ), the holy daughter of Jahnu,—here the mighty god (Śiva), the husband of Bhavânî, became in former days the Lord of the Immoveable (mountain), though moveable (*himself*) through his going everywhere, which may be perceived from his pervading the universe.

(V. 51.)—Where there stands this monastery fit for ascetics, which had no beginning, some marvellous accumulation, as it were, of the essence of all beauty.

(V. 52.)—This (*monastery*), where in one place ascetics, in another mortals of good conduct, (*and*) elsewhere gods, in three moments have obtained the beatitude as it were of the Supreme Spirit, (*and*) whose primeval origin, together with Arbuda, the reciters of Purâṇas are singing of,—this (*monastery*) verily combines here the fortune of the three worlds, in the guise of (*those*) three moments (?).[78]

(V. 53.)—Induced by the wealth of his possessions, the king, the illustrious **Samara**, the foremost among the rulers of the earth, to secure his own felicity caused this monastery to be repaired;[79] moreover, truly pious, the prince, full of compassion, in his kindness also established here a residence, where choice food is provided, for four sages.

(V. 54.)—The protector of the earth, **Samara**, having observed that life is unsteady like the wind, caused a golden flag-staff to be erected here for the Lord of the Mountain.

(V. 55.)—In this monastery there was formerly a chief of the place, by name Bhâvâgni, who by the vows of Paśupati (Śiva) had with ease eradicated the seed of the world.

(V. 56.)—While he was engaged in penance, even the lions, elephants, and the other beasts kept their bodies pure through the absence of mutual enmity, (*and*), their hearts being filled with love, they felt compassion for the people, having perceived the truth which causes final liberation.

(V. 57.)—Now a pupil of his, **Bhâvaśaṁkara**, a perpetual religious student, is performing here arduous penance, to obtain absorption into Śiva.

(V. 58.)—Those trees which grow on Mount Arbuda, at all times bearing a wealth of fruit and flowers, make known, one may say, amongst other sages the attachment of that (*sage*), who is getting rid of the bonds of the outer world, to severe austerities.

(V. 59.)—By the advice of **Bhâvaśaṁkara** has king **Samarasiṁha** ordered the monastery, together with the golden flag-staff, to be built on **Arbuda**.

(V. 60.)—The Brâhmaṇ **Vêdaśarman**, son of Priyapaṭu, who owns the **Nâgaras** for his kinsmen (*and*) resides at **Chitrakûṭa**,—who composed the eulogies at the multitude of temples, famous in the three worlds, of the holy Chakrasvâmin (Vishṇu), the lord of meditation, at **Ekaliṅga**,—he also composed this (*eulogy*), beautiful because of the excellencies clearly displayed (*in it, and*) captivating the minds of all learned people.

(V. 61.)—As long as the holy Lord of the Mountain keeps up his attachment to Mount Arbuda, so long may this excellent eulogy afford a livelihood to the poets reciting it!

(V. 62.)—This splendid eulogy was written by Śubhachandra; engraved it was by the intelligent artizan Karmasiṁha.

The eulogy was composed in the year **1342**, on the first day of the light half of Mârgaśîrsha.

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[77] See *Sâṅkhya-kârikâ*, in Davies' *Hindu Philosophy*, p. 17; and pp. 20 and 21: 'From these primary essences proceed the five gross elements' [ether, air, earth, light or fire, and water]. 'From consciousness proceed also the five organs of sense, which are the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin; and the five organs of action, the voice, the hands, the feet, the anus, and the organs of generation. Lastly, it produces the manas which is the receptive and discriminating faculty.'

[78] I am not quite certain that the word *kshaṇa* of the original has here its ordinary meaning.

[79] The original has the substantive *jîrṇôddhâra*, instead of the adjective *jîrṇôddhṛita*.

A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

By J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from Vol.* XV. *p.* 353.)

No. 3.—THE BEDAS OF HALAGALI.

This ballad, the scene of which is laid at the village of Halagali, belonging to the Mudhôḷ State, in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, relates to the general disarming measures that were enforced in the British Districts, and Native States under Political Superintendence, in consequence of the Mutiny of 1857.

After the passing of the Disarming Act, No. XXVIII. of 1857, "An Act relating to the importation, manufacture, and sale of Arms and Ammunition, and for regulating the right to keep or use the same," the East India Company,—the *Kumpaṇi-sarkâr* of the opening verse of the song,—issued orders for the confiscation of all weapons of every description, possessed by the populace at large. This, of course, was a great blow to the people, who were not even yet fully accustomed to the security of the British rule. Still, nearly everywhere the orders were carried out, and the desired end was attained, peaceably enough. The Mudhôḷ State itself had taken no part in the mutiny; and remained loyal on the present occasion also. But, incited by the four men, Pûjâri-Haṇama, Bâla, Jaḍaga, and Râma, who are mentioned in the song, the Bêḍas of Halagali, a village in that State, refused to surrender their arms, and raised a small local rebellion.[1] The Bêḍas, it may be mentioned, are professional hunters; they live by the chase, and, more than any other class, would resent the measures that were being enforced; they are of a low caste, and mostly of a turbulent disposition; and the majority of them are always ready to join in such crimes as dacoity and highway robbery, and in any mischief that may be afoot. The Bêḍas of the village in question first refused to surrender their arms in the usual manner, through the authorities of the Mudhôḷ State; and resisted with violence the subordinates who were sent to enforce the orders. The facts were then reported to the Political Agent for the State, who, if the song is to be relied on, first tried conciliatory measures, by despatching a man of considerable local influence, the *Gauḍa* or *Pâṭîl* Kṛishṇanâyaka of a neighbouring village, Kundargi, to speak to the insurgents and bring them to their senses.

This attempt failed. An endeavour was then made to compel obedience by means of the Mounted Police. This step also was unsuccessful; and the Mounted Police were fired on and compelled to retreat. No resource then remained, except to despatch a detachment of the regular forces. Accordingly, a party of the Southern Marâṭhâ Horse, and a Company of the 28th Regiment, Bombay N. I, were sent to Halagali; the former being accompanied by the Adjutant, Lieut. William Alexander Kerr, (24th Bombay N. I.),—the "fire-brand" *Kâr-sâhêb* of the song. And with this force there went, in a Political capacity, Mr. William Henry Havelock, of the Bombay Civil Service, —the *Hebalak-sâhêb* of the song,—who then held the post of First Assistant to the Collector and District Magistrate of Belgaum; and who made one more effort to induce the Bêḍas to submit quietly, without necessitating the adoption of extreme measures. His endeavours, however, were frustrated by the ringleaders of the disturbance; and he was fired at, and apparently was wounded.[2] A regular assault was then made; and, with a small loss on the part of the Bêḍas, and a few wounded on the British side, the village was taken, and was burned as a punishment and an example.

TRANSLATION.

Chorus.—See now! Hard times have come on those who carry arms! (*Even*) the heroes of Halagali, high-spirited men (*though they are*), failed to attain their ends![3]

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[1] For a brief notice of the affair, see West's *Memoir of the States of the Southern Marâṭhâ Country* (Selections from the Bombay Government Records, New Series, No. CXIII.) p. 160.

[2] The song says he was killed. This, however, is a piece of exaggeration; evidently for the purpose of increasing the reputed powers of the insurgents. He continued in the service up to the 1st November, 1876; when he died from typo-remittent fever, contracted during a tour in the Rains, when, as Revenue and Police Commissioner of the Southern Division, he was superintending measures for mitigating the effects of the Famine that was then commencing.—It need hardly be said that the epithets applied to him by Jaḍaga in the song, are quite unmerited.

[3] *lit.* "did not reach the shore."

THE BEDAS OF HALAGALI.

(Air of the Chorus.)

Hot - tu ban - di - tu mat - ta no - da - ri

kat - ti hi - du - wa ja - na - ka sit - ti - na man - di

bhan-ta-ra Ha-la-ga-li mut-ta-lil - la da-da - ka

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

First Verse.—**From Europe the Company's Government sent out an order** :—"Call together all the people, and by force take away (*their*) weapons;—the straight swords, daggers, hand-knives, crooked swords, short broad-swords, curved swords, (*and*) *disci*, the lances, short spears, (*and*) naked-swords; (*and*) look to those who carry arrows and bows; the long flexible broad-swords, pistols, *karulis*,[4] curved broad-swords, (*and*) pole-axes; the cannons, *and*) guns; (*and*) leave not any remnant of the gunpowder (*and*) bullets for firing, (*and*) the knives. Those who conceal (*their arms*),—put (*them*) in fetters for three full years; (*and*) cut to pieces those who are obstinate enough to refuse (*outright*) to give (*them*) up. (With a change of metre),[5]—(*Supposing that*), directly the demand is made, they themselves bring and give (*them*) up, saying 'take (*them*), take (*them*),'—say 'for each one we give (*in exchange*) a hereditary property;'[6] (*and then*) of their own free will they (*will*) bring and give (*them*) up."

Then they made a proclamation by beat of drum, to the effect that these orders had come. The brave soldiers, understanding (*it*), are weeping, with eyes full of tears. (Raising the voice),[7]—Full of anxiety, in sorrow they fell, O my brother! to the ground.

Second Verse.—Directly they heard the order, some of them brought (*their weapons*), and gave (*them*) up then and there; (*but*) they concealed in hidden places (*their*) choice weapons of great value; saying—"incurring debt, (*and*) selling (*our*) grain and calves, we bought (*them*) at some festival; see now! how shall we give (*them*) up?"—they buried (*them*) in the ground.

The brave soldiery, (*and*) the Chief Constable,[8] then came, (*and*), entering into the houses, searched in (*all*) the cracks and crevices, so that not one remained.

"The last hope is gone; what more can we do?,"—said they; (*and*) they gave information, one against the other, so as to gratify (*their*) private enmities.

(With a change of metre),—A clean sweep was made, and all (*their weapons*) were carried away; in the whole country-side, not one remained! The pistols which (*their*) grandfathers and great-grandfathers had carried,—they seized and took away; (*and their*) swords and bucklers. (*Their*) coats of mail, decorated with silver and velvet; and (*their*) jewelled sword-hilts,—all were lost!

(Raising the voice),—By reason of the loss of (*their*) weapons, (*their*) bellies were full of pain; they waited to die!

Third Verse.—"Has it not happened to us, just as if a snake had bitten (*us*) with (*its*) teeth?; our honour is lost, just as if we were walking about, clad in widows' weeds; is it not as if we have all become effeminate, and given up (*to others*) the wives (*who sleep*) by (*our*) sides?; is it not as if (*we*) had decorated a dead corpse?" Were not the rich men in great anxiety?, saying—"our lives are lost; there is no one to save (*us*), if (*thieves*) break into (*our*) houses in the day-time and take (*our*) money." The brave chieftains, the princes, (*and*) the ministers, could not maintain (*their*) determination (*of not giving up their weapons*); did not the nobles, who lead the armies, (*and*) the wealthy men of position, crouch down in fear?

(With a change of metre),—The gods brought trouble (*upon them*); falling into anxiety, they were destroyed; not the smallest particle[9] of (*their*) authority remained; an evil time and much misery, had come. Becoming women, (*and*) wearing the garments of females, with parched-up lips they raised loud shouts. The sportive play of the women was at an end; great trouble had come to the heroes.

(Raising the voice),—They all felt anxiety in (*their*) minds, like birds whose wings have been plucked out.

Fourth Verse.—In the kingdom of Mudhôl, there was the little village of Halagali; (*and there*) Pûjâri-Hanuma, Bâla, Jadaga, (*and*) Râma, conspired together:—"We four men, close comrades all, must not give up the weapons that we carry in our hands; if (*our*) weapons are lost, it is certain that our life is of

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[4] The *karuli* is a bar of wood or iron, with a weight suspended by a short chain at each end, for whirling round the head and then striking an enemy.

[5] *chyâla*; see *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 350, note 6.

[6] *watna*, i.e. *watan*, a hereditary property, such as that of *Pâṭîl* or a *Kulkarṇî*, with official rights and other privileges attached,—an object of ambition to any ordinary person.

[7] *girû*.

[8] lit. "the Joint-Sâheb;" from the old official title of the post.

[9] lit. "not even so much as an oil-seed."

no use, (*and that we*) shall die and vanish away." And, to (*the people of*) the surrounding villages, and to the noblemen, they said—"raise up a mutiny; we all are gathered together to assist."

With great secrecy all the Bêḍas, binding themselves together, passed (*their*) word; they beat the Kârkûn[10] on the head; the Sepoy fell to the ground.

(With a change of metre),—In sorrow they went away, and, with lamentations, told it to the gentleman.[11] When the gentleman heard it, he became angry, and turned and went straight back to Kalâdgi; (*and*) having sent for Kṛishṇanâyaka, the *Pâṭîl*, of Kundargi, he despatched (*him*) to make the matter up.

(Raising the voice),—(*Said Kṛishṇanâyaka*) —"be not so obstinate; for the gentleman's sake, give up your arms."

Fifth Verse.—(*But said the Bêḍas*)—"We have not become women, wearing bangles on (*our*) wrists, that we should give up (*our*) weapons; who are you that have come?; even at the cost of life, we will not give (*them*) up; go quietly now away."

Straightway he came, and told the gentleman all that they had said; and fiercely biting (*his*) fore-arm in anger, then (*the gentleman*) gave an order. The horsemen[12] assembled, and laid siege to Halagali. The people inside (*the village*) fired (*bullets*) in quick succession, as if the early rain was pattering down. When the bullets struck (*them*), straightway the people outside turned back, and wrote a report, and sent (*it*) quickly, that the regular troops should come.

(With a change of metre),—See now, the army got ready and came; quickly it came to Halagali. At midnight[13] they came, and laid siege to the village. They fired off (*their*) bullets in a wonderful way, like tossing up handfuls of grain. (*To draw the Bêḍas from their shelter*), (*the army*) began to run away before (*them*), in (*the pretence of*) fear. (*The Bêḍas*) followed in pursuit and looked (*for them*); (*their*) corpses fell like the throwing down of handfuls of grain.

(Raising the voice),—Laying siege (*to the village*), (*the troops*) cut down (*the Bêḍas*) with (*their*) swords; but of nothing were (*the Bêḍas*) afraid.

Sixth Verse.—Pursuing (*the Bêḍas*) round and round, they cut (*them*) down, so that none were left; hemming (*them*) in, they mercilessly fired bullets. Surrounding (*them*) by manœuvres, with the word of command "Fire!"[14] they beat the band-instruments, (*and used*) their cannons, guns, *karulis*, pistols, (*and*) daggers worn on the waist. Firing bullets, like (*the falling of*) thunderbolts, finely they cut (*them*) down with (*their*) swords; the band of Bêḍas shivered; what was the battle like? (*it was*) like the rising (*of dense clouds*) of red dust.

An evil time had come (*to the Bêḍas*); they were hemmed in and caught; there was none to save (*them*); with mocking grimaces, the soldiery went (*in pursuit of them*) over the hills.

(Lowering the voice),[15]—(*The army*) came and stood at the village-gate; (*and*) **Mr. Havelock** himself came, and, standing there, speaks words of wisdom,—"(*even*) to-day I give (*you*) a promise of pardon; die not in vain."

(Raising the voice),—Feeling no trust in what was said, Haṇamâ came out in front.

Seventh Verse.—Says Jaḍaga,—"shoot him now, he is a traitor; betraying (*our*) trust, he is beguiling (*us*) with (*sham*) confidence; by false pretences he takes away much territory, (*and will be*) in the future an object of dread to us;" and, so saying, he fired but a single bullet, and the gentleman fell dead.

That firebrand **Mr. Kerr** himself gave the order to loot the village; joyfully (*the soldiers*) fired; the bullets fell in showers, like the falling of rain.

Says Haṇamâ, as he fired a bullet,—"I will fell all the musketeers; let three hundred men come against me, and then behold (*my*) prowess."

(With a change of metre),—Bhîma stood out in front, matching himself against five hundred men. Bâla made a great effort, and cut down ten horses. Tremendous was the resoluteness displayed by Râma; the blood flowed out in torrents; matching himself, alone, against a thousand others, he shouts out—"cut (*them*), cut (*them*) down."

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[10] *i.e.* the clerk, and his Peon, or *Commissionaire*, who were sent to collect the arms.

[11] *i.e.* to the Political Agent for the Mudhol State, whose camp was somewhere near.

[12] *i.e.* the Mounted Police.

[13] *lit.* "at six hours in the night."

[14] *phaird*; an adaptation of the English word.

[15] *ilava.*

(Raising the voice),—Thus (*these*) four men slew, and died; they became known to the people as heroes.

Eighth Verse.—With no one to hear (*and succour him*), Haṇamâ fell to the ground, struck by six bullets; (*and*), with cries, the people gathered round (*him, as he lay*), trembling for (*their*) lives. A brave (*trooper*) made a great effort to take away (*his*) arms; (*but*) rising up, he wounded the horse on the leg, as it came, (*and*) the horseman fell to the ground.

Râmi,[16] with great courage, hit three men with bullets in the head; cutting down six horses, she pounced upon Bâla's sword.

(With a change of metre),—No one was left; the whole village was plundered. They entered (*every*) house and searched; (*all*) the grain and cattle was destroyed. The little infants died; they set fire (*to the place*), (*and*) the village was burnt. See now! on that same day, (*everything*) was destroyed; I myself assure you of this.

(Raising the voice),—All was destroyed and lost; in no respect did they succeed.

Ninth Verse.—Asses, horses, pearls, rubies,—nothing did they allow to escape; silver, gold, rings set with precious stones, gold rings, and guard-rings. They allowed not to escape the women's necklaces, marriage-badges, earrings of different kinds, bracelets, wristlets, waistcloths, and turbans, bodices, dresses, cakes, dainties, weeding-hooks, sickles, axes, reaping-hooks, iron weeding-tools, boiled food, butter, milk, salt, oil, turmeric, cummin-seeds, rice, sugar, jaggery; they took away the brass water-vessels, metal cooking-pots, marriage-threads, and grinding-stones.

(Lowering the voice),—Everything was laid waste; how much shall I say, in describing it? They took away everything that they could find; and, slinking off, they stood and set fire to the village. Burning Halagali, they reduced (*it*) to ashes; (*hardly*) as much as an oil-seed (*remained as*) a sign of Halagali. It was destroyed, so as to disappear from sight. I have described it all,—(raising the voice),—by the favour of (the god) Kalamêśa of Kurtakôṭi, for recitation and for listening to.

TEXT.

Pallâ.

Hottu banditu matta nôḍari katti hiḍuwa janaka ।
śittina mandi bhaṇṭara Halagali muṭṭalilla daḍaka ॥ Pallâ ॥

1ne nuḍi.

Vilâtiyinda hukuma kaḷavidara Kumpaṇi-sarakârâ । yella janaranâ tarisi jôri mâḍi tara-bêka hatârâ । katti kaṭâri kai-churi bâku gurdi surâyi chakrâ । bâliya barchi bichchu-gatti nôḍa bâṇa-billinavarâ । paṭâta pistula karuli têgâ châpa-goḍli-śastrâ । tôpu tubâki hoḍawu madda gunḍa biḍa-byâḍari chûrâ । muchchi iṭṭavarige mûru varshada bêḍi hâkari pûrâ । koḍada diṭâyi mâḍidavaranâ kaḍada hâkari târâ ॥ Chyâla ॥ Bêḍidâ kshaṇaka tâwu tandu । koḍatâra hiḍi-hiḍir=endu । watna koḍatêv=annari wond-ondu । tandu koḍatâra tamma kusilindu ॥ Banḍitu hukuma hâg=endu । ḍaṅgara sâridara mundu ॥ Śûra śipâyi-janara tâwu tiḷidu । aḷatâru kaṇṇige nîr=tandu ॥ Yêra ॥ Bahaḷa chintiy=âgi dukhkhadinda avaru biddar=aṇṇa nelaka[17] ॥ 1 ॥

2ne nuḍi.

Kêḷuta hukumâ keḷavara tanda tanda koṭṭâra âvâga । bahaḷa beliwu hechchina habba-hatârâ muchchi iṭṭara woḷaga ॥ Sâla-samada mâḍi dana-kara mâri tandinni hatârâ ... Śûra chaṭagâru dâga । nôḍa nôḍa hyâṅge koḍun=anta hugid=iṭṭara neladâga ॥ Śûra chaṭagâru ... Jâyita-sâhêba bandâra âvâga । sandiya-gondi wondu uḷiyad-âṅga hokka haḍikera maniyâga ॥ Teppit=upâyi inna mâtara mâḍun=antara hyâṅga । wobbarak=obbara chyâḍa hêḷaṭara warma sâdhisid-hâṅge ॥ Chyâla ॥ Jyâḍasi hôdawo yellâ । nâḍ-oḷage yênu uḷilillâ ॥ Ajja-muttera hiḍuwa pistula । kasad=ôdara kattiya ḍâlâ ॥ Kawacha belliya makamâlâ । ratnada hiḍikiwa hôdawu yellâ ॥ Yêra ॥ Hêda hatâraka hoṭṭi-byâni hachchi-koṇḍa nintara sâwudaka ॥ 2 ॥

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[16] A woman, who figures also in other recensions of this ballad.

[17] In the construction of this ballad, it should be noted that the last line of each verse rhymes with the last lines of the others, all through.

3ne nuḍi.

Halla kittidâ bûmvina pariyu namaga âdit=allâ I raṇḍi musuka hâki tirigidara nama mâna uḷiyuwadillâ II Maggaladâgina hêṇati koṭṭ-âṅga âti hêḍi âdêv=allâ I satta heṇaka śriṅgâra mâḍida pari âdit=allâ II Sâwakâru namma jîva hôdit=anta chinti mâḍêr=allâ I hagali mani hokka haṇâ wôdara kêḷavar=yâr=illâ II Puṇḍa pâḷegâra pachchyâ wajîraru panta_ hiḍiyalillâ I daṇḍan=âḷuwa dhori daulatar=añji kuḷitar=allâ II Chyâla II Dêvara tanda paḍipâṭâ I chinti hatti âdarô nashṭâ II Adhikâra uḷiyalilla yeḷḷ-ashṭâ I keḍa-gâla bandîtu kani-kashṭâ II Heṅgas-âgi śîriya wuṭṭâ I sôṇḍ-oṇagi âdîtô bobbâṭâ II Ad-hâṅg=âti strîyara krîḍâd=âṭâ I bhanṭarige bandîto bikkashṭâ II Yêra II Pakkâ kitta pakshi gati âgi chinti âdara manaka II 3 II

4ne nuḍi.

Halagali ambuwa haḷḷi Mudhôḷa-râjyadâga ittu I Pûjeri-Haṇamâ Bâla Jaḍaga Râma mâḍyâra masalattu II Kaina hatâra koḍa-bârado nâwu nâlku mandi jattu I hatâra hôd-inda bârada namma jîva satt=ôgudu gottu II Suttina haḷḷi matta dhorigaḷige tiḷaśera hîṅg=antu I mâḍari jagaḷâ kûḍ-iratêvu kumuki yâvattu II Woḷagind-oḷaga wachana koṭṭaro Byâḍar=ella kalitu I kârakûnana kapâḷaka baḍadara śipâyi nelaka bittu II Chyâla II Dukhkhadinda avaru allig=hôgi I sâhebaga hêḷidara kûgi II Kêḷi sâhêba yeḍda siṭṭigi I tirigi hôda âvâga Kalâdagi II Karsi Krishṇa-nâyika-gauḍa Kundaragi I karaśyâna sandhânakk-âgi II Yêra II Haṭâ mâḍa-bâradu nimma hatâra koḍari sâheban=śaka II 4 II

5ne nuḍi.

Hatâra koḍalike heṅgas=âgi baḷiy=iṭṭila kaiyâga I yâva bandîri jîva hôdaru koḍudilla summan=hôgari îga II Anda mâta yella banda hêḷidâna âvâga sâhebaga I śiṭṭili muṅgai kaṭṭane kaḍa-koṇḍa hukuma koṭṭar=âga II Kudariya-mandi kûḍi muṭṭito Halagali-sthaḷada mêga I woḷagina mandi wottarale hoḍadara muṅgâri maḷi surad-âṅga II Horagina mandi guṇḍa hattikera tirigera âvâga I kâgada barada kaḷavera bêgana daṇḍa baral=enta hîṅga II Chyâla II Daṇḍa banta nôḍa tayâr-âgi I jalada mâḍi banta Halagaligi II Âra tâsa râtryâga hôgi I ûrigi hâkidâra muttigi II Guṇḍa hoḍadâra viparîta sûry=âgi I añji wôḍâk=hattita mund-âgi II Benna hatti nôḍidâra ivar=âgi I biddâwa heṇagôḷu sûry=âgi II Yêra II Muṭtigi hâki avaru kattili kaḍadara añjalilla yât-etaka II 5 II

6ne nuḍi.

Benna hatti tiri-tirivi kaḍadaro yênu uḷiyad-âṅga I naḍavi hâki-koṇḍa hoḍadara guṇḍa daraja illad-hâṅga II Kawâta phairâ sutta-gaṭṭi tambu nuḍiśâra âvâga I tâpu tubâki karuli pistula bâka naḍavinâga II Śiḍalina hanta guṇḍa hoḍawuta kattili kaḍadara woḷat-âṅga I naḍagitu Byâḍaki ken-dhuḷa hârid-âṅga kaḍadâṭawu hyâṅga II Keḍa-gâla bandita naḍavi śikkaro biḍasavar=yâr=îga I chaṭekâraru châṭi mâḍuta naḍadara guḍadâga II Iḷava II Agasige bandu nintîtu I Hebalak-sâhêba bandu tâwu ninta II Heḷatâra buddhiya mâtu I koḍateva kawala śhottu I hôga-hyâḍari vertâ nîwu sattu II Yêra II Yembu mâtige nambige sâlada Haṇamâ banda mandaka II 6 II

7ne-nuḍi.

Jaḍaga hêḷatana hoḍi ivaranâ îga ghâtakaro yivarâ I isawasa-ghâtâ mâḍi nem-bigile mâḍatâru phâturâ II Mâsa mâḍi bala-dêśa tagôtara munda namaga gôrâ I anda hoḍadaro wondu guḍige âda sâhêba ṭârâ II Kâr-sâhêba beṅki-chûra âgi tânu lâṭi mâḍ-enda wâra I hurapili hoḍadara maḷi âda hâṅga guṇḍa suradawu barapûrâ II Haṇamâ hêḷatana guṇḍa hoḍadakera keḍawun=ashṭu bârâ I mun-nura mandi yanna mêge biṭṭa âga nôḍari jôrâ II Chyâla II Bhîmanu idarige nintâ I ai-nûra mandige malatâ II Bâlanu mâḍida kasarattâ I kudariya kaḍadano hattâ II Râmana kaḍata viparîtâ I kâwali harito raktâ II Sâvira âḷige wobba malatâ I kûgutâno kaḍi-kaḍir=antâ II Yêra II Nâlku mandi hîṅga kaḍada sattaro bhanṭar=anasera janaka II 7 II

8ne nuḍi.

Yâru keḷalilla âru guṇḍa tâki Haṇamâ bidda nelaka। chîry-âḍuta jana suttagaṭṭito añji-koṇḍa jîvaka॥ Śûra wobba bahaḷa jôra mâḍidana hatâra tagoḷudaka। yêri baru kudari kâla kaḍadano swâra bidda nelaka॥ Râmi gunḍili jôra mâḍi hoḍadaḷo mûra mandi śiraka। âra kudariya kaḍada siḍadaḷo Bâlana sûrâyaka॥ Chyâla॥ Yâr-yâru illad=âdîtu। ûr-ellâ lûṭi âgi hôtu॥ Mandi mani hokka huḍakîtu। dana-karâ layâ âdîtu॥ Saṇṇa kâsagaḷu hôdawu sattu। beṅki hachchhyâra wûra suṭṭitu॥ Nashṭa âti nôḍari îwattu। nâ hêḷatêna î mâtu॥ Yêra॥ Ishṭ-ella aḷav=âgi hôdito muṭṭalilla yât-etaka॥ 8 ॥

9ne nuḍi.

Katti kudari muttu mâṇikâ yâvadu biḍalillâ। beḷḷi bhaṅgârâ haraḷin-uṅgarâ honn-uṅgara gôlâ॥ Saragi sardaḷi buguḍi bâwali biḍalillâ। kaḍaga kaṅkaṇâ naḍɔvina-dâbâ naḍakaṭṭu rumâlâ॥ Kubaśâ śiri happaḷa śâṇḍigi kurchigi kuḍagôlâ। koḍali kôti kuḍa-kabbiṇâ masaru beṇṇi hâlâ॥ Uppa yeṇṇi araśiṇa jîrigi akki sakkari bellâ। gaṅgaḷa charagi maṅgaḷa-sûtrâ takoṇḍa hôdara bisu-kallâ॥ Iḷava॥ Hâḷ-âgi hôdito ishṭu। warṇisi hêḷalu yeshṭu॥ Yella tagoṇḍaro śikk-ashṭu। sarda nintaro wârige koḷḷi koṭṭu॥ Bûdi mâḍera Halagali suṭṭu। Halagali gurta yeḷḷa-ashṭu॥ Kâṇasta hôdito keṭṭu। warṇisi hêḷidenu ishṭu॥ Yêra॥ Kurtakôṭi-Kalmêśana dayadinda hêḷuda-kêḷudaka॥ 9 ॥

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

DASHT-I-LUT.

In connection with Ayûb Khân's escape the Dasht-i-Lût has frequently been mentioned in news reports. Indian papers translated Dasht-i-Lût as the Desert of Lot. Sir Oliver St. John in his geography of Persia[1] referring to Khanikoff's calling the desert north-east of Kermân the 'desert of Lût or Lot' says, "I cannot help doubting this derivation, as I more than once heard the word *lût* used in Beluchistân as equivalent to waterless." I may here remark that Khanikoff did not call the Desert 'Lot's Desert'; all the way through he speaks of "le desert de *Lout*."[2] The French for Lot is *Loth* not Lout. The word *lût* means naked, bare; hence *dasht-i-lût*, the bare, naked plain, the plain with nothing in it, *i.e.*, desert. *Lût* for desert is a very common expression in Persia; it is written لوت; the word for Lot is لوط.

From the Persian *lût kerdan*, to make bare, to rob, has been derived the Anglo-Indian term *to loot*, to rob, plunder, and *loot*, plunder, booty. The word *lût*, (and *lat*) originally piece, bit (hence *lat*, *lâtâlât*, in pieces, broken up) is frequently used together with *lût*; a man '*lût we lût*,' is a man who has nothing whatever in this world. Khaqânî says, "*inhâ hameh mard-i-lût we lût and*,"—all these are *lût* and *lût* men. In chess when the king has lost all his pieces and pawns he is *lût* and the game is considered drawn;—*shâh lût shud*, *mât nist*: the king is *lûṭ*, he is not mate.

The wood *lût* stands to *lukht*, another word for naked, exactly as *lût* to *lakht*. From *Lûṭ* لوط is derived *lûṭî*, originally a sodomite, now generally a buffoon, a rogue.

A. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER.

Teheran.

As to General Schindler's remarks on the origin of "loot." If the word is of Indian origin, as Colonel Yule's remarks in his *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms*, *s. v.*, would seem to prove, it is, I think, more likely to have come from the common Indian word, *lûṭ* or لوٹ as it would be written in the Perso-Indian character, than from the Persian word لوت *lût*. The Indian word has Sanskrit connections *lôtra* from root *lû*, to cut, destroy: *lôptra*, *lôptri* from root *lup* to break, destroy, rot; Pâli *lutto* (past part. of *lupyati*)[3]: whence no doubt the cerebral *ṭ* now used in the modern word.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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[1] *Eastern Persia*, Vol. I. 16.

[2] *Mém. s. l. partie mérid. de l'Asie centrale*, Paris, 1861.

A NOTE ON DONI, A NAME FOR A DUG-OUT CANOE.

Tôni or Dôni, on the Malabar Coast, means a small dug-out canoe. In the Somâli language the word dôni also means a dug-out canoe; but is more commonly used as the generic name for any kind of native craft, generally the larger kind, as in the following lines from a Somâli song, composed on a special occasion in 1885:—

"*Ninki dôni-rarêstai,*
Iyo damêra-karêstai,"

"One (who is) a loader of buggalows (*i.e.* rich)
And (another who is) a hirer of asses (*i.e.* poor)."

It appears by no means unlikely that the Somâli word *dôni* is of Indian origin.

J. S. KING.

Captain King is probably right in his surmise as to the Indian origin of doni. In the forms tône, toné, donny, tonny, tonee, tony, dhoney, doney, dhony the word has been well known to Europeans of all sorts for the last three centuries, and may well have been transplanted to the Somali Cost by sailors. It apparently springs from the Tamil *tôni*, a vessel made from a single tree. *Tonduga*, Tamil, is to scoop out. See Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary, s.v.*, Doney.

R. C. TEMPLE.

RASHID VATVAT.

Rashîd-ud-Dîn Muhammed *bin* 'Abd-ul-Jalîl-ul-'Umarî-ul-Balkhî, nicknamed Vatvât, calls himself in the Hadâiq-us-Sihr Muhammed *bin* 'Abd-ul-Jalîl-ul-'Umarî *m'arûf* ar-Rashîd. He was one of the most famous poets of his age.

In a short notice of him in the *Târîkh-i-Guzîdeh*, Hamdu'llah Mustaufî thus sets forth his name and *nasab*: "Rashîd'ud-Dîn Muhammad *bin* Majd *bin* 'Abdu'llah-ul-'Umarî," and adds that he was a contemporary of Sultân Sanjar. The *Majma'-ul-Fusehâ*, Vol. I. p. 222, substitutes Fârûqî for 'Umarî, both denoting that the bearer is a descendant of the Khalîfeh Fârûq-i-A'zam 'Umar-i-Khattâb.

Vatvât was secretary to Sûltân 'Azîz Khwârezm Shâh and to his son and successor, Jail Arslân. He probably owed his nickname of "The Swallow" both to his diminutive stature and incessant love of talking. A contemporary of his, 'Abd'ûl-Karîm, surnamed Qâzî Akhyâr, author of the *Majmo'-ul'-Masalik*, mentions therein that when he was in Balkh the poet Vatvât was *kâtib* to Sultân 'Azîz, who had constructed a dwelling-place for him near to his own palace.

The *Habîb-us-Siyar*, Vol. II. *juz.* iv. p. 228, quotes a *rubâ'î* composed by Vatvât, then an old man, on the accession of Sultân Tukush Khân, in A.H. 568.

Taqî-ud-Dîn Kâshî, in his *Khulâsat-ul-Ash'ar*, Daulet Shâh and the *Majma'-ul-Fusehâ*, all three give A.H. 578 as the date of his death at the age of 97.

According to Daulet Shâh, Vatvât is buried in the Jurjâniyeh of Khwârezm, and the *Majma'-ul Fusehâ* tells us that the poet died suddenly in Khabâshân.

Shams Qais, in his treatise on Prosody, called المعجم فی معا یرا شعار العجم states that his work, which is dedicated to Abû Bekr *bin* Sa'd *bin* Langî, was compiled at the suggestion of Rashîd-i-Kâtib. From the *Destur-ul-Kâtib* of Muhammad *bin* Hindû Shâh, styled Shams-ul-Munshî-un-Nakhjivânî, we learn that Rashîd Vatvât was looked upon as a master of epistolary style.

Besides the above, the *Riâz-ush-Shu'arâ*, *Atesh-Kedeh* and *Haft Iqlîm* contain notices of this poet.

A work by him called فوائد القلائد is mentioned in the *Marzebân Nâmeh* and the *Târîkh Guzîdeh* and by Hâjî Khalîfeh.

Added to the *Muntakhib-ul-Lughât-i-Arabî*, lithographed in Tehrân in 1221, will be found a *Muntakhib Hadâiq-us Sihr*. A metrical Arabic-Persian vocabulary called عقود الجواهر (begins الحمد لله مبدع البدایع) is ascribed to Rashîd Vatvât Hâjî Khalîfeh mentions the following other two works attributed to this author (Vol. I. p. 145) ابکار الافکار فی الرسائل والاشعار; and a عذر الاقوال ودرر الامثال which begins الحمد لله علی تواتر نعمه and was written for Sultân Shâh Muhammed *bin* Jail Arslân Saljûqî (Vol. IV. p. 422). Another work of his is the فصل الخطاب a metrical and prose version of the sentences of the Amîr-ul-Mûminîn 'Alî *bin* 'Alî Tâlib. His ترجمه صدکلمه a metrical translation of the 100 sentences of the Amîr-ul-Mûminîn 'Alî, collected by 'Amîr *bin* Bahr-ul-Jâhiz, dedicated to Sultân Mahmûd Khwârezm Shâh, has been published by Fleischer, Leipzig, 1837.

Besides these works, Rashîd Vatvât left verses enumerated at about seven thousand distichs.

S. J. A. C.

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ERRATA IN VOL. XVI.

Scale of figs. 1 and 3 of Plate 8 Asiatic Symbolism, Vol. XV. p. 119, should be ·05′ *not* ·5′.

p. 5*a*, l. 11, *for* **Mahârâshṭra,** *read* **Mahârâshṭra.**

p. 15, l. 24, *for* VIKRAMA-DITYA *read* VIKRAMADITYA.

p. 22, note 56, *for* Upêndravarjâ, *read* Upêndravajrâ.

p. 23, Text, l. 43, *for* ta-va (ba)la, *read* ta-va(ba)la.

p. 83*b*, ll. 7 and 12f., *for* which is injurious to all people, *read* which contains thirteen days.

p. 86, l. 27, *for* surêśvaraṁ *read* sarvêśvaram.

p. 90, l. 1, *omit the hyphen after* naśyanti.

p. 100, l. 9, *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].

p. 100*b*, l. 40, *for* **Waawari** *read* **Waswari.**

p. 120, Table, *in the column for the Siddhânta-Śirômani, instead of* 5542, *read* 55 *under the column for ghaṭis, and* 42 *under the column for palas*

p. 129, note 29, *for* if there figures *read* if these figures.

p 132*a*, l 43, for *upadhamâniya* read *upadhmâniya*.

p. 158*a*, l. 12, for *Avakâśak* read *Avakâśaḥ*.